

*The interface between syntax
and discourse in Korafe,
a Papuan language of Papua New Guinea*

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**THE INTERFACE BETWEEN SYNTAX
AND DISCOURSE IN KORAFE,
A PAPUAN LANGUAGE OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA**

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The *Pacific Linguistics* logo was designed by Ian Scales after one small panel of a *poro batuna* from Vella Lavella, held in the Australian Museum (A8517). This is an artefact made from a plaque of fossilised giant clam shell (*Tridacna* sp.), carved into an elaborate fretwork design. These particular artefacts were made in the western Solomon Islands, probably between 100 and 200 years ago.

The basic cover design is also by Ian Scales. The motif was drawn by Malcolm Ross after the stylised representation of a design on Lapita pottery found by Roger Green in the Reefs-Santa Cruz Islands (source: Matthew Spriggs, ed.), *Lapita design, form and composition*. Canberra: Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University.)

Aiyakoé beká resena,
Bajari, Afa, Koro, ã Asisi Kakara dae,
 ã kotugo
 nanda komana, Jim dae,
 ã nangaeda mandi, Jamie dae!

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Most of all, I am grateful beyond words to my husband and to our Lord who continues to meet all our needs.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACT	actor-subject, contrastive
ADUP	a-rhyming word duplication
ALOC	approximate locative
AQ	indicative assertion, information question
BEN	benefactive marker (see PUR)
CEFF	marker on participant/event effecting change or in control (has agent/actor, force, and instrument roles)
CEXP	contrary to expectations, frustrative, deontic focus
CFAC	counterfactual
COM	comitative
COP	copula
CPAR	comparative postposition
CR	current relevancy marker
CRS	co-ranking sentence
CT	change of direction: contrastive topic/focus
CUST	customary, generic, gnomic TAM index
D	dual
D1	distal-1 demonstrative, near the addressee
D2	distal-2 demonstrative, not near speaker or addressee
DIM	diminutive
DP	distant past tense
DS	different subject medial verb form
DUP	duplicated word
DUR	durative aspect
DVB	deverbal nominal/modifier
EMP	emphatic topic or focus
EP	enduring or habitual past
EPEN	epenthetic insertion
EXC	exclusive
F	future tense
FN	finite, neutral in terms of of speaker commitment to its factuality or desirability

FOC	focus
FRUS	frustrative
GEN	genitive
H	hortative mood
IMP	imperative mood
INC	inclusive
INF	infinitive
INT	feature or contrastive intensifier/diminutive
IPF	imperfective aspect
IR	irrealis
LOC	locative
NDUR	non-durative aspect
NEG	negative focus specifier
NP	noun phrase (in prose text)
NP	near past tense (in examples)
O	object, has core grammatical function in clauses
P1	position of pragmatic function-topic (Dik 1978:21; see also P2, P3)
P2	position of pragmatic function-theme
P3	position of pragmatic function-tail
pers. comm.	personal communication
PIV	pivotal
PL	plural
PP	phrase headed by a postposition
PRES	present tense
PRO	pronominal root
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal demonstrative
PUR	purpose marker (see BEN)
R	realis
RDUP	rhyming word duplication
RED	partially reduplicated
S	singular (only after 1, 2, 3)
S	subject: includes both transitive and intransitive subjects, has core grammatical function in clauses
SAP	speech act participants
SEQ	sequencing/anterior medial verb
SIM	simultaneous medial verb encoding overlap
SIM-SEQ	encoding sequencing action occurring simultaneously with motion verbs
SPEC	specifier (contrastive)

SS	same-subject medial verb
SRC	switch-reference construction
STEN	stentorian, projected voice
SVC	serial verb construction
SVS	serial verb sequence
T/F	topic marker (focus with pronouns in the comment)
TAM	tense, aspect, mood marker
TCCU	thematic clause chain unit
TP	today's past tense [aorist]
YP	yesterday's past tense
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
I	verb stem I (non-durative/perfective) with class vowel
II	verb stem II (durative/imperfective) with characterising vowel for stem II

MORPHEME, CLITIC AND COMPOUND WORD BREAK MARKERS

-	signals a morpheme break
=	signals a break between a word and accompanying clitic(s), phonologically one word
+	signals a break between words in compound words, duplicated words and word complexes



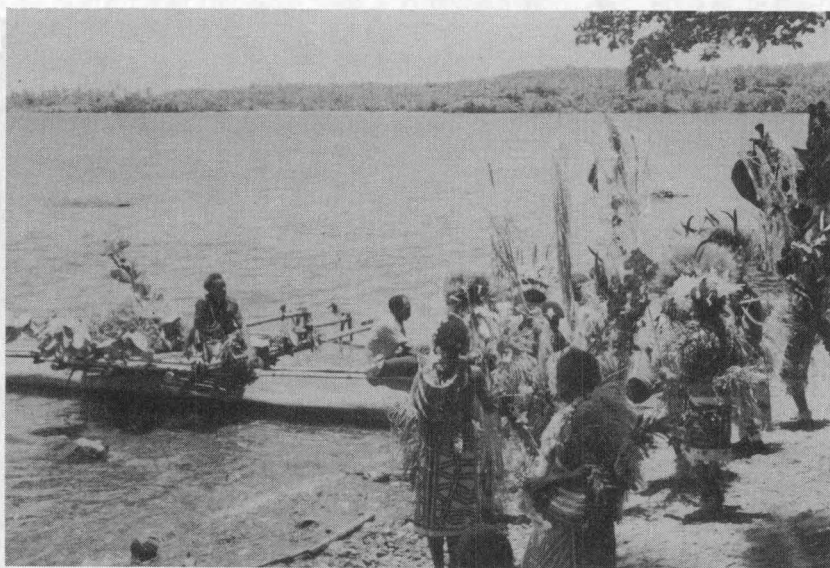
First view of Tufi and the 'fiordland' of Cape Nelson



A Korafe 'parking lot'



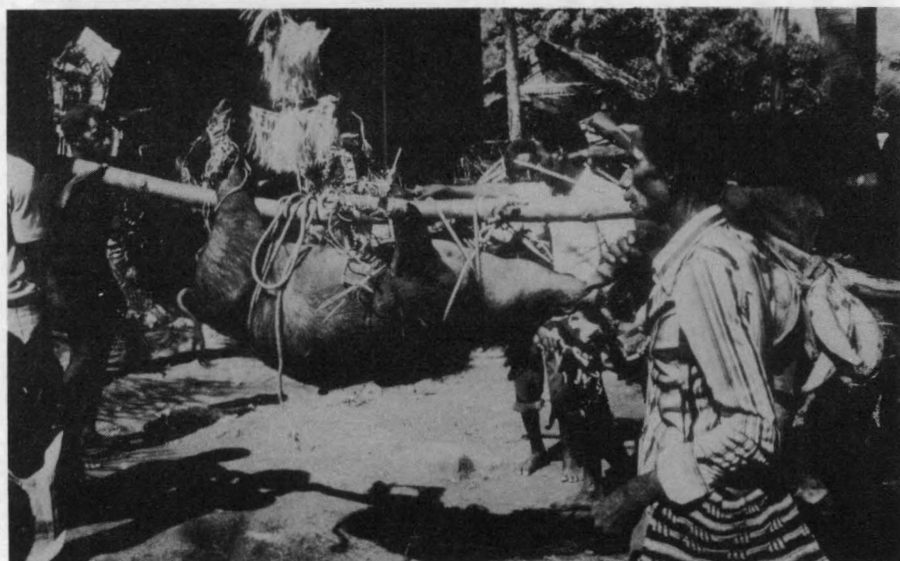
Celebrations are central to the Korafe culture. They are proud of their traditions and have taken their colourful dances as far north as Japan.



The dedication of the Korafe-Mokorua New Testament 17–18 October, 1984 was the occasion for a festive celebration with all the pomp and pageantry that the people of the Oro Province are known for.



No feast occurs without displays and exchanges of garden produce.



The Beghuma clan brings in 'the bacon'.



The author, son Jamie, and husband Jim re-enacting their 1972 arrival at Baga village.



“Open it up, so that we may get it!”
the choir sings to Reverend Jeffrey Schell, pastor of the church that sponsored the Korafe and Mokorua language translation project.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION (*TUTURO*)

1.1 AIM, SCOPE AND THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

This book compares and contrasts the structure and functions of three types of complex constructions in Korafe, a language spoken in the Oro Province of Papua New Guinea. These three constructions are: (1) serial verb constructions (SVCs), (2) switch-reference constructions (SRCs), and (3) co-ranking constructions (CRCs). SVCs and SRCs contrast with co-ranking constructions in the types of information they present and in the communicative goals they are designed to accomplish. These constructions are central to the organisation of Korafe discourse.

To facilitate an understanding of the structure of the complex constructions, a brief overview of morphological and syntactic structures is provided. Verbs and their morphology are outlined in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 summarises the structure and functions of noun phrases and the related postpositional phrases, and Chapter 4 presents predications, polarity and basic sentences/sentential modes.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 detail the features of the two ‘chaining’ structures, SVCs and SRCs. Chaining structures terminate with a verb of fuller structure than the preceding verbal constituents, which are verb stems in SVCs and medial verb forms in SRCs. These verbal predicates are normally linked by juxtaposition and may occur with arguments. However, syntactic constraints marked on or implicit in chaining structures enable the speaker to monitor subject reference from verb to verb without using very many overt noun phrases. SVCs are the focus of Chapter 5. The rules governing the structure and argument-tracking system of SRCs are given in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 examines some discrepancies in linear argument tracking in Korafe SRCs.

Co-ranking constructions are the focus of Chapter 8. In co-ranking constructions, all the constituents terminate with verbs of the same rank, namely final verbs, or in topic–comment constructions, predicate complements. Co-ranking constructions combine clauses, SRCs, and/or other co-ranking sentences by juxtaposing or conjoining them. Bases are syntactically related to each other by parataxis or hypotaxis. A common pragmatic relationship expressed by bases in co-ranking constructions is the theme–rheme relationship. Sentence examples exhibit additive, alternative, adversative, concessive, implicational, cause–effect, reason–result semantic relationships. They also are used to indicate direct and indirect quotations and thoughts, as well as relative and complement constructions.

Discussion in Chapter 9 centres around verb and clause sequences that are units, semantically and intonationally. A number of co-lexicalised and periphrastic sequences of

verbs (including medial verbs that are the predicates of distinct clauses) are found in Korafe. These units convey semantic notions such as direction+motion, posture+state, cause+effect, manner+action, iteration at uneven intervals and rhythmic iteration. These predictable verb sequences are integrated into the structure of a unit, here termed the thematic clause chain unit (TCCU). TCCUs represent the speaker's chunking of information into intonational pause-free units.

Chapter 10 compares the use of chaining and co-ranking constructions in discourse. A prototypical chaining paragraph is contrasted with a prototypical thematic paragraph. It outlines the discourse structure rules that characterise discourses in general and differentiate discourse genres, making use of tense-iconic chaining structures and logically ordered 'thematic' structures as well as speech formulas. It concludes with a delineation of some common scripts that are threaded into the warp and woof of Korafe discourses.

Devices encoding cohesion and prominence in Korafe discourse are the focus of Chapter 11.

This study is designed to enrich the growing corpus of data on Papuan languages, which are still under-represented in typological and theoretical accounts of the languages in the world. It builds on the research of many of my colleagues in the Summer Institute of Linguistics¹ as well as that of others analysing Papuan languages.² It expands on those frontiers in the following ways:

1. It identifies a Korafe unit between clause and sentence which plays an important role in structuring the flow of information in Korafe discourse. This unit is the thematic clause chain unit (TCCU) and corresponds to Pawley and Syder's (1983:202) "fluent unit" and Chafe's (1987:22) "intonation unit". It is defined by phonological, grammatical and semantic criteria.
2. It shows how the Korafe use personal pronouns as a contrastive focus device and as markers of TCCU onsets.
3. It details the features of chaining and co-ranking structures and shows how they contrast in their discourse functions.
4. It argues that canonical SRCs convey foregrounded events in tense-iconic discourses. There are two special cases that are accounted for in this description: (1) discrepancies in the switch-reference anticipatory coding system and (2) simultaneous and sequencing durative medial verb forms that appear to realise clauses in tense-iconic SRC sequences.
5. It shows how discourses in Korafe cohere. It describes that cohesion in terms of Givón's (1987:179, 1990a:827 and Givón, ed. 1983) suggested parameters of discourse continuity: (1) temporal, locational, participant and action continuity in tense-iconic discourses, and (2) thematic continuity in thematically-oriented discourses.

¹ Included are: Healey, P. (1971), Deibler (1971, 1976), Franklin (1971, 1983), McElhanon (1972), Wilson (1974), Thurman (1975), Scott (1978, 1986), Davies (1981a, b), Bruce (1984, 1986), Olson (1981), Reesink (1978, 1983, 1985), Whitehead (1981, 1991), James (1983), Roberts (1987, 1988a, b, 1990), and Foster (1981).

² Dutton (1971, 1975a, b), Pawley (1968, 1987, 1991, 1993), Wurm, ed. (1975), Wurm (1975, 1982), Haiman (1980), and Foley (1986) have provided many insights.

6. It shows how the prominence and dominance of participants are registered in tense-iconic discourses, illustrating ways in which subject and topic are both significant concepts in Korafe.

In presenting the description of the above features, no one theoretical stance has been adopted. Instead, ideas from a variety of sources have been used when it was felt that they could best elucidate the description being made at that point. Thus, I have drawn inspiration and many useful concepts from functional models, such as those expounded by Dik (1978), Givón (1984, 1990a), Foley and Van Valin (1984), and Halliday (1985). Typological studies³ also helped map out a range of manifestation possibilities for various structures, showing where Korafe is positioned on the structural maps. Insights into discourse and fore-grounding and backgrounding have been gleaned from: Longacre (1972), Grimes (1975), Van Dijk (1977), Lowe (discourse notes MS), Fox (1987a, b), Pawley (1986, 1988), Hopper (1979a, b), Hopper and Thompson (1984), and Givón (1987).

1.2 LOCATION AND DIALECTS

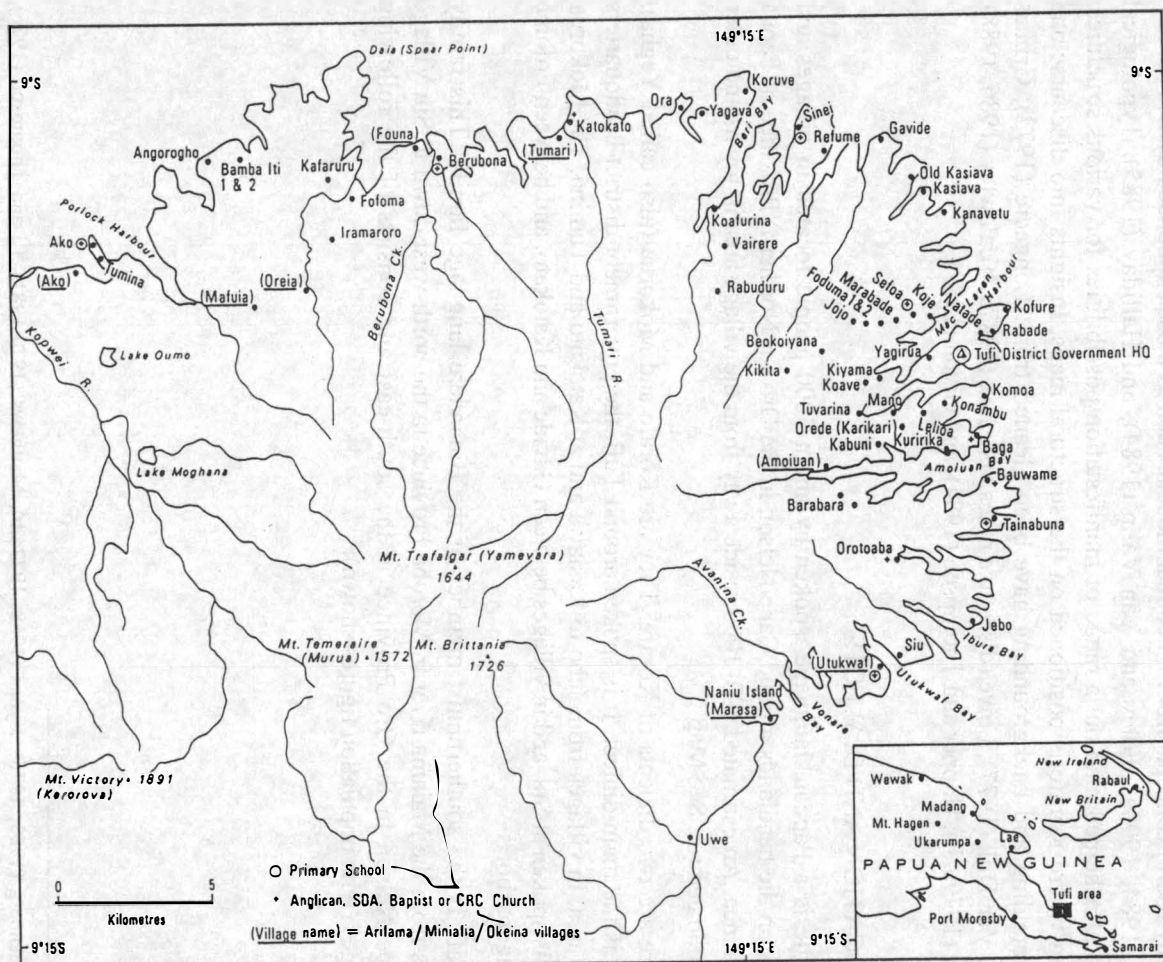
Korafe is a Papuan⁴ language, spoken by about 3000 people located in villages and hamlets on the headlands around Cape Nelson in the Oro (or Northern) Province of Papua New Guinea. An estimated 500–1000 reside away from the village area in towns and other population centres. See Map 1.

There are two dialects of Korafe. They are Korafe and Mokorua (also called Yegha). Korafe is the main dialect. It is spoken around Tufi, the government district headquarters for the area, in villages from Jebo to Kasiawa and at Katokato and Tumina. The Mokorua dialect is spoken at Siu, and in villages between Gavide and Katokato, and between Fofoma and Angorogho.

Korafe is the southernmost member of the Binandere language family. This family extends from the Maiama river in Morobe Province in the north-west down to Siu Village on Cape Nelson in the Oro Province in the south-east and consists of the following languages (with population figures shown):

³ Greenberg (1963, 1978), Lyons (1968, 1977a,b), Matthews (1974,1981), Li and Thompson (1976), Comrie (1976, 1985, 1989), Shopen (1985:1/2/3), Haiman and Munro (1983), Palmer (1986), Givón (1983, and Givón, ed. 1983), and Stirling (1993) are included in this group.

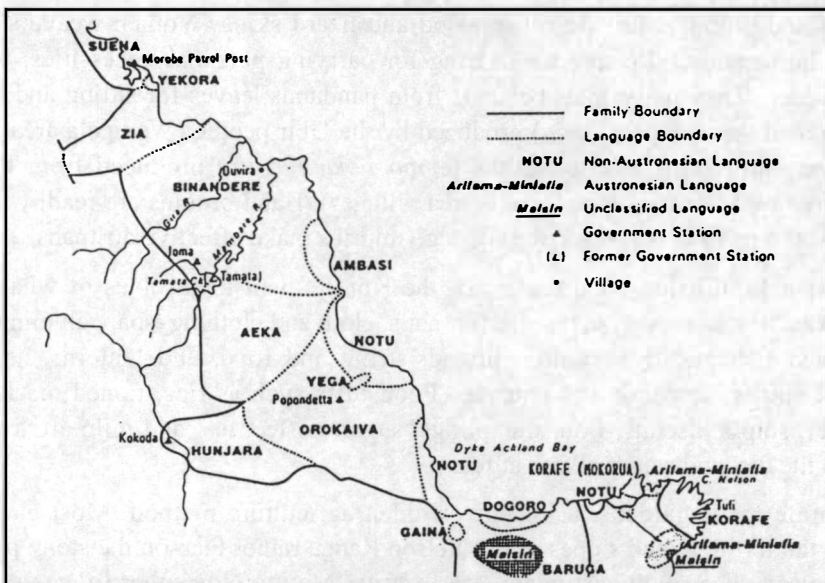
⁴ Papuan is a term commonly used to refer to some 750 languages spoken in the southwest Pacific basin, extending from eastern Indonesia to the western Solomon Islands, although unlike Austronesian, it does not imply genetic relationship between them. Indeed, these languages are often referred to residually as Non-Austronesian to contrast them with the Austronesian languages which are genetically related. More details about Papuan language families can be found in Foley (1986:1-3, 206-283).



MAP 1: CAPE NELSON (TUFU AREA) AND ITS LOCATION IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Suena	2,200	Orokaiva	[25,000] ⁵
Yekora	700	Notu-Ewage-Okeina	[12,422]
Zia-Mawae	3,700	Yega	900
Binandere	3,000	Gaina	[128?]
Ambasi	500	Baruga	[1,051?]
Aeka	3,000	Dogoro	[119]
		Korafe-Mokorua	3,000+

The Binandere family was established by Wilson (1969a).⁶ Subsequently, Hooley and McElhanon (1970:1075-1076) proposed a Binandere stock, which includes Wilson's Binandere family and Guhu Samane (5,000 speakers) as a family-level isolate. The genetic affiliation of this stock with other Papuan language families and stocks has not yet been established. Some evidence suggests that it belongs to a Trans-New Guinea Phylum (TNGP).⁷



MAP 2: THE BINANDERE LANGUAGE FAMILY (Adapted from Dutton 1987:113)

⁵ Figures in [brackets] are from Dutton (1973). The Korafe-Mokorua figure is from the 1990 census. The other figures are from an unpublished MS on Binandere phonology circulated by Wilson in 1988. Nine dialects of Orokaiva are spoken. Some have been classed as separate languages. Dutton (1973:5) lists the Hunjara located at Kokoda in the Oro Province as a separate language group. Larsen (1975) groups the Kokoda (Hunjara) dialect with the Kamundo and Hanjiri dialects as Mountain Orokaiva. He includes among the Plains Orokaiva the following dialects: Ajeka, Waseta, Jegerata, Hunjava, Sewa, and Harava. Harava may be a separate language (Larsen: pers. comm.). Larsen includes Aeka as an isolate in his reconstruction of Proto Orokaiva.

⁶ A number of these languages have since been studied in some detail: Suena and Yekora (Wilson 1969a,b,c, 1974, 1980, 1981, 1988a,b), Zia-Mawae (Wilson and Oida, Kamene), Binandere (King 1927, Capell 1969), Orokaiva (Chittleborough, Healey, and Isoroembo; Larsen and Larsen 1977, 1982), Ewage-Notu-Okeina (Parrington 1980, 1984), Baruga and Korafe (Farr and Farr). A comparative study of the Binandere family was carried out by Wilson with Farr, Larsen and Parrington (1986). Ethnographic materials have been produced about the Binandere (Barereba, 1964, Waiko 1982), Orokaiva (Williams 1928 and 1930, Schwimmer 1973) and the Korafe (Gnecchi-Ruscone 1991).

⁷ As the name suggests, the TNGP is a pan-New Guinea phylum which includes many members. It was first proposed by McElhanon and Voorhoeve (1970) and Wurm (1975, 1982) and recently supported by Pawley (1995) and Ross (1995).

1.3 ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

As is the case for many Papuan communities, significant features of the Korafe way of life include: (1) having a subsistence economy, (2) strong kinship ties that involve obligations and responsibilities extending beyond the nuclear family, and (3) the belief in an immanent supernatural spirit world and the exercise of magic powers to guarantee the well-being of the community and curb antisocial behaviour.

The Korafe derive their shelter, canoes and many of their basic household supplies, as well as their food from the land. Their houses are constructed on posts of kwila wood, with black palm flooring, mangrove framework, sago stem walls, and nipa palm leaf roofing. They hollow out their own canoes from large trees, like the *benomba* tree [*Octomeles sumatiana* (Urt.)]. The men weave fishnets (*voto*) from homemade pandanus twine. They make spears (*gika*), using black palm prongs (or metal joints from discarded umbrellas nowadays) and drums (*sino*) from rosewood and lizard skins. Women weave stringbags (*ati*) from homemade tulip tree bark string for carrying personal necessities, babies or garden produce. They make mats (*ghaito*) from pandanus leaves for sitting and sleeping. Mats are traded for clay pots (*okia*) produced by the Ubir people (Wanigela area villages) and for tapa cloth skirts and loincloths (*embo boka bovodu*) produced from the paper mulberry tree by Maisin women (Uiaku area villages). Hand brooms are readily available from the broom palm tree, and sections of sago midribs make effective dustpans.

In addition to utilising local materials, the Korafe avail themselves of what modern conveniences they can: axes, adzes, spades, nails, cloth and clothing, soap, aluminium pots, prefabricated fishnets, dyes, cotton thread, string and rope, and lanterns, as well as methylated spirits, kerosene and matches. Foodstuffs such as rice, tinned mackerel and corned beef, ship's biscuits, flour dumplings, sugar, coffee, tea, and milo are a welcome addition to the diet and standard fare at feasts.

The Korafe make gardens, using the swidden agriculture method. Most gardens are located on the fertile inland slopes of the Nelson Range rather than on the stony peninsulas of Cape Nelson. The south-east windy season from May to November (*ghaeko*) provides the dry weather needed to prepare new gardens. Both men and women are involved in garden making, but women weed and harvest the garden. At any one time, an industrious couple tries to have seven gardens. These include two to three old, but still productive ones, as well as five gardens with taro (*isia*) at various stages in their growth process. These stages include: *amuyo* 'taro at the mounding up stage', *kori* 'taro at the leafing stage', *ghavari* 'taro at the stage where it must be thinned out', *jeghi masa* 'rotting taro that must be removed', and *vare beká* 'real garden, a taro crop which is ready for harvesting'. Besides taro, the Korafe grow many varieties of sweet potato (*kuta*), yams (*koroma kuta*), manioc (*maevako*), bananas (*bijo*), and sugar cane (*jovu*) as well as pumpkin (*boyove*), corn, pitpit (*jimbatu*), aibica (*yaiti*) and other greens, pineapple, pawpaw (*kodurere*) and fruit trees such as mangoes, limes, guavas, soursop, and other local fruits.

Both men and women make sago (*ambe*) for feasts and to survive famine periods (*baimara*) during the rainy season from December to April. The men provide meat for their families and for feasts by fishing and by hunting for wild pigs (and wallabies in the

grasslands). Preparation, cooking, and serving the food are the responsibility of the women. These activities are performed jointly by the entire community when a feast is held.

Men initiate feast proceedings by calling on the other men of the village to help them discharge an obligation. As hosts, men must orchestrate an exuberant welcome for the guests. They must prove themselves to be solicitous of their male guests' needs, generous in their largesse, and eloquent. The major-domo, who has initiated the feast proceedings, is responsible for all food distribution. The women carry out their appointed activities in the background, observing proper etiquette, especially in presenting the food to the guests. A well-executed feast is a triumph for the men of the community, especially for the major-domo, enhancing his prestige (*binó*).

Korafe society is patrilineal and patrilocal. Children are members of their father's clan, which carries out the payment of bride price and other obligations to the mother's clan. Brides move in with their husband's family.

The clan system is Dakotan. All brothers and male cousins of one's father and husbands of mother's sisters and female cousins are called *afa* 'father', and their wives are called *aya* 'mother'. All parallel cousins are classificatory brothers and sisters. Older sisters and brothers (*aki koro*) have the responsibility for watching and teaching their younger siblings (*gagarako* and *mandako*). Brothers' families live in houses around one common and engage in many of their activities together.

Even though sisters leave home to marry, the relationship between brothers (*ruka*) and sisters (*ghasovu*) continues to be a strong bond throughout their lives, affecting their children as well. Affinal relationships occasion most of the exchange feasts: marriage, birth of the baby, clothing the toddler, giving the child shell jewellery, the 'coming of age' feast (*vujari*), and the series of feasts connected with death. Besides hosting these feasts with his wife, a man is obliged to help his affines with projects they are engaged in, e.g. pulling a canoe log out of the bush or building a house. Cross-cousins (*ghato*), who generally live in different villages, develop genuine friendships at such events. These linger on in joint ventures in which the cousins engage as adults, such as being dance partners or helping each other with feasts.

The *vasai* exchange feast arose from a social arrangement the Korafe clans have with each other. Leader (*kotofu*) clans bear the responsibility for protecting the interests of follower (*sabua*) clans. Settling disputes, presiding over discussions, and organising the activities of the confederation are the responsibilities of the leader of the leader clan (*kotofuko*). In the past, he also organised war parties and competitive trading partner (*vasai*) feasts. Each clan had its totems (*evovo*), its design which was painted on tapa cloth, and feathers and shells that it was allowed to wear dancing. Only the leader clans could put extra designs on their canoes and cut an edge strip off the leaf overhang on their roofs. The leader clans were to be wise men, who did not act precipitately or engage in sorcery practices. The follower clans could be hot-headed sorcerers. If they felt that their leader clan was not looking out for their interests, they would switch allegiance. The *vasai* feast was arranged when the entire confederation of clans believed they had enough domesticated pigs and garden produce to hold the feast. A gala affair with dancing pageantry, the feast had a more serious design. Each *kotofu* clan with its satellite *sabua*

clans wanted to display its prowess, by outgiving its *vasai* trading partner in the exchange of taro, coconuts, pig, sago bundles, and other foods.

The original Korafe *vasai*,⁸ which had two leader clans and their followers competing against two other leader clans and their followers, have been replaced by the following arrangement of single leader clans (with their followers) pitted against another confederation:

Bubu leader clan vs. *Yariyari* leader clan

Bedada leader clan vs. *Bujeje* leader clan

Gaso leader clan vs. *Tevari* leader clan

However, members of the *Bubu* clan explained to us that *vasai* feasts are no longer held, because the last feast in the 1950s had engendered hostility between the competitors. This subsequently resulted in a number of deaths in the *Bubu* clan which they attribute to sorcery.

In the last 20 years, the entire system of leader and follower clans has not seemed to operate as the Korafe detailed it to us. Unauthorised use of totems and designs is common. Follower clans cut the overhang strip from their roofs. Sometimes these infringements lead to heated discussions, but they continue to occur. Although people pay lip service to the idea that the leader clans control, in practice each man does what he wishes.

Nevertheless, the exchange that took place at the dedication of the Korafe–Mokorua New Testament held in conjunction with Saint Luke’s Day in 1984 appears to have been a *vasai* exchange. The platform on which the dignitaries stood was a traditional leaders’ *ghagha* with carved and painted posts built by the *Bubu* clan leader. The *Bubu* leader clan’s *sabua* clans, *Beghuma*, *Javosa* (and *Rerebing*), *Arere*, *Ameta*, and *Suriki*, announced their large food presentations by blowing conch shells. Representatives of the *Bubu* clan accepted and displayed their gifts. These were presented without ostentation to the *Yariyari* clan a few days later. The *Yariyari* clan for their part brought a huge quantity of food to the feast along with a cow. The exchanges appear to have been made without hostility.

A blend of religious practices exists among the Korafe. Many continue to hold their traditional beliefs in ancestral spirits, offering them gifts of food and invoking their aid for significant activities. Most Korafe are nominally Christians, belonging to the Anglican Church or another church in the area. Following church teaching, they openly express the belief that ‘good Christians’ cannot be involved in *kae jighari* ‘sorcery (lit. poison holding)’. But they acknowledge that sorcery, séances, divination, and astral projection are among the covert practices that still exist. Various types of sympathetic magic have long been the property of different clans, and in particular of the eldest men in the clans. Rain makers have been called in during droughts. During a particularly stormy time in 1979, the *Beghuma* clan practitioner responsible for ‘thunder (and lightning) control’ was taken to

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The original Korafe *vasai* were: (1) *Baure* and *Keghani* leader clans with their followers competing against *Touru* and *Yariyari* leader clans with their follower clans, and (2) *Tevari* and *Amboga* leader clans with their followers competing with *Bujeje* and *Gaso* leader clans and their followers. The *Touru* and *Amboga* clans have died out. The *Bubu* and *Bedada* leader clans are the modern descendants of the *Baure* clan. The *Kandoro* clan are the heirs of *Keghani*, but their role in the modern system is not clear to me.

court by the owners of four steer which had been struck. In recent years, the Korafe have been very concerned with resolving the question of what magic practices should be allowed in a Christian society and the related question of how they can handle sickness and drought without magic. Because of their ambivalence, the *Javosa* clan garden-magic practitioners died without specifically passing on their knowledge to any of their sons. Gneccchi-Ruscone (1991) has given an account of the issues as several magic practitioners explained them to her.

1.4 HISTORY OF CONTACT

The Korafe-Mokorua speech community stands at the juncture between Austronesian and Papuan language groups on the north coast of Papua New Guinea. Korafe *kiki* ‘traditional stories’ allege that their ancestors originally emerged from a hole in the ground between Nembadi and Ferorode in the Bareji River area. Some time in their prehistory they moved on to Ghooro near the mouth of the Musa River. About 150 years ago (according to oral traditions), they made a series of forced moves, related to clashes with the Baruga, Miniafia, and Ubir groups, and ended up at the head of Maclaren Harbour. They settled to the north and south, killing and marrying the Kerebi people,⁹ an Austronesian group living in the area.

The Mokorua (or Yegha) people¹⁰ were located with the Yega group near Gona (Killerton), north of Oro Bay. They also migrated to the Cape Nelson headlands, settling mostly toward the north end of the cape. Their specific movements are not currently reconstructable. The Mokorua now speak Korafe but regard themselves as a distinct group from the Korafe.¹¹

Located among the Korafe-Mokorua community are the Arifama people,¹² who speak a dialect of Miniafia, a language group living south of the Korafe, mostly on the north side of Collingwood Bay. The Miniafia-Arifama speech community belongs to the Austronesian family (see Map 3). The Korafe have borrowed from neighbouring Austronesian groups a number of lexical items, particularly those pertaining to canoes, fish, and root crop varieties (e.g. *ghaka* ‘canoe’, *samono* ‘outrigger’ and *sia* ‘fish’).

⁹ Monckton (1921:19) describes his initial impressions of the Kaili Kaili (Korafe) group who inhabited Cape Nelson as “the remnants of tribes shattered by attack from either the Doriri, Maisina, or Binandere people: and also the remnants of a tribe frightfully weakened by an eruption of Mount Victory”.

The Korafe arrival at Tufi may have occurred around 1880, shortly after Mount Victory (Kerorova) erupted. The Kerebi certainly were unable to withstand the Korafe incursion. Stone-Wigg Nunisa has written an account of the Korafe destruction and burning of the Kerebi village, Aitomina. Inter-marriage and general assimilation also occurred. Many Korafe trace their ancestry to Kerebi forebears and use it for claiming land rights.

When we arrived in the Tufi area in 1972, only a few Kerebi speakers were left mostly at Kasiava and Koafurina, and they were bilingual in Korafe. A word list was recorded at Kasiava.

¹⁰ Some of the group prefer to call themselves Yegha; others use the term Mokorua to distinguish themselves from the Yega located further north.

¹¹ The Mokorua people report that they consciously chose to use the Korafe dialect in the early 1950s instead of their own, to protect their children from ridicule by Korafe children at school. Their dialect still surfaces in a few of their labels for lexical items (e.g. *babotari* for *bunari* ‘not to know, to doubt’, *baonako* for *tufako* ‘short’) and in the speech of older members of the community.

¹² The Arifama live at Amuioan, Berubona 1 and 2, Founa, Tumari, and Natukwaba.

The first recorded contact of 'Europeans' with the Korafe (Synge 1908:101-102) was made in the 1890s. The 'Merrie England' (called *Mirigina* locally) brought William MacGregor on his initial expedition up the north coast in 1890. During an expedition in which the Anglican missionary, Albert Maclaren, joined MacGregor, they directly contacted the Korafe at Maclaren Harbour.

In June of 1900 the first Resident Magistrate of the North Eastern Division, C.A.W. Monckton, began setting up the government station at Tufi. After a few tense incidents including Komburua's poisoning of the water supply, the Korafe (called Kaili Kaili by neighbouring language groups) became workers on the station, carriers on patrols, and eventually part of the constabulary. Monckton (1921:19-21,31,47-48; 1900: Archive No.111A, report to government secretary) records his early contacts with the Kaili Kaili leader Giwi¹³ at Waiamata and the "Mokoru" leader, Paitoto.

The new Government brought changes to the Korafe way of life. Complying with the government's regulations, they built outhouses, made cemeteries, maintained village paths, fenced in pigs, planted coconuts, and, with the passing of the Native Taxes Ordinance in 1918, paid taxes. The early access they gained to the government enabled them to obtain Western goods and training, as well as power in the Division, because they accompanied the new government on pacification expeditions in the Division (e.g. the Dobodura campaign recorded by Monckton 1921:189-207).

Serving as carriers on patrols with the colonial government and as members of the Armed Native Constabulary, many of the Korafe became fluent in Police (now Hiri) Motu, the lingua franca the police force used throughout Papua. As a result, the Korafe have borrowed many Motu words, like *kerere* 'mistake', *egeregere* 'equivalent to' and *badina* 'because' which they use as well as the traditional words. However, the borrowing was not all one way. Hiri Motu now has the Korafe word *kiki* 'to tell a story, yarn',¹⁴ as one of its basic vocabulary items.

After the Division was pacified, the men were recruited as indentured labourers for plantations, mining and other business ventures. All of these experiences widened their world view.

In 1934, Fr A.H. Lambton opened the Anglican Mission station at Sefoa. The Korafe welcomed the education and medical facilities the church provided for them. Their acceptance of the church further changed their lifestyle. For instance, church day feasts have become a functional substitute for the *vasai* competitive trading partner feasts, with other church parishes replacing the *vasai* as partners in the feast. The Anglican church

¹³ Monckton's spelling of names does not correspond to the Korafe spelling. Giwi's granddaughter, Helen Wonu from Baga village, informed me that his name was *Jivu* 'tears'. On the other hand, the Korafe transliteration of Monckton is *Motan*. However, English spellings rather than transliterations are used for writing most contemporary proper nouns (i.e. baptismal names and names of currently existing places), and numbers are symbolised by numerals in this thesis, in deference to strong Korafe preferences.

¹⁴ Dutton (1987:120-121) posits that the word *kiki* entered Police Motu at Tufi, but it probably came from speakers of the related Binandere language, not from Korafe directly. The Binandere chief Bousimai was imprisoned at Tufi, the headquarters for the North-Eastern Division of Papua, and his sons were among the first policemen in the constabulary there. It is probable that they and their extended families whiled the nights away entertaining the police force and workers by telling *kiki*.

brought the Austronesian language Wedau to the area and used it in the mission schools at Sefoa and Orede before 1950. And the Korafe have borrowed a number of Wedau words, particularly words relating to church activities, such as *ogobada* 'church councillor', *tafaroro* 'worship service', and *fari* 'prayer'.

Korafe involvement in World War II further expanded their horizons. Education became very important to the Korafe. Many have not only received a primary education (conducted in English¹⁵ since the early 1950s) but have advanced to secondary education and moved out into employment positions in the population centres of Papua New Guinea. Some have received tertiary education in universities in Papua New Guinea and abroad.

Although it is true that the educated Korafe were moving to Lae and other urban centres in the early 1960s where Tok Pisin is spoken, Tok Pisin was not spoken in the Tufi area very much before 1975, when Independence brought patrol officers and other government officials from the 'New Guinea side' into the Tufi area.

Community leaders have participated actively in local politics since the early 1900s and in provincial and national politics since Papua New Guinea's independence in 1975.¹⁶

1.5 ORTHOGRAPHIC AND OTHER PHONOLOGICAL NOTES

Korafe has a modest phonological inventory of 14 consonants and 5 vowels. The orthography for Korafe is represented by the following set of symbols, 14 representing consonants: *b, t, d, k, g, m, n, f, v, s, j, r, y* and the digraph *gh*, and 5 representing oral vowels: *i, e, a, o, u*.

The orthographic symbols for Korafe consonants represent the following phonemes noted in slashes / / and allophones noted in brackets [].

Symbol	Phoneme	Description	Allophones
<i>b</i>	/b/	voiced bilabial plosive	[b/mb]
<i>t</i>	/t/	voiceless aspirated alveolar plosive	[tʰ]
<i>d</i>	/d/	voiced alveolar plosive	[d/nd]
<i>k</i>	/k/	voiceless aspirated velar plosive	[kʰ]
<i>g</i>	/g/	voiced velar plosive	[g/ng]
<i>m</i>	/m/	voiced bilabial nasal	[m]
<i>n</i>	/n/	voiced alveolar nasal	[n]
<i>f</i>	/f/	voiceless bilabial fricative	[f]
<i>v</i>	/v/	voiced bilabial fricative	[v/w]

¹⁵ In the early 1950s English became the official language in the schools. English has now become a major source of new vocabulary items. Some examples are: *masisi* 'matches', *sikuru* 'school', *sisima* 'steamer', *maketa e* 'sell (lit. market do)' and *yus(i) e* 'use'. The English numeral system is preferred; Korafe numbers above 20 are rarely used. Even English grammatical patterns have an influence on Korafe. Inanimate nouns are not marked for plurality. Nevertheless, the collective word *mane* (which, for the Korafe, is equivalent to the English {-s}) is used orally and in written texts in combinations like *jighomane* 'pick combs' and *kambomane* 'houses'.

¹⁶ These and other details are contained in government records in the archives in Port Moresby and Canberra.

Symbol	Phoneme	Description	Allophones
<i>s</i>	/s/	voiceless alveolar fricative	[s]
<i>j</i>	/dʒ/	voiced palato-alveolar affricate	[dʒ/ndʒ]
<i>gh</i>	/ɣ/	voiced velar fricative	[ɣ/nyɣ]
<i>r</i>	/ɾ/	voiced alveolar flap/tap	[ɾ, l]
<i>y</i>	/j/	voiced palatal approximant	[j]

The orthographic symbols for the oral set of Korafe vowels represent the following phonemes and allophones.

Symbol	Phoneme	Description	Allophones
<i>i</i>	/i/	close front vowel	[i/iə]
<i>e</i>	/e/	close-mid front vowel	[e/ɛ/eə]
<i>a</i>	/a/	open central vowel	[a/a/ai]
<i>o</i>	/o/	close-mid back rounded vowel	[o/ɔ]
<i>u</i>	/u/	close back rounded vowel	[u]

The orthographic symbols for the corresponding set of nasalised vowels represent the following phonemes.¹⁷

Symbol	Phoneme	Allophones
<i>in/im</i> ¹⁸	/ĩ/	[ĩ]
<i>en/em</i>	/ẽ/	[ẽ/ẽ̃]
<i>an/am/ã</i> ¹⁹	/ã/	[ã/ã̃]
<i>on/om</i>	/õ/	[õ/õ̃]
<i>un/um</i>	/ũ/	[ũ]

¹⁷ In Farr and Farr (1974:8-9), nasal consonants (both nasals and prenasalised plosives) were said to condition nasalised vowels, which were viewed as allophones of oral vowels. Neutralisation of contrast between voiced plosives and voiced pre-nasalised plosives was said to occur following a syllable with a nasal onset and a processually nasalised vowel.

However, non-processually nasalised vowels also occur in quite a number of Korafe words. Therefore, the question now is: are all pre-nasalised plosives the result of contact assimilation of voiced plosives with preceding nasalised vowels? The following synchronic evidence does not support a phonemic series of pre-nasalised plosives in Korafe.

(1) When some words are partially reduplicated, the reduplicated syllable is not prenasalised. Thus, for *embo* 'person', the resultant form is *embobo* 'people', not **embombo*. Likewise, partial reduplication of *imboti* 'mother-in-law' results in *imboboti* 'mothers-in-law'.

(2) Evidence from word-play games for the most part supports a nasalised vowel rather than pre-nasalised plosives. The word *jingabu* 'snake' is scrambled as *bugajin*; *sumbira* 'he ran' is scrambled as *birasum*.

(3) Unlike other languages in the Binandere family Korafe does not have word-initial pre-nasalised plosives:

Mado Baruga [mbu] 'get' (Korafe [bu]),

Mado Baruga [ndi] 'bird' (Korafe [ɾiɔ.kʰa]), and

Ewage [ŋga] 'canoe' (Korafe [ɣa.kʰa]).

Thus, nasalised vowels occur unambiguously in the corpus, and pre-nasalised plosives do not. This alters the analysis, but does not affect the orthography.

¹⁸ Nasalised vowels are written as *vowel* + *n* before '*d*', '*g*', '*j*', '*gh*' and at word breaks and as *vowel* + *m* before '*b*'.

¹⁹ The Korafe word for 'and' is written as *ã*, a compromise that accommodates both those speakers who do pronounce it as nasalised and those who do not.

Vowel length²⁰ is phonemic and is written as VV. Heterogeneous vowel sequences occur as bimoric complex nuclei in syllable rhymes. The oral set includes all possible combinations but 'uo'. The nasal set is limited, with only the second vowel being nasalised in several cases: 'iā', 'iū', 'eĩ', 'eũ' 'aĩ' 'oĩ', and 'uĩ'. A few words exhibit lengthened vowels occurring in heterogeneous vowel sequences as complex V₁V₂V₂ nuclei in a syllable (e.g. *aii* 'yes', *kiuun* 'sneeze').

Korafe has the following syllable patterns: V, CV, VV, CVV, VVV, CVVV.

Korafe words are stress-timed, with longer words pronounced in approximately the same time as shorter words. Primary stress within a word is associated with a 'heavy' syllable, a syllable which is uttered for a longer duration than the other syllables in the word. For instance, a spectrograph of an utterance of *beka* ['beə.khə] 'mouth' indicates that [beə] was uttered for 2.29 seconds and [khə] for 1.69 seconds. In a similar word *biká* [biə.'kha] 'sister-in-law' receiving stress on its second syllable, [biə] was uttered for 1.36 seconds and [kha] for 2.29 seconds. A heavy syllable may also manifest increased amplitude and a higher pitch.

Stress is predictable for most of the words in Korafe. Non-verbs and verb stems manifest word stress on: (1) the initial syllable of words with two syllables (2) the second syllable of words with more than two syllables, or (3) the first (C)VV(V) syllable (when this pattern occurs). In inflected verb forms,²¹ stress falls on the initial vowel of vowel-initial suffixes following either the verb stem or an imperfective morpheme when one occurs in post-stem position. When an imperfective morpheme is not present and the suffix begins with a consonant, stress falls on the stem vowel or the classificatory vowel. Where stress is not predictable, an acute (') accent is written over the most sonorous vowel in the stressed syllable.

Some basic Korafe intonation contours are illustrated in Chapter 4. More detailed information on allophonic variation, phonotactics, and other aspects of Korafe phonology is given in Farr and Farr (1974:5-38).

1.6 TYPOLOGY

Korafe is morphologically agglutinating, primarily hosting suffixes and enclitics. It exhibits both head-marking and dependent-marking strategies:

	head-marking	dependent-marking
clauses	predicates auxiliary verbs	oblique arguments
noun phrases	nouns	qualifiers possessors

²⁰ In Farr and Farr (1974:26), this vowel length was interpreted as word tone. And a slight down-glide often does accompany the lengthened vowel.

²¹ There are two other subsidiary rules for the today's past and future tense paradigms that constitute exceptions to this general rule. These are: (1) stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable when a today's past tense verb form has more than two syllables (e.g. *séteni* 'I said', *téndeni* 'I lashed', but *béni* 'I got'), and (2) stress perturbs from the initial syllable of the future tense suffix to the second syllable when the focused element in the clause is not the verb (e.g. *Na yárena* 'I will go', *Na Tufi yaréna* 'I will go to Tufi').

The unmarked order of core constituents in the clause is subject–object–verb (SOV), but word order of clausal constituents is fairly free with the one stipulation that the verb be last. In fact, the verb is the only constituent of the clause that obligatorily occurs. Any argument that is recoverable from the discourse context or the external deictic situation can be elided.

Korafe distinguishes two major open word classes: nominals and verbs. Nominals include words that correspond to the categories: noun, qualifier, quantifier, numerator, and adverb in English. Processes that apply to nominals include inflecting for plurality, intensity, and/or specific focus, but nominals usually occur without inflections. As is typical for Papuan languages, verbs are morphologically complex, undergoing agglutinating and fusional processes which link stems with their corresponding inflections. Verb forms differ from nominals in the inflectional categories they host, intensification strategies, and the stress rules that apply to them.

Closed word classes having referential function in discourse are personal pronouns, interrogatives/indefinites, and demonstratives-deictics. Other closed word classes include: postpositions, conjunctions, and sentential focus markers. Interjections, response words and greetings are numerically limited, but the Korafe repertoire is expanding to include English interjections and responses.

Postpositions often cliticise to the preceding noun phrase or sentence base that they relate to a larger construction or to the discourse deictic context. They function as: (1) semantic case role markers, (2) markers of pragmatic functions, and (3) modal indicators. Markers of semantic case roles and pragmatic functions are enumerated, and their function(s) with noun phrases are specified in Chapter 3. Some combinations of these postpositions with nominals, personal pronouns, demonstratives, and interrogatives/indefinites are lexically frozen (e.g. *sovenida* ‘across from’, *etoda* ‘on top of’, *ikáda*, *dengesida* ‘beside’, all nominals occurring with the general locative postposition *da* to specify a position).

Epistemic and deontic modals terminate sentence bases and left-dislocated themes. The speaker uses these indicators to declare his or her orientation or attitude towards the deictic situation detailed. They include: *vae* ‘I’m exasperated’, *ta* ‘I’m annoyed’, *tano* ‘probably so’, *tanojo* ‘perhaps’, *asi* ‘certainly (*a-si*, that-say.II.evidential indicating reported speech)’, *re* ‘relevant to the immediate deictic situation’ and the related demonstrative sets *ere*, *are*, *ore* which spatially link the event to the speaker, the addressee, or some place away from both.

Four personal pronoun stems occur in Korafe: *na* ‘I’, *ni* ‘you’, *nu* ‘he, she, it’, and *ne* ‘you (PL)/they’. Frozen combinations of these stems with enclitics are used to make dual and plural as well as first person inclusive and exclusive distinctions. Only pronominal stems occur with the actor focus suffix *-ne* and the limiter *-suka* ‘only’. The nominal *tofo/totofo* ‘self/selves’ is used as a reflexive form or to emphasise the subject in a clause (which is usually a pronoun). Reciprocal relationships are signalled by *tofo tofo*.

Interrogative and indefinite words arise from four basic stems. Two are basically pronominal: *ave/mave* ‘who’ and *re* ‘what’. The referential specifier *-jo* (*avejo* ‘who specifically?’) and semantic case role and pragmatic function markers occur with these two

pronominal forms. The stem *ningi* ‘which’ always combines with forms that are based on the demonstrative *a* ‘that’ (*ningiá* ‘which one?’). The verb stem *nange* ‘how (lit. do what)’ is the only Korafe verb that may be followed by the comparative postposition *go/ga*. In content questions, the question word retains the same position in the clause as its antecedent except in the case of subject where OSV order often occurs.

All members of the Binandere family manifest the same three-way set of demonstrative stems: *e* ‘this near the speaker’, *a* ‘that near the addressee’, and *o* ‘that away from both’. Markers of pragmatic functions directly follow demonstratives (*amo* ‘regarding that one’, *ava* ‘that as opposed to any others’). Modal enclitics also occur with the demonstrative set (*amasi* ‘regarding that certain one’). Semantic case role markers or the pro-verb *ge* ‘do (FOCUS)’ follow one of the pragmatic effector of change markers *i* or *mi* (*aindae* ‘on account of that’, *aminda* ‘there’, *aminge* ‘do thus’). The term ‘deictics’²² encompasses the entire range of demonstrative-based forms.

Korafe contrasts with some Papuan²³ languages in having upwards of 20 conjunctions and conjunction complexes, which are related to demonstrative forms and/or same-subject medial verb forms. An inventory of these forms and their functions in co-ranking sentences is catalogued in Chapter 8. Their function in SRCs is outlined in §6.2.4.

Sentential focus particles include the negative focus marker *jo* ‘not’, the proposition specifier *nu* ‘this proposition selected from the available ones’, *taká* ‘just, frustratingly’. Sentential focus words such as *avose* ‘perhaps (lit. that.CT.say)’ and *avori* ‘all right (lit. that.CT.COP)’ may also occur in isolation as response words. Other than *jo* which precedes the negated constituent in focus, these sentential focus markers either occur sentence-initially or following the subject and are often set off by pauses from the rest of the sentence. Tag markers for polar questions (e.g. *ai* ‘yes?’, *ai tefo* ‘yes or no?’) also belong to this class. However, they are set off at the terminus of the sentence by pauses.

Interjections (termed *yove* in Korafe) are a small set of uninflected words and fixed expressions that the Korafe employ to express emotional reactions (e.g. *mará* ‘what a shame’, *arie* ‘wow!’). Among the response words and expressions the Korafe use are: *aavori* ‘that’s sufficient’, *aii* ‘yes’, and *aiyakoe* or *tanik yu* ‘thank you’. Like the sentential focus particles, interjections and response words may be set off from an accompanying sentence by pauses; but more normally they are uttered in isolation associated with an intonation contour that can display considerable pitch variation. Greetings and farewells (termed *ategi* in Korafe) occur in isolation or with a vocative expression. The current daily greeting *Sifo eveva!* ‘Good day! (lit. day good)’ has largely replaced the traditional greetings using present tense forms of verbs (e.g. *Iresa!* ‘You are staying!’, *Refesa!* ‘You are coming!’, *Ravasi!* ‘You have slept!’). Command forms of verbs (e.g. *Anumbeyo!* ‘Sit!’, *Iyo!* ‘Go!’, *Aviyo!* ‘Sleep!’) continue to be used as farewells. Interjections and other utterances that are shouted at a distance terminate with an *-o*.

²² For more information on Korafe demonstratives and deictics, see Farr and Whitehead (1982:64-80).

²³ Foley (1990:3) lists only two coordinating conjunctions for Yimas. Reesink (1987:82-86) lists six coordinators, subordinators, and comitative connectives for Usan.

As already noted, nominals subsume the following categories: nouns, qualifiers, quantifiers, and numerators. These categories differ semantically in terms of the number of “time-stable” properties (Givón 1984:51-56) they possess. For example, prototypical nouns denoting “concrete, physical, compact entities” have a cluster of time-stable properties, but prototypical qualifying adjectives “involve only a single property/quality”. Although nominal subcategories are not morphologically differentiated, they differ in function and distribution, particularly in the limiters and intensifiers that occur with them.

Nouns are the only nominals that can be modified by more than two modifying constituents in noun phrases, and they are the only nominals that can be used to possess other nominals. The genitive postpositional phrase (NP+*da*) is the only pre-head constituent of standard NPs. Plurality is marked primarily on nouns that reference animate or human entities, by a collective morpheme (*-mane*, *-mono*, *mesiri*, *jamena*) or by reduplicating the initial CV (*genembo*→*gegenembo* ‘man/men’, *evetu*→*evevetu* ‘woman/women’). A few nouns indicating kinship relationships are inalienably possessed (*nimamo* ‘your father (lit. 2S.father)’, *nei* ‘your mother (lit. 2S.mother)’²⁴). Proper names referring to human entities and kinship address terms may be uttered in isolation or set off by pause(s) from the main sentence as vocatives. A diminutive suffix *-ko* optionally follows vocatives. Place names with locative function occur without the locative postposition *da* ‘at, in, to, into’.

Qualifiers, quantifiers, and numerators are restricted subsets of nominals, with qualifiers being the largest. Their order in noun phrases is:

noun (qualifier) (quantifier/numerator)

Qualifiers encode the following semantic categories: colour, age, human propensity, value, physical property, dimension, and position (see Dixon 1982:16-26). Some qualifiers, mostly those encoding dimensions or physical properties, reduplicate their initial CV to indicate plurality of the noun they modify (*ghousa*→*ghoghousa* ‘long’, *kitako*→*kikitako* ‘little’). In antonym sets, the positive quality (e.g. *eveva* ‘good’, *mindafu* ‘big’) may be intensified by adding *-go* (*evevago*, *mindafugo*). A number of their antonyms are fixed forms that occur with *-ko* (e.g. *eko* ‘bad’, *ijoghako* ‘little’).

Quantifiers are a small subset (less than 20) that encode quantity less precisely than do numerators, in terms of mass and/or divided reference (e.g. *isambu* ‘all, every’, *eni* ‘a, another’, *mendeni* ‘some, several’).

The traditional counting system includes both a binary base (e.g. 1, 2, 2+1) and a quinary-vigesimal system based on counting on both hands and feet to reach a total man at 20 (e.g. 5: *ghabu soveni* ‘across the hand’, 10: *ghabu soveni soveni* ‘across two hands’, 20: *genembo dabako* ‘one man’, 40: *genembo etoto* ‘two man’). Plural numerators under 5 optionally occur with the limiter *naká* ‘in all’. Tally nominals for enumerating groups of feast items like taro, coconuts and sago bundles are also used.

²⁴ In the juncture that occurs in inalienably possessed kinship terms, when vowels occur at the sandhi, they assimilate to each other. Thus, *i+a*→*e* and *u+a*→*o*, as illustrated in:
ni ‘you’ + *ai* ‘mother’ → *nei* ‘your mother’ and *nu* ‘he/she’ + *ai* ‘mother’ → *noi* ‘his/her/their mother’.

Nominals also serve as the base for a number of adverbial²⁵ modifiers and modifying expressions, which function as intensifiers and limiters, verbal and sentential modifiers. These modifiers are lexicalised combinations of nouns and postpositions (e.g. *totoigo* ‘quickly (lit. speed.with.like)’, *sekago* ‘again (lit. new.like)’). In NPs, intensifiers directly follow the qualifier or quantifier they modify. When modifying predicates, intensifiers and other adverbial modifiers precede the predicates.

In contrast with nominals, most verbs have two stems (I and II). Only stem II forms may occur with an imperfective morpheme. Serial stem forms and medial verb forms occur in sentence-medial position and relate in status and temporality to the time of a following final verb. Final verbs (dependent and independent) host inflections for status/tense-aspect-mood, person and number of subject, and speech-act value.

Complex expressions consisting of a nominal and a generic verb such as ‘do’, ‘say’, ‘see’, ‘hit’, ‘spear’, ‘continue, do again’, ‘hold’ and ‘get’ are common in Korafe. They indicate activities (e.g. *yaru e* ‘(do) battle’, *saramana e* ‘(do) work’), inner states (e.g. *ivuga e* ‘be happy’, *riria e* ‘be excited’), qualities (e.g. *fakina e* ‘be strong’), and time (*ungobu erira* ‘it is becoming late afternoon’, *tumba jirira* ‘night has fallen’). Some are semantically opaque: *dubo bu* ‘love (lit. neck get)’, *eghovo fakara e* ‘to set one’s resolve (lit. chin hard do)’.

As is common in Papuan languages, Korafe makes extensive use of chaining constructions, in which verbal constituents are in a “coordinate-dependent”²⁶ relationship. Serial verb constructions (SVCs), formed by the serialisation of verb stems with a terminal medial or final verb, commonly occur as a constituent of medial verb chaining constructions, termed switch-reference constructions (SRCs). SRCs indicate the following relationships between adjacent clauses: (1) a temporal sequencing or overlap relationship and (2) identity or non-identity of subject. Co-lexicalised and periphrastic sequences of serial and medial verbs act as a unit to encode direction–movement, cause–effect, completion of activity, rhythmic iteration and other semantic notions and aspects.

Information is structured in sentences by the order of arguments and by pragmatic markers. Although SOV is the default clausal order of core arguments in a clause, OSV occurs when the object has pragmatic topic function and the subject pragmatic focus function. In most of these instances, one of the two arguments is additionally marked by a postposition indicating its pragmatic function, which often cliticises to a demonstrative: *(a)mo* ‘that (topic/theme)’, *(a)va* ‘that (contrastive theme/focus)’ *(a)il(a)imi* ‘that (contrastive and controlling theme/focus)’. These markers also link dependent bases to independent bases in co-ranking hypotactic sentence arrangements where each base terminates with a final verb. These dependent bases are basically the topical ‘point of departure’ that provides the context within which the independent base is operative. Corresponding to adverbial clauses, relative clauses and complement clauses in English,

²⁵ There is one word *ufena* ‘secretly’, which is of uncertain origin, but has adverbial function. A few adverbial modifiers are derived from verbs. Manner can be encoded by negative deverbal forms such as *sembae* ‘wrongly (lit. not cross)’. The notion of manner can also be encoded by the initial verb in some SVCs.

²⁶ This term is from Foley (1986:177).

they realise the protasis in conditional sentences, the frustrated proposition in adversative sentences, the result in result–reason sentences, and also the unembedded, internally-headed ‘relative constructions’ in Korafe. Dependent bases that are not set off by pauses embed as complements or relative clauses within the independent base.

The chaining sentence structure has received much attention in the literature on Papuan languages. However, it is not the only sentential option available to Korafe. The co-ranking sentence structure, in which each base terminates with a final verb, is also employed by the Korafe. Co-ranking structures manifest either hypotactic relationships, like those mentioned in the previous paragraph, or paratactic relationships, where both bases are independent and linked by a coordinating conjunction. The Korafe make use of both structures in conversation and in oral and written discourse.

Chaining structures are designed to relate information that depends on temporal succession. In chaining constructions, noun phrases that are recoverable from the discourse or deictic context are elided. This reduction in noun phrases brings with it a corresponding focus on the events represented by the verbs in chaining structures. The order of the verbs in chaining structures is non-reversible and mirrors the order of the events they represent in the real world. This tense-iconic focus on events makes chaining structures choice vehicles for expressing the foregrounded story-line in narratives, legends, procedures, and portions of other discourses in which iconic ordering is a key feature.

Co-ranking sentences are juxtaposed or joined by conjunctions, which encode logical relationships between the bases. These structures often expound descriptive and explanatory discourses. They are also utilised for argumentation in hortatory and epistolary discourses. Background information in tense-iconic discourses often is given by suspending the chaining structure and using co-ranking structures.

1.7 METHODS AND MATERIALS

The data used in preparing this book were primarily collected in the village of Baga, where my husband and I began research as members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in 1972. They come from a variety of sources. Some are spontaneous spoken texts recorded on tape, transcribed and checked with informants. Others are written materials produced and edited in Korafe writers’ workshops involving about 30 Korafe men and women (see Farr and Farr 1979, 1980a,b,c; Farr and Seko 1978; Nunisa 1993). Some examples have been taken from the Korafe New Testament, revised by three different teams of men and women and published in 1984. Texts collected after 1981, re-edited texts, and sentences elicited from a committee of three men and checked by other Korafe speakers have also provided some of the examples. A concordance of the spontaneous spoken texts and the written texts gathered before 1981 was compiled and processed at the SIL Computer Laboratory at Ukarumpa in 1981. It consists of 61,053 morphemes.

Among the materials prepared in the vernacular are primers and reading books for use in Korafe pre-schools as well as a New Testament and an Anglican Prayer Book with hymns included. Work on a Korafe–English dictionary (Nunisa et al. forthcoming) is in progress, with more than 5,000 entries currently. Published technical materials include a preliminary

phonology (Farr and Farr 1974), an analysis of the effects contact with the Western world has had on Korafe society (C.J.M. Farr 1974), a morphological sketch (Farr and Farr 1975), and articles on the uses of 'come' and 'go' (C.J.M. Farr 1976), causation (J. Farr 1980), conjunctions (C. Farr 1981), focus spaces (J. Farr 1981), topic, contrast and control (Farr et al. 1981), demonstratives (Farr and Whitehead 1982), explanation in Korafe and English (Farr, Lowe, and Whitehead 1985), and the switch-reference system (C.J.M. Farr 1993).

CHAPTER 2

KORAFE VERBS

Korafe verbs function as the only obligatory constituent in clauses or simple sentences, usually occurring clause-finally.

Verb forms can be distinguished at three levels of structural complexity reflecting the number and kind of affixes: stem, non-finite forms, and finite forms with absolute or relative tense markers. From the perspective of syntactic function, these stems, non-finite and finite forms are used as predicating verbs in two basic sentence types termed by Longacre (1985:258) “co-ranking” and “chaining” sentences.

Korafe co-ranking sentences are made up of clauses with predicating verbs at the same level of structural complexity: finite verb forms with absolute tense markers. Chaining structures commonly manifest verbs with differing levels of structural complexity, internal verbs being less finite or temporally specified than the terminal verb. Stems are the basic non-final verbal components of serial verb chaining constructions (SVCs). Both non-finite and finite verb forms with relative tense markers terminate internal clauses in switch-reference constructions (SRCs). Verbs occurring as non-final components of SRCs are called medial verbs because of their *ipso facto* distribution sentence-medially and their general inability to function as isolated utterances. SRCs manifest the same iconic order as the events they represent and track the salient referent in tense-iconically ordered discourses.

The terms *marking* clause and *reference* clause (Haiman and Munro 1983:xii) are used to facilitate the description of interclausal relationships in SRCs in Korafe. Marking clauses precede reference clauses and use reference clauses as their standard of temporal and referential comparison. A medial verb terminating a marking clause is marked to indicate that the event it represents precedes (sequencing: SEQ) or overlaps with (simultaneous: SIM) the event expressed by the reference clause. The medial verb in the marking clause also signals coreferentiality of subject (marked SS) or shift of subject reference (marked DS) between the two clauses. Reference clauses serve as marking clauses for subsequent adjacent clauses in SRCs, except for SRC terminal reference clauses which terminate with final verbs.

(1) Stems

The verb stem conveys the lexical meaning¹ of the verb. Almost every verb stem has two forms: a basic stem and a derived stem. The basic one is termed stem I and the derived one stem II.

Stem I forms consist of a root (unanalysable form) and a class vowel: *-e*, *-i*, or *-u*.

- 2.1 a. *sé* b. *íti* c. *gémбу²*
 say.I cook.I write.I

Although these usually occur in combination with affixes, they also function as the abrupt imperative singular form (example 2.2) and as internal nuclear components of serial verb constructions, like *gémбу* ‘write’ and *víti* ‘ascend’ in 2.3.

- 2.2 a. Geka *sé!* b. Bayau *íti!* c. Ghaito *gémбу!*
 talk say.I food cook.I mat write.I
 ‘Speak!’ ‘Cook the food!’ ‘Sew the mat!’

- 2.3 ...ghaka *gémбу víti* y-á...
 canoe write.I ascend.I go.DUR-SEQ.DUR.IR.SS
 ‘...we pole the canoe and go up...’

Based on the class vowel terminating stem I forms, verbs can be divided into three conjugation classes: *e*-verbs, *i*-verbs, and *u*-verbs.

Stem II forms are derived from stem I forms by a variety of processes. These include a final-vowel shift, partial stem reduplication, addition of {-*ut*} ‘do several instances of X’, and stem suppletion. Stem II forms terminate with one of two vowels, *-i* or *-u*,³ termed characteristic vowels. There is no synchronically predictable correspondence between the verb class based on the stem I vowels, and whether a particular stem II verb ends in *-i* or *-u*.

¹ Although one English gloss is usually assigned to a particular verb stem, it is misleadingly narrow. For the sake of space, verb stems are consistently given a single gloss in the paradigms in this chapter, e.g. ‘write’ for *gémбу* (see following footnote).

Although glossing is a bit less consistent in interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme translations, depending on the context, the gloss is usually the approximation that saves space. For example, the verb *de* glossed ‘hit’ generally means: ‘make forcible contact with a surface or an entity (person or object)’. The verb *se* is glossed ‘say’, but it also means ‘utter, produce a sound’.

² The literal meaning of the Korafe verb *gémбу* is ‘make a semicircular motion with the arm (or hand)’. This includes activities subsumed under the English verbs: ‘write’, ‘paint’, ‘sew (a running stitch)’, ‘weave’ and ‘pole (a canoe)’. Because the literal gloss is too long, the verb ‘write’ is arbitrarily selected to be used in the morpheme-by-morpheme gloss. The free translation reflects the meaning in the actual context.

³ Korafe verbs manifest this *-i/-u* alternation both in the characteristic vowel terminating verb stem II forms and in the speech act value marker discussed in §2.3.1.3. The feature [+coronal] appears to be a conditioning factor. The general process, $v \rightarrow -i / \text{CVNC}[\text{+coronal}] \text{ — } \#$ in verb stem II forms, applies most of the time in Korafe, but not always. The bulk of Korafe (C)VV verbs behave like *davu* ‘paddle’, but *avi* ‘sleep/burn’ also occurs. Both *tusu* ‘yank out’ and *musi* ‘(leaves) drop off’ occur, but Korafe younger speakers (under 35 years old) are regularising *tusu* to *tusi*.

- 2.4 a. *si* b. *itutu* c. *gefu*
 say.II cook.II write.II

Although usually used in combination with affixes (example 2.5), they occasionally occur in serial verb constructions when the action described is inherently durative (see 2.6).

- 2.5 a. *si-r-ur-ono* b. *gefu-sira*
 say.II-EPEN-IPF-SIM.IR.1S.DS write.II-DP.3S.FN
 ‘while I will be speaking’ ‘he wrote’

- 2.6 Na *geka-é si f-ena embako e-teni.*
 1S talk-this say.II come.DUR-SEQ.PAST.1S.SS old.man do.I-TP.1S.AQ
 ‘I have come along saying this talk until I’ve become an old man.’

The overt realisation of class vowels or characteristic vowels in the surface structure of verb forms is contingent on phonological processes affecting morpheme junctures. These processes are described below in §(7).

(2) Non-finite verb forms

Non-finite verb forms are inflected verbs that are not marked for person. Deverbal forms and SS medial verb forms are non-finite forms, composed of a verb stem and an invariable suffix.

Both positive and negative deverbal forms occur with stem I. Positive deverbals take the suffix *-ari*: *X(stem)-ari* ‘to X, X-ing’.

- 2.7 a. *s-ari* b. *it-ari* c. *gemb-ari*
 say.I-DVB cook.I-DVB write.I-DVB
 ‘to speak/speaking’ ‘to cook/cooking’ ‘to write/writing’

Negative deverbals host the suffix *-ae*: *X(stem)-ae* ‘not X-ing’. Their structure and functions are the focus of §2.1.

- 2.8 a. *s-ae* b. *it-ae* c. *gemb-ae*
 say.I-not.do cook.I-not.do write.I-not.do
 ‘not saying’ ‘not cooking’ ‘not writing’

Non-finite SS medial verb forms utilise three invariable suffixes, *-do*, *-a*, and *-se*, to signal temporal relationships between marking and referencing clauses. Stem I verb forms occur only with *-do*. They indicate non-durative events that are completed before the reference clause event starts. Stem II forms signal durative events that express rhythmic iteration (with *-do* and a form of *fu* ‘come’ or *i* ‘go’), sequencing durative irrealis events and states (with *-a*), and overlapping events or states (with *-se*).

- 2.9 a. *gembu-do* b. *gefu-do*
 write.I-SEQ.SS write.II-SIM-SEQ.SS
 c. *ere-gefu-a* d. *gefu-se*
 IPF-write.II-SEQ.DUR.IR.SS write.II-SIM.SS

Examples 2.10a-d illustrate their use in sentence-medial positions.

- 2.10a. *Nu ghaito gembu-do i-sira.*
 3S mat write.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-DP.3S.FN
 'She sewed (together) a pandanus mat and then she went (away).'
- 2.10b. *Nu ghaka gefu-do i-sira.*
 3S canoe write.II-SIM-SEQ.SS go.DUR-DP.3S.FN
 'He went along poling the canoe forward (as he went).'
- 2.10c. *Oroko tumba=ghae, nu ghaito ere-gef-ua y-arira.*
 today night=COM 3S mat IPF-write.II-SEQ.DUR.IR.SS go.DUR-F.3S.FN
 'Tonight, she will be weaving a mat for a while, and then she will go.'
- 2.10d. *Nu ghaka gefu-se yaru+div-ira.*
 3S canoe write.II-SIM.SS song+sing.I-TP.3S.FN
 'While he was poling the canoe forward, he sang a song.'

Section 2.2 further details these forms and their functions.

(3) Finite verb forms

Finite verb forms are fully inflected for realis/irrealis status and tense-aspect-mood (TAM), person and number of subject (MarkSU), and a speech-act value marker. Some also occur with an imperfective morpheme: {*ere-*} or {-*uru-*}. A typical pattern is:

Stem II + Imperfective + STATUS-TAM.MarkSU.Speech Act Value

This ordering is illustrated by example 2.11a, a medial verb without an imperfective morpheme, and 2.11b, a final verb with an imperfective morpheme.

- 2.11 a. *gemb-oro...* b. *itut-er-esa*
 write.I-SEQ.IR.IPL.DS cook.II-IPF-DP.1S.AQ
 'we will write and...' 'you are cooking'

Finite verb forms fall into three major groups, according to two basic criteria: (1) their position in the sentence and (2) whether or not they carry absolute tense markers. Independent and dependent final verbs are marked for absolute tense; medial verbs are not. Medial and final dependent and independent verbs are identified and utilised in example 2.12.

- 2.12 ...*aya giti* Finite Medial Verb: *e-tiri*
 mother first do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
- afa ambo* Finite Medial Verb: *gae-tiri,*
 father behind spear.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
- taima=da* Finite Medial Verb: *era,*
 bush=LOC go.DUR.SEQ.PAST.3PL.SS
- emboro* Dependent Final Verb (Embedded): *gafu-sira*
 path cut.II-DP.3S.FN
- a=min=da* Finite Medial Verb: *era*
 that=T/F.CEFF=LOC go.DUR.SEQ.PAST.3PL.SS

Non-finite Medial Verb: *buvu-do*
arrive.I-SEQ.SS

Finite Medial Verb: *era*
go.DUR.SEQ.PAST.3PL.SS

Tainabuna Independent Final Verb: *buvutu-seri*.
Tainabuna arrive.II-DP.3PL.AQ

‘...mother led first, father followed behind, and they went into the bush, they went there (where) she had blazed the trail, and they went out and went and arrived at Tainabuna.’

Independent final verbs terminate sentences, coinciding with the drop in pitch and amplitude to voicelessness that occurs at the termini of intonational contours. The speaker’s modal perspective on an event or state is expressed by a terminal {-i} or -a, and his or her deictic perspective is expressed by -e or -o. Final verbs may be recapitulated by a medial verb predicating the initial clause in the adjacent subsequent sentence. Independent final verb paradigms are more fully detailed in §2.3 and §2.4.

Dependent final verbs occur in embedded constructions and in non-final sentence bases that are in hypotactic relationship with the dominant sentence final base. All dependent final verbs obligatorily terminate with the speech act value marker -a. Dependent final verbs are not recapitulated by a medial form of the verb.

Different-subject (DS) medial verbs signal a switch in the person/number reference of the salient referent across clause boundaries. Like same-subject medial verb forms, they function as predicates of the base components in SRCs and mark events as occurring prior to or overlapping with the event encoded in the subsequent reference clause. The temporality expressed by DS medial verbs is **relative** to the temporality expressed by the subsequent verb. All DS medial verbs additionally indicate the status of the event being marked: realis or irrealis. Section 2.5.2 presents the DS medial verb paradigms.

(4) Perfective versus imperfective

The perfective versus imperfective dichotomy and the related notion of closure also feature prominently in the Korafe verbal system. Only stem I forms of a verb can signal a perfective event, an event viewed in its totality as a single composite event. To indicate durative processes or iterated instances of an action in progress, the stem II form of verbs combines with one of two imperfective morphemes: {-ere-} or {-uru}. The endocentric imperfective {-ere-} focuses exclusively on the imperfectivity of the verb it marks. The exocentric imperfective {-uru} presupposes a temporal overlap relationship between the events represented by the verb it marks and another verb. It is used only with verb forms having irrealis status.

(5) Realis versus irrealis

The distinction between realis and irrealis status is clearly defined by the morphological shape of medial verbs and the distributional restrictions holding between medial verb forms and the final verb in the chain. If the final verb in a chaining sequence is future, hortative, customary, counterfactual, negative in polarity, or the auxiliary verb in habitual

constructions, the medial verbs that precede it in the SRC must all be irrealis (i.e. future, customary, or negative hortative) forms. Realis medial verb forms must precede final verbs manifesting the present or a past tense (i.e. today's, near, yesterday's, distant, or enduring past tenses) and a speech act value which includes modal considerations (see discussion in §2.3.3).

(6) Stative, dynamic, and motion verbal forms

Five Korafe verbs have a wide distribution, occurring as auxiliaries with other verbs to encode aspectual distinctions and semantic notions such as cause, dynamicity, stativity, and deictic positioning. They are: *e* 'do, make, cause, become', *ghe* 'continue, do again, move from', *iri* 'be, exist, remain', *fu* 'come, be in motion', and *i* 'go'.

The verbs *iri* 'be, exist, remain', *fu* 'come, be in motion', and *i* 'go' are inherently durative. All three are manifested by irregular morphological paradigms. The motion verbs, *fu* 'come' and *i* 'go', manifest other irregularities in their paradigms as well, having suppletive stems for their today's past paradigm. And *fu* 'come' and *i* 'go' are the only verbs that differentiate a realis sequencing durative SS medial paradigm from the dependent final paradigms. These forms and their functions are the focus of §2.2.2 and §2.5.1.2.

The stative verb *iri* 'be, exist, remain' is the only Korafe verb that never occurs with the imperfective morphemes {*ere-*} and {-*uru*} and lacks both the today's past and customary paradigms. Different-subject medial forms of *iri* obligatorily encode a temporal overlap relationship between the marking clause and the reference clause. Only *iri* 'be, live, remain' and the realis copula *ri* occur in stative predications in Korafe. The tenseless copula follows predicate complements that attribute permanent qualities or identity to the nominals they predicate.⁴ The verb *iri* occurs with predicate complements attributing temporary characteristics or states to the nominal they predicate or describing a nominal as not having the stated characteristic(s). It also acts as an existential verb with locative complements. It is obligatorily used in all negated topic-comment constructions.

In contrast to *iri*, the dynamic verb *e* 'do, make, cause, become' has both perfective and imperfective realisations, marked by the markers {*ere-*} and {-*uru*}. It is used to encode processes that result in temporary and permanent states. The verb *e* 'do' serves as the grammatical auxiliary verb in verb complexes composed of adjunct/complement + forms of *e*, outlined in §2.6 of this chapter. The suffixes used to conjugate *e*-verbs appear to be a reflection of the conjugation of *e* 'do', with a few minor phonological variations. Thus for example in 2.13, the *erira* in *teguterira* is identical to the verb *erira* 'he is doing'.

⁴ The copula might be considered to be a degenerate verb, because it is marked for speech-act value and ascribes realis status to the predicate complement it follows. Like final verbs terminating in {-*i*}, it indicates that the speaker wholeheartedly subscribes to the validity of the material in the predication. However, unlike 'normal' verb forms, the copula lacks an identifiable stem. Unlike final verbs that occur as it does in sentence-final position, the copula is not inflected for subject co-reference or tense or aspect. For these reasons as well as distribution restrictions manifested by topic-comment clauses it marks, topic-comment clauses are viewed as non-verbal clauses. They are outlined and illustrated in §4.1 and §4.1.1.

- 2.13 a. *er-ira*
 IPF-do.PRES.3S.FN
 'he is doing'
- b. *tegut-er-ira*
 read.II-IPF-PRES.3S.FN
 'she is reading'

There are also similarities between the conjugation of *e* 'do' and the suffixes used to conjugate *u*-verbs and *i*-verbs, but imperative forms, the today's past paradigm, and the customary paradigm differ.

The dynamic verb *ghe* 'continue, do again, move from' forms compounds with nominals and adjectives. It also occurs in clause complexes as the auxiliary verb with same-subject sequencing medial verbs to indicate habitual activities. When occurring as a lexical (as opposed to an auxiliary) verb in a clause it means 'move from'. With the today's past tense only, it signals a conclusive activity: 'move up to and stop at'.

(7) Phonological rules applying to verb formation

Korafe does not permit word-internal V syllables, and it limits verb forms to having only one heavy syllable (VV in the rhyme). These constraints give rise to a vowel syncopation rule labelled the regressive vowel gobbling rule, which applies generally to inflected verbs. All endocentric imperfective verb forms take a marker *ere* which triggers a number of phonological rules. An *ere* reduction rule applies to a small number of verbs. Korafe has four epenthetic insertion rules, two which insert 'r', and two which insert 'y'. These rules are applied in the following order: *ere* placement rule (i), then one of the epenthetic insertion rules (ii, iii, iv or v), the *ere* reduction rule (vi), and the regressive vowel gobbling rule (vii).

(i) The *ere* placement rule has two complementary parts.

(a) Verbs with V, CV, VCV, CVCV, VNCV, CVNCV stem II forms have the following configuration: *ere*⁵ + stem.

- 2.14 a. *ere-gefu*
 IPF-write.II
 'be writing'
- b. *ere-bundi*
 IPF-bind.II
 'be binding'
- c. *ere-oji*⁶
 IPF-butcher.II
 'be butchering'

(b) Verbs with longer stem II configurations (e.g. VCVCV, CVCVCV, VNCVCV, CVNCVCV) are configured: stem + *-ere*. The surface structure forms of the verbs resulting after regressive vowel gobbling are in example line two of example 2.15a-c.

- 2.15 a. *teteru-ere-u*⁷
teter-er-u
 enter.II-IPF-do.II.IMP
 'be entering'
- b. *undudu-ere-u*
undud-er-u
 nurture.II-IPF-do.II.IMP
 'be nurturing'
- c. *simbugu-ere-u*
simbug-er-u
 ready.II-IPF-do.II.IMP
 'be readying'

⁵ Larsen and Larsen (1982:29,90) indicate that for Orokaiva, *ere* 'still' is an adverb that differentiates between the present and the near past: *ere indena* 'I am eating' and *indena* 'I ate'. At this point in time, the Korafe {*ere*-} is phonologically part of the verb form. But one might hypothesise that it originated like the Orokaiva *ere*, because {*ere*-} is the only Korafe verb prefix.

⁶ Most verbs with VCV stems either occur with a glottal stop or undergo regressive vowel gobbling so the surface structure form is either [*ere-æoj-i*] or [*er-øj-i*].

⁷ As the imperative examples illustrate, this form probably came from a combination of the reduplicated stem or stem followed by {*ur*} and the verb *e* 'do'.

The **epenthetic insertion rules** are designed to circumvent vowel gobbling when such syncopation would obscure meaning. For instance, the stem *de* ‘hit’ is differentiated from stems such as *do(e)* ‘leave off’, *du* ‘fall’ and *di* ‘rain’ that undergo *r*- or *y*-insertion to prevent vowel gobbling. It also differentiates *je* ‘chop’ from *ji* ‘laugh’ which also does not undergo vowel gobbling and *gi* ‘see’ from *gae* ‘spear’ (*a* in *gae* cannot be deleted). Both the *r*-insertion and *y*-insertion rules apply in two separate cases.

(ii) **Epenthetic *r*-insertion** between stem II + *uru* (imperfective)

An epenthetic ‘*r*’ is often⁸ inserted between a stem II and the adjacent imperfective morpheme *uru*: $\emptyset \rightarrow r$ / stem II-__-*uru*. Epenthetic *r*-insertion is obligatory when the stem II form terminates with an ‘*i*’.

2.16a. *gefu-uru* → *gefu-r-uru* or *gefu-uru* → *gef-uru...*
 write.II-IPF → write.II-EPEN-IPF or write.II-IPF
 ‘be writing while...’

2.16b. *si-uru* → *si-r-uru...*
 say.II-IPF → say.II-EPEN-IPF
 ‘be speaking while...’

(iii) **Epenthetic *r*-insertion** with one-syllable (Ci and Cu) stems

When a CV stem hosts a suffix with a vowel onset, an epenthetic ‘*r*’ is inserted: $\emptyset \rightarrow r$ / CV[+hi]-__-V. This involves four verbs: *borija di/kiki di* ‘rain/tell stories’, *tumba ji/gegha ji* ‘night fall/laugh’, *du* ‘fall’, and *fu* ‘come’.

2.17a. *borija di-arira* → *borija di-r-arira*, NOT *d-arira*
 rainfall rain-F.3S.FN → rainfall rain-EPEN-F.3S.FN NOT hit.I-F.3S.FN
 ‘it will rain’ ‘it will rain’ NOT ‘he will hit’

2.17b. *du-arira* → *du-r-arira*, NOT *d-arira*
 fall-F.3S.FN → fall-EPEN-F.3S.FN NOT hit.I-F.3S.FN
 ‘it will fall’ ‘it will fall’ NOT ‘he will hit’

2.17c. *tumba ji-arira* → *tumba ji-r-arira*, NOT *j-arira*
 night fall-F.3S.FN → night fall-EPEN-F.3S.FN NOT chop.I-F.3S.FN
 ‘night will fall’ ‘night will fall’ NOT ‘it will chop’

The verb *fu* ‘come’ has a suppletive today’s past stem *oj*(*v*?) and is irregular in the present, but it does pattern like the others in its future (*fu-r-arira* ‘he will come’), counterfactual (*fu-r-aetira* ‘he should come’), and hortative forms (*fu-r-are* ‘let him come’).

(iv) **Epenthetic *y*-insertion** with the singular stentorian imperative⁹

To prevent vowel syncopation that would neutralise the class vowel (*-e/-i/-u*) contrast when the singular imperative forms host the stentorian *-o*, an epenthetic ‘*y*’ is inserted.

⁸ Verbs with stem II forms that have *u* as their characteristic vowel do not obligatorily undergo this rule, but may just undergo regressive vowel gobbling (e.g. *gefu-uru* → *gefuru* ‘be writing while’, *teteru-uru* → *teteruru* ‘be entering while’). Verb forms resulting from the application of this rule are considered to encode a less lengthy action than verb forms resulting from the application of the vowel-gobbling rule.

⁹ For more information on the stentorian imperative forms, see §2.4.12.

- 2.18a. *de-o* ‘hit’ → *de-ɣ-o*, NOT *d-o*.
 2.18b. *du-o* ‘fall’ → *du-ɣ-o*, NOT *d-o*.
 2.18c. *kiki di-o* ‘tell a story’ → *kiki di-ɣ-o*, NOT *kiki d-o*.

(v) **Epenthetic *y*-insertion** with one syllable (CVe) stems

When a CVe stem occurs with a suffix with a vowel onset, an epenthetic ‘*y*’ is inserted between the two vowels of the stem: $\emptyset \rightarrow y/CV_e-V$. This prevents two heavy (CVV) syllables from occurring within the verb form. It also prevents the vowel gobbling rule from syncope more than one vowel. Note that regressive vowel gobbling also must occur to yield the surface forms in 2.19b and 2.20b.

- 2.19a. *gae-ráena* → *gaye-ráena* ‘I usually spear’
 2.19b. *gae-árena* → *gaye-árena* → *gay-árena* ‘I will spear’
 2.20a. *doe-ráena* → *doye-ráena* ‘I usually leave’
 2.20b. *doe-árena* → *doye-árena* → *doy-árena* ‘I will leave’

(vi) ***ere* reduction rule**

The imperfective form *ere-* is reduced to *re-* before a stem II form with only CV configuration: *ere-* → *re-/___-CV_{stemII}*. Note that regressive vowel gobbling also must occur to yield the surface forms in 2.21a-c.

- 2.21a. *ere-si-ena* → *re-si-ena* → *re-s-ena* ‘I am speaking’
 IPF-say.II-PRES.1S.FN
 2.21b. *ere-ri-ena* → *re-ri-ena* → *re-r-ena* ‘I am eating’
 IPF-eat.II-PRES.1S.FN
 2.21c. *ere-fu-ena* → *re-fu-ena* → *re-f-ena* ‘I am coming’
 IPF-come.DUR-PRES.1S.FN

(vi) **Regressive vowel gobbling in verb forms**

The final vowel in the previous morpheme undergoes syncope when an adjacent subsequent suffix has vowel-initial configuration: $V_1 \rightarrow \emptyset/___-V_2$.

This changes the surface structure of verbs, as shown in examples 2.22 and 2.23.

- 2.22 *tegutu-ere-ira* → *tegut-er-ira* ‘he/she is counting’
 count.II-IPF-PRES.3S.FN count.II-IPF-PRES.3S.FN
 2.23 *ere-gefu-ena* → *ere-gef-ena* ‘I am writing’
 IPF-write.II-PRES.1S.FN IPF-write.II-PRES.1S.FN

Example 2.24a and b illustrates what happens to the verb stems manifested by just a vowel (*e* ‘do’ and *i* ‘go’) when they undergo vowel gobbling.

- 2.24a. *ere-u-ira* → *er-ira* ‘he/she is doing/making’
 IPF-do.II-PRES.3S.FN IPF-do.PRES.3S.FN

2.24b. *ere-i-ira* → *er-ira* 'he/she is going'
 IPF-go.DUR-PRES.3S.FN IPF-go.PRES.3S.FN

The operation of the above rules gives {*ere-*} three¹⁰ surface structure representations: [*ere*], [*er*] and [*re*].

(8) Summary

Table 2.1 illustrates the surface structure representations of each of six verbs in the *e*-verb, *i*-verb, and *u*-verb classes.

TABLE 2.1: SOME VERB CLASS AND STEM REPRESENTATIVES

	Command	Today's Past	Yesterday's Past	Present
<i>e</i>-verbs:				
'paddle'	<i>dáv-e</i>	<i>dav-é-teni</i>	<i>dav-ú-mutani</i>	<i>ere-dav-éna</i>
'plant'	<i>gów-e</i>	<i>gov-é-teni</i>	<i>gov-ú-mutani</i>	<i>ere-gov-éna</i>
'bind'	<i>bund-e</i>	<i>bund-é-teni</i>	<i>bund-í-mutani</i>	<i>ere-bund-éna</i>
'say'	<i>s-é</i>	<i>s-é-teni</i>	<i>s-í-mutani</i>	<i>re-s-éna</i>
'sit'	<i>anumb-é</i>	<i>anumb-é-teni</i>	<i>anumb-ú-mutani</i>	<i>anumb-er-éna</i>
'enter'	<i>tér-e</i>	<i>ter-é-teni</i>	<i>teter-ú-mutani</i>	<i>teter-er-éna</i>
<i>i</i>-verbs:				
'cook'	<i>ít-i</i>	<i>ít-eni</i>	<i>itut-ú-mutani</i>	<i>itut-er-éna</i>
'grab'	<i>sánd-i</i>	<i>sánd-eni</i>	<i>sandud-ú-mutani</i>	<i>sandud-er-éna</i>
'see'	<i>g-i</i>	<i>g-éni</i>	<i>gos-ú-mutani</i>	<i>ere-gos-éna</i>
'eat'	<i>mínd-i</i>	<i>mínd-eni</i>	<i>r-í-mutani</i>	<i>re-r-éna</i>
'remain'	<i>ir-í</i>	<i>ir-áni</i> ¹¹	<i>ir-í-mutani</i>	<i>ir-éna</i>
'go'	<i>y-ási</i> ¹²	<i>a-éna</i>	<i>í-mutani</i>	<i>er-éna</i>
<i>u</i>-verbs:				
'write'	<i>gémb-u</i>	<i>gémb-eni</i>	<i>gef-ú-mutani</i>	<i>ere-gef-éna</i>
'run'	<i>súmb-u</i>	<i>súmb-eni</i>	<i>suf-ú-mutani</i>	<i>ere-suf-éna</i>
'scoop'	<i>dímb-u</i>	<i>dímb-eni</i>	<i>dif-ú-mutani</i>	<i>ere-dif-éna</i>
'come'	<i>f-u</i>	<i>oj-éni</i>	<i>f-ú-mutani</i>	<i>re-f-éna</i>
'get'	<i>b-u</i>	<i>b-éni</i>	<i>rur-ú-mutani</i>	<i>ere-rur-éna</i>
'fall'	<i>d-u</i>	<i>dú-r-eni</i>	<i>dudur-ú-mutani</i>	<i>dudur-er-éna</i>

¹⁰ The imperfective morpheme has an irregular configuration with the verb *avi* 'sleep, burn'. Its surface structure realisation is 'r' as in *r-av-ira* 'he is sleeping/it is burning.'

¹¹ The near past tense is the only paradigm which expresses the today's past tense of the inherently durative verb *iri* 'remain'.

¹² The verb *i* 'go' has a number of irregularities. The original command form was probably *i*, but *y-a-si*, formed from the stem with the quotative or certainty marker *a-si* 'that-saying'. It is used on a regular basis.

The composite stem I consisting of the root plus the stem vowel [-e, -i, or -u] is the lexical citation form and the stem used in the formation of singular command forms and the today's past tense forms. Stem II is used in the formation of the yesterday's past tense and the present tense forms.

2.1 DEVERBAL FORMS: POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE

Korafe has two strategies for deriving nouns and adjectives from verbs: the positive and negative deverbals.

2.1.1 POSITIVE DEVERBAL: STEM I + -ARI

The derivational formative *-ari* combines with stem I of verbs to yield a nominal. Although deverbalised, this form retains the word stress pattern of verbs, i.e. stress occurs on the first syllable of the suffix. Distributionally, *-ari* deverbals occur most often as nouns heading noun phrases, as example 2.25 illustrates.

- 2.25 ...*jebuga* *seka*, *ir-ari* *seka*, *enda* *seka* *a=va*
 life new remain-DVB new earth new that=CT
namonde *tambu* *b-arera*.
 IPL.INC find.I get.I-F.IPL.FN
 '...we will find and get that new life, new lifestyle, and new earth.'

Occasionally, these deverbals function as modifiers. In example 2.26, *digari* 'many' is a quantifier modifying the noun head, and *ambari* is an intensifier, modifying *digari*.

- 2.26 *evetu+genembo* *dig-ari* *amb-ari* *eko*
 woman+man multiply.I-DVB die.I-DVB bad
 'lots and lots of people'

The deverbalisation process may include the original clause (subject, object and verb) in its entirety. The resultant deverbal construction has a nominal function. In examples 2.27 and 2.28 it functions respectively as the topic of an evaluation and as an object complement of a speech act or mental process verb.

- 2.27 *John* *nune* *tofo* *noaro* *d-ari=mo*, *eko=ri*.
 John 3S.ACT self 3S.wife hit.I-DVB=T/F bad=COP.AQ
 'For John himself to hit his wife would be bad.'
- 2.28 *Mandi* *koti-sira*, *na* *nombura=i* *b-ari=a* *koti-sira*.
 boy think.II-DP.3S.FN 1S crocodile=CE get.I-DVB=that think.II-DP.3S.FN
 'The boy thought that a crocodile had got me. (But it hadn't.)'

2.1.2 NEGATIVE DEVERBAL: STEM I + -AE

The derivation formative *-ae* combines with stem I to form the negative deverbal. It is primarily used to negate verbal predications, but it also functions like a negative participle (modifier).

- 2.29 *Nu mandi semb-ae=ri.*
 he boy cross.I-not.do=COP.AQ
 'He is a culturally-aberrant boy.'
- 2.30 *Yasivu, evetu+genembo diti ir-ae, daguna, dengoro*
 go.PL.IMP woman+man eye remain-not.do lame ear
ir-ae, beka s-ae=de, a=va aghi+aove!
 remain-not.do mouth say-not.do=COM.PL that=CT summon+do.H.2PL.CR
 'Go (and) summon those blind, lame, deaf, and dumb people!'
- 2.31 *Na nu jo g-ae=ri.*
 1S 3S NEG see.I-not.do=COP.AQ
 'I didn't see him.'
- 2.32 *Na oroko Tufi jo y-ae arena.*
 1S today Tufi NEG go.DUR-not.do do.F.1S.FN
 'I will not go to Tufi today.'
- 2.33 *Nu jo mindafu beká ir-ae=ri.*
 3S NEG big truly remain-not.do=COP.AQ
 'He's not very big.'

2.2 NON-FINITE MEDIAL VERB FORMS

Three non-finite sets of Korafe verb forms are predicates of SRC bases and signal coreferentiality of subject (SS) between adjacent clauses.

2.2.1 SS SEQUENCING MEDIAL FORMS: STEM I + -DO,

SS sequencing+simultaneous medial forms: stem II + -do

An invariable suffix *-do*¹³ marks both stem I and stem II forms of verbs as SS medial verb forms. When *-do* occurs with stem I forms in marking clauses, it references events that occur prior to and cease before events indexed by reference clauses.

SEQUENCING: <i>se-do</i>	<i>gi-do</i>	<i>gembu-do</i>
'having said'	'having seen'	'having written'

¹³ The Korafe verb stem *do* 'leave off' has the same phonological shape as this invariable morpheme *-do* (SEQ.SS). It is probable that the medial suffix has grammaticised from a serial verb phrase signalling cessative aspect. The Baruga sequence *ea doa* 'having done' corresponds to Korafe *edo*. The combination of verb stems with *-do* (*-to* in Orokaiva) in one phonological word also occurs in other Binandere languages for which data are available.

Even though the subject and the temporal delimitation of each sentence differ in the examples in 2.34, the same verb form, *buvudo* ‘having arrived’ is a predicate of each of the marking clauses.

- 2.34a. *Nu nati=da buvu-do na tamb-ira.*
 3S village=LOC arrive.I-SEQ.SS 1S find.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘He arrived in the village and found me.’
- 2.34b. *Na nati=da buvu-do nu tafu-seni.*
 1S village=LOC arrive.I-SEQ.SS 3S find.II-DP.1S.AQ
 ‘He arrived in the village and found me.’
- 2.34c. *Na nati=da buvu-do nu tamb-arena.*
 1S village=LOC arrive.I-SEQ.SS 3S find.I-F.1S.FN
 ‘I will get to the village and find him.’

Aspect-encoding verb sequences consisting of a stem II form of a verb hosting *-do* and a form of *fu* ‘come’ or *i* ‘go’ encode rhythmic iteration of an event over a time interval. Fuller details are given in §9.2.4.1.3.

RHYTHMIC ITERATION: *si-do*, *gosu-do*, *gefu-do* (+motion verb)
 ‘(coming/going along) speaking, looking at, writing’

2.2.2 SEQUENCING DURATIVE IRREALIS FORMS: {*ERE-*} + STEM II + {-*A*} (-*MA*)

A set of SS irrealis medial verb forms realise activities performed successively or continuously over a span of time in the future. The stem II form of the verb hosts one of the following suffixes: a short form, *-a*, or a longer form, *-ua* or *-ia*, conditioned by the terminating characteristic vowel of the preceding stem. In example 2.35, *ravia* has the longer suffix, and *ya(ma)* the short suffix.

- 2.35 ...*nati=da buvu-do r-av-ia*
 village=LOC arrive.ND-SEQ.SS IPF-sleep.DUR-SEQ.DUR.IR.SS
sifo at-ari y-ama taima=da...
 day dawn.ND-SEQ.IR.F.3S.DS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.EMP bush=LOC
 ‘...(the women) arrive in the village, sleep until day dawns, and...’

Although *-a* appears to be used interchangeably with *-ia/-ua* in modern parlance, some speakers contend that only the longer forms are proper Korafe. However, examples like 2.36 with *fa* ‘come’ abound.

- 2.36 *Ne jo f-a dabade deingh-ae e-do*
 3PL NEG come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS together walk.about-not.do do.I-SEQ.SS
ghu-seri.
 do.again.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 ‘They wouldn’t habitually come and travel around together.’

Although all other imperfective irrealis medial verb forms occur with {-uru}, this set obligatorily hosts {ere-}. In example 2.37, {ere-} precedes the longer suffix -ua in the medial verb form, *tenduderua*.

- 2.37 *Na do re-f-ena. Ne tendud-er-ua*
 IS leave.I IPF-come.DUR-PRES.IS.FN 2PL lash.walls.II-IPF-SEQ.DUR.IR.SS
nange arevu?
 what.do.I do.F.2PL.AQ
 'I'm leaving. You will go on lashing sago stem to the walls, and then what will you do?'

The suffix -*ma* (which may be related to the topic-focus marker *mo*) optionally occurs with these SS medial verb forms. The speaker uses it to emphasise the importance of the event the marked verb represents.

- 2.38 *Re-s-ia-ma y-a reighi=da buv-arera,*
 IPF-say-SEQ.DUR.IR.SS-T/F go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS village=LOC arrive.I-F.IPL.FN
jo areri.
 NEG do.I.F.IPL.AQ
 'We will go on speaking (about these things all the time we're here) and when we go and arrive at home, we hope we will do (them).'

These verb forms are the only set of non-finite medial verbs that do not occur in SRCs terminated by final verbs with realis status. The realis SS sequencing durative medial verb forms are finite and fully inflected for tense-mood, person and number of subject, and speech-act value -*a*. Although the first three verbs in examples 2.38 and 2.39b are lexically the same, they differ as to their assigned tenses: future tense in 2.38 and past tenses in 2.39b.

- 2.39a. **Re-s-ia-ma era*
 IPF-say.II-SEQ.DUR.IR.SS-T/F go.DUR-SEQ.PAST.IPL.SS
reighi=da buvu-do amingu-seri.
 village=LOC arrive.II-SEQ.SS do.thus.II-DP.IPL.AQ

- 2.39b. *Re-s-iara era*
 IPF-say.II-SEQ.EP.IPL.SS go.DUR-SEQ.PAST.IPL.SS
reighi=da buvu-do amingu-seri.
 village=LOC arrive.II-SEQ.SS do.thus.II-DP.IPL.AQ
 'We went on speaking (about those things all the time we were there) and then we went, arrived at home and did them.'

Example 2.39a is ill-formed, because the irrealis medial form *resiamma* does not agree in status with the other verbs in the SRC. Both *era* 'they went' and *aminguseri* 'they did thus' have realis status.

The three verbs (*fu* 'come', *i* 'go', *iri* 'remain'), being inherently durative, are the only verbs in Korafe that can host -*a* or -*ua/ia* without hosting {ere-}. And the forms

fa(ma)/foa(ma),¹⁴ *ya(ma)*, or *irá(ma)/iria(ma)* are the only SS sequencing medial forms these verbs manifest. Because of their durative nature, they do not occur with the suffix *-do* (**fu-do*, **i-do*, **iri-do*). As examples 2.35, 2.36 and 2.38 above and 2.40 below illustrate, this set replaces the *-do* sequencing set in irrealis clause complexes, SVCs and SRCs.

- 2.40 *Nenda vare=da y-a f-oa*
 3PL.GEN garden=LOC go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS come.DUR-SEQ.DUR.IR.SS
gh-ari=dae se-do, ghaka aghe-raera.
 do.again-DVB=PUR say.I-SEQ.SS outrigger.canoe hollow.I-CUST.3PL.FN
 ‘In order to go and come to their gardens regularly, they hollow out (and make)
 outrigger canoes.’

Table 2.2 gives the default set of forms (requiring {*ere-*}) using the Korafe verbs *se* ‘say’, *gi* ‘see’ and *gembu* ‘write’. These forms obligatorily host {*ere-*}.

TABLE 2.2: SEQUENCING DURATIVE IRREALIS SS FORMS

	‘say’	‘see’	‘write’
Iterated irrealis:	<i>re-s-ia</i> * <i>s-ia</i>	<i>ere-gos-ua</i> * <i>gos-ua</i>	<i>ere-gef-ua</i> * <i>gef-ua</i>
Emphatic:	<i>re-s-ia-ma</i> * <i>s-ia-ma</i>	<i>ere-gos-ua-ma</i> * <i>gos-ua-ma</i>	<i>ere-gef-ua-ma</i> * <i>gef-ua-ma</i>
	‘go’	‘come’	‘stay’
Irrealis unmarked:	<i>y-a</i>	<i>f-a/f-oa/f-ua</i>	<i>ir-á/ir-ia</i>
Emphatic:	<i>y-a-ma</i>	<i>f-a-ma/f-oa-ma/f-ua-ma</i>	<i>ir-á-ma/ir-ia-ma</i>
Iterated irrealis:	<i>er-ia</i>	<i>re-f-oa/re-f-ua</i>	
Emphatic:	<i>er-ia-ma</i>	<i>re-f-oa-ma/re-f-ua-ma</i>	

The table also illustrates the irregular sets (without {*ere-*}) that occur with *iri* ‘remain’, *fu* ‘come’ and *i* ‘go’, as well as the {*ere-*} sets occurring with *fu* ‘come’ and *i* ‘go’.

2.2.3 SIMULTANEOUS FORMS: STEM II + -SE

Stem II combines with the invariable suffix *-se*¹⁵ to signal either complete or partial overlap between the action indexed by the marked verb and the action encoded by the verb in the following reference clause.

¹⁴ Korafe speakers differ on the preferred pronunciation and spelling of this verb form set. Both *foa(ma)* and *fua(ma)* occur.

¹⁵ This invariable suffix *-se* is homophonous with the stem I form of the verb *se* ‘say’. Several other Binandere languages demonstrate the same homophony.

SUENA:	<i>se</i> ‘say’	<i>i-no-i-[se]</i>	‘do.DUR-remain-do.DUR-[SIM.SS= <i>se</i>]’
OROKAIVA:	<i>e</i> ‘say’	<i>u-[e]</i>	‘do.DUR-[SIM.SS= <i>e</i>]’
BINANDERE:	<i>te</i> ‘say’	<i>i-[te]</i>	‘do.DUR-[SIM.SS= <i>te</i>]’
EWAGE:	<i>se</i> ‘say’	<i>i-[se]</i>	‘do.DUR-[SIM.SS= <i>se</i>]’
KORAFE:	<i>se</i> ‘say’	<i>u-[se]</i>	‘do.DUR-[SIM.SS= <i>se</i>]’

SIMULTANEOUS: <i>si-se</i>	<i>teteru-se</i>	<i>gosu-se,</i>	<i>gefu-se</i>
‘while saying’	‘while entering’	‘while seeing’	‘while writing’

- 2.41 *A=va=ta na ninda bino a=va niningu-se ir-iana*
 that=CT=FRUS IS 2S.GEN fame that=CT hear.II-SIM.SS remain-REM.IS.FN
jare-do oj-eni.
 despair.I-SEQ.SS come.NDUR-TP.IS.AQ
 ‘But while I was hearing about your fame, I remained for a long time until I
 despaired and came.’
- 2.42 *Ne bayau+oka a-va gae ri-se baboje-ge-raera.*
 3PL food+fish that-CT spear.I eat.II-SIM.SS grow.RED-do.FOC-CUST.3PL.FN
 ‘They (the seagulls) in the process of spearing and eating fish for food, they grow.’

2.3 FINITE VERB FORMS–THE SUFFIX SETS

Korafe finite verbs are either final verbs or different-subject medial verbs. They are inflected by three-part suffix sets that indicate the following categories: (1) tense-aspect-mood/status distinctions, (2) person and number of subject and (3) speech act value. The final verb suffix sets are given in Table 2.3. Although the recurrent partials constituting the suffix sets are for the most part isolable, the third person singular forms are not. Another difficulty in segment interpretation arises in the hortative forms; the hortative mood suffix sets are encoded by the concurrence of specific initial and terminal partials. Therefore, these partials are outlined in their respective ‘slots’ in this section and then treated as composite or portmanteau suffixes in interlinear segmentation for the rest of this book.

In Table 2.3, where there are two sets of forms in the column, the initial set ending in {-a} is the dependent final set, and the second set ending in {-i} is used with content questions and some assertions. The set used in a particular tense for indicative is indicated by an asterisk (*), following the suffix form.

Franklin (1983:30) finds that the verb *la* ‘to utter’ in the Papuan language Kewa from the Southern Highlands also has homophones: *-la* ‘purpose’, and *-la* ‘duration’, that can be treated “as the same morpheme with metaphorical extensions.”

TABLE 2.3: SUFFIX SETS FOR FINAL VERBS (DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT)

Stem	Present		Today's Past ¹⁶		Near Past	
	Stem II		Stem I		Stem II	
1S	<i>e-n-a*</i>	<i>é-n-i</i>	<i>(t)e-n-a</i>	<i>(t)e-n-i*</i>	<i>a-n-a</i>	<i>a-n-i*</i>
2S	<i>e-s-a*</i>	<i>é-s-i</i>	<i>(t)e-s-a</i>	<i>(t)e-n-i*</i>	<i>a-s-a</i>	<i>a-s-i*</i>
3S	<i>ira*</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>(t)ira*</i>	<i>(t)i</i>	<i>ara</i>	<i>a*</i>
1/3PL	<i>e-r-a*</i>	<i>(t)é-ra</i>	<i>(t)e-r-a</i>	<i>(t)e-v-u*</i>	<i>a-r-a</i>	<i>a-r-i*</i>
2PL	<i>e-v-a*</i>	<i>é-v u</i>	<i>(t)e-v-a</i>	<i>(t)e-v-u*</i>	<i>a-v-a</i>	<i>a-v-u*</i>
Stem	Customary		Counterfactual ¹⁷		Yesterday's Past	
	Stem I		Stem I		Stem II	
1S	<i>rae-n-a*</i>	<i>rae-n-i</i>	<i>aete-n-a*</i>	<i>aete-n-i*</i>	<i>muta-n-a</i>	<i>muta-n-i*</i>
2S	<i>rae-s-a*</i>	<i>rae-s-i</i>	<i>aete-s-a*</i>	<i>aete-s-i*</i>	<i>muta-s-a</i>	<i>muta-s-i*</i>
3S	<i>raira*</i>	<i>rai</i>	<i>aetira*</i>	<i>aeti*</i>	<i>mutara</i>	<i>muta*</i>
1/3PL	<i>rae-r-a*</i>	<i>rae-r-i</i>	<i>aete-r-a*</i>	<i>aete-r-i*</i>	<i>muta-r-a</i>	<i>muta-r-i*</i>
2PL	<i>rae-v-a*</i>	<i>rae-v-u</i>	<i>aete-v-a*</i>	<i>aete-v-u*</i>	<i>muta-v-a</i>	<i>muta-v-u*</i>
Stem	Future		Distant Past		Enduring Past ¹⁸	
	Stem I		Stem II		Stem II	
1S	<i>are-n-a*</i>	<i>are-n-i</i>	<i>se-n-a</i>	<i>se-n-i*</i>	<i>ua-n-a*</i>	<i>ua-n-i</i>
2S	<i>are-s-a*</i>	<i>are-s-i</i>	<i>se-s-a</i>	<i>se-s-i*</i>	<i>ua-s-a*</i>	<i>ua-s-i</i>
3S	<i>arira*</i>	<i>ari</i>	<i>sira*</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>uira*</i>	<i>ui</i>
1/3PL	<i>are-r-a*</i>	<i>are-r-i</i>	<i>se-r-a</i>	<i>se-r-i*</i>	<i>ua-r-a*</i>	<i>ua-r-i</i>
2PL	<i>are-v-a*</i>	<i>are-v-u</i>	<i>se-v-a</i>	<i>se-v-u*</i>	<i>ua-v-a*</i>	<i>ua-v-u</i>
Stem	Hortative		Negative Hortative			
	Stem I		Stem			
1S	<i>(a)one*</i>	<i>aoni</i> ¹⁹	<i>eóne*</i>			
2S	<i>ase*</i>		<i>eóse*</i>			
3S	<i>are*</i>		<i>eúre*</i>			
1/3PL	<i>(a)ore*</i>	<i>aori</i>	<i>eóre*</i>			
2PL	<i>(a)ove*</i>		<i>eóve*</i>			

Sections 2.3.1, 2.3.2 and 2.3.3 outline the individual set of markers or recurrent partials that occur in the slots of the suffix sets. Final verb paradigms utilising these suffix sets are listed, explained and illustrated in §2.4 and its subsections. Medial verb paradigms (SS sequencing realis durative medial verbs and DS medial verbs) are the focus of §2.5.

¹⁶ The 't' occurs only suffix-initially with *e*-verbs. Other verbs (*u*-verbs and *i*-verbs) occur with *-eni*, *-esi*, etc. in the today's past tense. Fuller details are given in §2.3.2.4.

¹⁷ Both {-a} and {-i} may occur as the final speech-act value index on verb forms using the counterfactual paradigm. Section 2.3.1.3 details the use of these speech act value indices.

¹⁸ The enduring past paradigm is rare and seems to be disappearing. There is a suppletive set of endings beginning with *-i*, e.g. *-ia-n-a*, *-ia-s-a*, instead of *-ua-n-a*, *-ua-s-a*. Both *refuira* and *refeira* 'he was coming along' are attested, and there seems no way of ascertaining which is 'right' at this point in time.

¹⁹ The {-i} speech-act value that marks predicates in content questions occurs in the current data corpus only with first person forms in the hortative mood.

2.3.1 STATUS/TENSE-ASPECT-MOOD

The initial partial in the suffix sets for final verbs is differentiated for tense, aspect or mood: *-e* for present tense, *-are* for future tense, *-rae* for customary aspect, *-(t)e* for today's past tense, *-aete* for non-factual/counterfactual mood, *-a* for near past tense, *-muta* for yesterday's past, *-se* for distant past, and *-a* for enduring past. As noted above, the hortative is distinguished by the concurrence of *-a/-aol/-o* (positive) or *-eol/-eu* (negative) in the initial slot and an *-e* in the terminal slot.

The initial partial in the suffix sets for DS medial verbs indicates status. An *-e* or *-te* indicates realis status. The three sets encoding irrealis status are additionally differentiated as future tense (*-aol/-ol/-a*), customary aspect (*-éol/-éa*), and negative hortative mood (*eól/-eú*).

2.3.2 PERSON AND NUMBER OF SUBJECT

Five persons are distinguished in Korafe finite verb forms: first, second and third person singular, first and third person plural conflated, and second person plural. Table 2.4 shows the five person indexes and their occurrence in some suffix sets.

TABLE 2.4: PERSON AND NUMBER OF SUBJECT MARKER SHOWN IN SUFFIX SETS

	Subject Marker	Present	TP-Aorist	Near Past	Hortative	Neg.Hort.
1S	<i>-n</i>	<i>é-n-a</i>	<i>'(t)e-n-i</i>	<i>á-n-i</i>	<i>(a)ó-n-e</i>	<i>eó-n-e</i>
2S	<i>-s</i>	<i>é-s-a</i>	<i>'(t)e-s-i</i>	<i>á-s-i</i>	<i>á-s-e</i>	<i>eó-s-e</i>
3S	<i>ø/v[+hi]?</i>	<i>i-ra</i>	<i>'(t)i-ra</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>á-re</i>	<i>eú-re</i>
1/3PL	<i>-r</i>	<i>é-r-a</i>	<i>'(t)e-r-i</i>	<i>á-r-i</i>	<i>(a)ó-r-e</i>	<i>eó-r-e</i>
2PL	<i>-v</i>	<i>é-v-a</i>	<i>'(t)e-v-u</i>	<i>á-v-u</i>	<i>(a)ó-v-e</i>	<i>eó-v-e</i>

The three recurrent patterns shown for the third person singular suffix sets in Table 2.3 are: *ira*/i*, *a*/ara*, and *are/eure*. From the overall pattern, it is possible to posit that 3S is realised by *ø* or by an underlying morpheme that triggers the mid to high vowel shifts (*e* → *i* and *o* → *u*) seen in *-esa* (2S) → *-ira* (3S) and *-eose* (2S) → *-eure* (3S). The *-ra* appears to be a unit, apocopating in third person singular forms predicating content questions and occurring terminally in third person dependent final forms for near past and yesterday's past tenses.²⁰

2.3.3 SPEECH-ACT VALUE

The final partial in the suffix set expresses the speech-act value the speaker assigns to the sentence. Korafe speakers use four speech-act value markers: *-a*, *-i*, *-e* and *-o*.

The *-e* and *-o* appear to be deictic spatio-temporal and psychological orienters, related to the demonstratives *e* 'this' and *o* 'that, far off'. As Table 2.3 illustrates, the *-e* is the speech-

²⁰ The *-ra* occurs in complementary distribution with *-a* as allomorphs of the speech-act value partial {-a}. The *-ra* occurs with third person singular independent indicative and dependent final forms; the *-a* with non-third person independent indicative non-past final forms and dependent final forms. The *-ra* could also be related to the copula *ri*, *-ra* indicating neutrality with regard to assertion and *ri* the speaker's commitment to the factuality of the marked clause.

act value partial in the two hortative suffix sets. The speaker uses the *-e* to communicate his or her view of the temporal proximity of the event and to request that the addressee get involved in this activity, or conversely, that he or she should not carry it out. The *-o* terminates all utterances that are called out to an addressee at some distance away from the speaker. It is also used as the final recurrent partial in the suffix sets in DS medial verb paradigms (with the exception of third person singular forms).

The speech-act value markers that usually occur with final verb suffix sets are $\{-a\}$ and $\{-i\}$.²¹ Korafe uses both $\{-a\}$ and $\{-i\}$ ²² to mark indicative verbs in declarative sentences. The $\{-a\}$ marks all non-past indicative final verbs, i.e. future tense, customary aspect, and present tense forms. It also marks all third person forms of indicative final verbs, regardless of tense. The $\{-i\}$ serves as the speech act value marker on past tense verb forms other than the third person singular forms. From an analysis of the fixed and productive usages of the speech act value markers $\{-i\}$ and $\{-a\}$ in Korafe, the following pattern can be hypothesised. The speech-act value marker $\{-i\}$ appears to register the speaker's commitment to the factuality or desirability²³ of the ideas being expressed; the use of the speech-act value marker $\{-a\}$ does not.

The consistent use of $\{-a\}$ in a non-past tense is illustrated in 2.43a and b.

2.43a. PRESENT TENSE:

Embavo *re-f-ira*_a
afore.mentioned.one IPF-come.DUR-PRES.3S.FN
'Speaking of the devil, (here) he comes.'

2.43b. *Na re-f-ena*_a.

1S IPF-come.DUR-PRES.1S.FN
'I'm on my way.'

In the examples in 2.44a and b, the use of $\{-a\}$ with third person is contrasted with the use of $\{-i\}$ with first person in the distant past tense final verb forms.

2.44 DISTANT PAST TENSE:

<p>a. <i>Nu May fu-sira</i>_i 3S May come.DUR-DP.3S.FN 'He came in May.'</p>	<p>b. <i>Na May fu-seni</i>_i 1S May come.DUR-DP.1S.AQ 'I came in May.'</p>
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

²¹ The second person plural speech-act value marker is *-u*, not *-i* (e.g. *setesi* 'you (S) said', but *setevu* 'you (PL) said'). The person and number of subject markers that precede *-i* (*-n*, *-s*, *-r*) all have the feature [+coronal]; the 2PL marker *-v* does not. Stem II verb forms (introductory section (1) of this chapter) also manifest this alternation.

²² Korafe is atypical of Binandere languages, which manifest *-a* to signal indicative mood for all tenses. Documented languages are: Suena (Wilson 1974:1,5-6), Zia (Wilson 1980); Binandere (Capell 1969b:10,19), Ewage-Notu (Parrington 1978?:19) and Orokaiva (Larsen and Larsen 1982:26,27,90). The *-i* is used to mark content questions in Suena, Zia, Binandere and Ewage-Notu.

²³ Lyons (1977:748-50) defines Hare's 'neustic' as "that part of the sentence which expresses the speaker's commitment to the factuality, desirability, etc. of the propositional content conveyed by the phrastic [propositional content of the sentence]".

In addition to occurring with past tense final verb forms, the {-i} is the terminal recurrent partial on final verbs that are predicates of content questions. Even though both examples 2.45 and 2.46 utilise the today's past tense paradigm, the second person singular verb forms having indicative mood 2.45a and predicating a content question 2.45b do not differ in form, but the corresponding third person singular forms illustrated in 2.46a and b do differ.

2.45a. *Ni geka eveva s-eteṣi.*
 2S talk good say-TP.2S.AQ
 'You made a good speech.'

2.45b. *Ni geka rejo s-eteṣi?*
 2S talk what.SPEC say-TP.2S.AQ
 'What specific topic did you discuss?'

2.46a. *Nu geka eveva s-etira.*
 3S talk good say-TP.3S.AQ
 'He made a good speech.'

2.46b. *Nu geka rejo s-eti?*
 3S talk what.SPEC say-TP.3S.AQ
 'What specific topic did he discuss?'

The {-a} is used to mark all dependent final verbs. In the following examples 2.47 and 2.48, the a. examples are sentences that terminate with an independent final verb. The same lexical verb in the b. examples is a dependent final verb. In 2.47b, this verb is the predicate of a replacive relative clause.

2.47a. *Tamo+foyago namonde-dae aroro futu-muta.*
 skin+white 1PL.INC-BEN pebble give.II-YP.3S.AQ
 'The white man gave us money.'

2.47b. *Tamo+foyago namonde-dae aroro futu-mutara*
 skin+white 1PL.INC-BEN pebble give.II-YP.3S.FN
a=mo, John de-tiri amb-ira.
 that=T/F John hit.I-DS.SEQ.R.3S die.I-TP.3S.FN
 'That white man (that) gave us the money, John hit him, and he died.'

In example 2.48a, *ojeni* marked with the speech-act value marker {-i} terminates the sentence. The *ojena* marked by {-a} is the predicate of the dependent base in 2.48b, an adversative sentence.

2.48a. *Na=mo oka gay-ari=dae se-do oj-eni.*
 1S=T/F fish spear-DVB=PUR say-SS.SEQ come.NDUR-TP.1S.AQ
 'As for me, I came to spear fish.'

2.48b. *Na=mo oka gay-ari=dae se-do oj-ena*
 1S=T/F fish spear-DVB=PUR say-SS.SEQ come.NDUR-TP.1S.FN

a=va, re-kato emin-ge-teni?

that=CT thing-much.doer this.CEFF.T/F-do.FOC-TP.IS.AQ

'As for me, I came to spear fish, but why in the world did I act this way
(fall asleep and fall in the ocean)?'

Although the use of the speech-act value markers {-a} and {-i} is primarily fixed in Korafe, there are some contexts where the choice of {-a} or {-i} depends upon the speaker and the perspective he or she wishes to communicate. Hence in example 2.49a, the speaker uses {-i} instead of the expected {-a} marker to indicate his strong desire to meet up with the other person. His use of {-a} in 2.49b indicates that he is not really committed to a long search.

2.49a. *Na nu y-arena, a=va=ta jó tambaréni.*

1S 3S.FOC go.DUR-F.IS.FN that=CT=FRUS NEG find.I-F.IS.AQ

'I will go, but I just hope I find him. (I'll give it my best shot.)'

2.49b. *Na nu y-arena, a=va=ta jó tamb-aréna.*

1S 3S.FOC go.DUR-F.IS.FN that=CT=FRUS NEG find.I-F.IS.FN

'I will go, but I doubt I'll find him. (The chances of finding him are very slim.
There are just too many obstacles.)'

In example 2.50a, the {-i} signals a proposition that the speaker believes the addressee does not share with him, so he asserts it. In 2.50b, the {-a} signals a proposition that the speaker assumes he and the addressee both presuppose.

2.50a. *Na uju+erena, Jamie fur-aeti.*

1S want+IPF.do.PRES.IS.D Jamie come.DUR.IPF-CFAC.3S.AQ

'I would like Jamie to come. (But I'll understand if the answer is no.)'

2.50b. *Na uju+erena, Jamie fur-aetira.*

1S want+IPF.do.PRES.IS.FN Jamie come.DUR.IPF-CFAC.3S.FN

'I would like Jamie to come. (And you and I both know it's expected that
Jamie be there. I won't take no for an answer.)'

From the above examples and others arises the hypothesis expressed above, that the speech-act value marker {-i} registers the speaker's commitment to the factuality or desirability of the ideas being expressed; the use of the speech-act value marker {-a} does not. The {-a} marks presuppositions and uncompleted events that do not require the speaker's wholehearted commitment to their validity or desirability, because the addressee shares them with the speaker or at least is assumed to share them, or they are not firmly established as facts. Past events can be validated, so they are encoded in sentences that assert them as facts, sentences terminated by a final verb marked by {-i} or by the copula *ri*. This hypothesis is less satisfactory as an explanation for the fixed uses of {-a} with all third person indicative forms and {-i} with all content questions.²⁴ An alternative

²⁴ One might posit that content questions are marked with {-i}, because the very utterance of the content question signals the speaker's commitment to the actual existence of the item in question or the actual or projected occurrence of the event for which information is sought.

explanation is that Korafe has inherited these fixed usages from an earlier stage in its development.

2.4 FINITE VERB FORMS–FINAL VERB PARADIGMS

The suffix sets listed in Table 2.3 and discussed in the previous section combine with one of the two stem forms to constitute the final verb paradigms listed, explained, and illustrated in this section. The imperfective morphemes {*ere-*} and {-*uru*} also are components of some of the paradigms. The endocentric {*ere-*} is an obligatory component of present and enduring past tense paradigms. These final verb paradigms are labelled in terms of the tense, aspect, or mood that they encode. Korafe has five past tenses differing in degree of remoteness from the speech-act reference point. They are: today's past, near past, yesterday's past, distant past and enduring past. Other final paradigms include present tense, future tense, customary aspect, counterfactual mood, positive and negative hortative moods, and the imperative mood, which has only second person forms.

The final paradigms presented in this section use the suffix set marked by an asterisk (*) in Table 2.3, encoding the indicative mood. Four paradigms are listed for each tense: two *e*-verbs, *se* 'say' and *tere* 'enter'; an *i*-verb, *gi* 'see', and a *u*-verb, *gembu* 'write'.

2.4.1 TODAY'S PAST TENSE: STEM I + {-*TENI*/-*ENI*}

The today's past tense has three components: (1) the stem I form of the verb, (2) stress occurring with the antepenultimate syllable and (3) a suffix set which has the form *-teni* for *e*-verbs and *-eni* for *i*-verbs and *u*-verbs. When the verb form only has two syllables, stress is assigned to the initial syllable, as in *géni* 'I saw'. The today's past paradigms marked for stress assignment are illustrated below:

	<i>e</i> -verbs:		<i>i</i> -verb:	<i>u</i> -verb:
Person	'say'	'enter'	'see'	'write'
1S	<i>sé-teni</i>	<i>teré-teni</i>	<i>g-éni</i>	<i>gémb-eni</i>
2S	<i>sé-tesi</i>	<i>teré-tesi</i>	<i>g-ési</i>	<i>gémb-esi</i>
3S	<i>sé-tira</i>	<i>teré-tira</i>	<i>g-íra</i>	<i>gémb-ira</i>
1/3PL	<i>sé-teri</i>	<i>teré-teri</i>	<i>g-éri</i>	<i>gémb-eri</i>
2PL	<i>sé-tevu</i>	<i>teré-tevu</i>	<i>g-évu</i>	<i>gémb-evu</i>

This tense is the only past tense which occurs with stem I and does not host the imperfective morpheme {*ere-*}. Inherently perfective, events encoded by the today's past tense are often punctiliar. They are obligatorily limited to occurring at some time between sunrise on the speech act encoding day and the speech act encoding time.

- 2.51 *Na bayau anakora mind-eni.*
 1S food already eat.I-TP.1S.AQ
 'I already ate my meal.'

- 2.52 *Nu ika je-tira.*
 3S tree chop.I-TP.3S.FN
 'He chopped the tree down.'

This paradigm has a secondary function: to encode perfective actions, which constitute the foregrounded story line, in legends and parables. The use of the today's past in these narrative discourses signals their fictitious nature. In example 2.53 from a legend, both sentence final verbs, *fujetira* and *setira*, are today's past forms.

- 2.53 *Kiki! Boke+Gimasa nengae Kokora+Gimasa=ghae baju-do*
 story Cassowary+Youth 3PL.COM Chicken+Youth=COM grow.I-SEQ.SS
fas-ir-iara etero, kotofu eva beka=da
 lie.down-remain-EP.3PL.FN do.SEQ.R.3PL.DS leader sea mouth=LOC
sino fuge-tira. Fuge-tiri, Boke+Gimasa se-tira...
 drum throw.I-TP.3S.FN throw.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS Cassowary+Youth say.I-TP.3S.FN
 'Story! Cassowary Youth along with Kokora Youth grew up and remained inactive
 as men in the culture, they did, and the leader at the seaside threw his drum
 (announcing that they would hold a dance and feast). He threw (it), and Cassowary
 Youth said...'

2.4.2 NEAR PAST TENSE: ({ERE-}) + STEM II + {-ANI}

The use of the imperfective {ere-} is obligatory with the following verb stems: (1) all verbs that have the same root before the class vowel or characteristic vowel is added and (2) all *u*-verbs that manifest the stem I 'mb' → stem II 'f' shift. Thus, the near past form for *se/si* 'say' must be *resani*; *sani* is ungrammatical. *U*-verbs such as *gembu/gefu* 'write' must have *eregefani* as their near past form, *gefani* is ungrammatical. With verbs that have reduplicated, suppletive, or otherwise modified stem II forms, the occurrence of the imperfective {ere-} with the near past tense depends on the speaker's interpretation of the duration of the event. Therefore, both forms of the following occur: *eregosani/gosani* 'I saw', *tenduderani/tendudani* 'I lashed', *ererurani/rurani* 'I got' and *eredorani/dorani* 'I hit'. The following paradigms are independent forms, also used as predicates of content questions:

PERSON	'say'	'enter'	'see'	'write'
1S	<i>re-s-áni</i>	<i>teter-áni</i>	<i>gos-áni</i>	<i>ere-gef-áni</i>
2S	<i>re-s-ási</i>	<i>teter-ási</i>	<i>gos-ási</i>	<i>ere-gef-ási</i>
3S	<i>re-s-á</i>	<i>teter-á</i>	<i>gos-á</i>	<i>ere-gef-á</i>
1/3PL	<i>re-s-ári</i>	<i>teter-ári</i>	<i>gos-ári</i>	<i>ere-gef-ári</i>
2PL	<i>re-s-ávu</i>	<i>teter-ávu</i>	<i>gos-ávu</i>	<i>ere-gef-ávu</i>

Near past tense forms occur in complementary distribution with today's past tense forms. Both durative and/or imperfective progressive events and processes that occurred before the speech-act moment but after noon of the day previous are encoded by the near past tense. (Some speakers favour using near past for events up till the middle of the night before today and yesterday's past for events before that time.)

- 2.54 *Na aturo=da nombura a=va ere-gar-ani.*
 1S dream=LOC crocodile that=CT IPF-spear.II-NP.IS.AQ
 'In my dream, I was spearing a crocodile.'

The near past also functions as the imperfective counterpart to the today's past tense in legends. In this discourse function, it is often used to detail background information. Occurring sentence-medially either as same-subject sequencing durative medial verbs or as the final verb in an embedded or subordinate clause, the preponderance of text examples using the near past paradigm occur with the imperfective {*ere-*}.

2.55 ...*nunda ghasovu... noaro dirige-tiri unumbe-do*
 3S.GEN sister 3S.wife send.off.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS escort.I-SEQ.SS

a-ira fiti-do bambu-do ri-do
 go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS put.I-SEQ.SS get.I-SEQ.SS eat.II-SEQ.SS

er-ara sirivo+e-teri.

IPF-go.DUR-SEQ.NP.3S.SS die+do.I-TP.3PL.AQ

'...his sister sent off his wife, and he escorted her, went (home) and married her, and they got food, went along (NP) in life eating, and died.'

2.4.3 YESTERDAY'S PAST TENSE: ({*ERE-*}) + STEM II + {-*MUTANI*}

The imperfective indicator {*ere-*} optionally occurs with the yesterday's past forms.

Person	'say'	'enter'	'see'	'write'
1S	<i>sí-mutani</i>	<i>teterú-mutani</i>	<i>gosú-mutani</i>	<i>gefú-mutani</i>
2S	<i>sí-mutasi</i>	<i>teterú-mutasi</i>	<i>gosú-mutasi</i>	<i>gefú-mutasi</i>
3S	<i>sí-muta</i>	<i>teterú-muta</i>	<i>gosú-muta</i>	<i>gefú-muta</i>
1/3PL	<i>sí-mutari</i>	<i>teterú-mutari</i>	<i>gosú-mutari</i>	<i>gefú-mutari</i>
2PL	<i>sí-mutavu</i>	<i>teterú-mutavu</i>	<i>gosú-mutavu</i>	<i>gefú-mutavu</i>

The yesterday's past references events positioned in time between the afternoon of the day previous to and the afternoon two days previous to the speech act encoding time.

2.56 *Mandi sife f-umuta.*
 boy yesterday come.DUR-YP.3S.T
 'The boy (=Our son) came yesterday.'

This tense is also used to realise relatively longer spans of time that might extend from the day before the speech act encoding day to about a year before, when compared with more remote time periods.

2.57 *Nu, ghaeko dotutu-mutara aminda fu-sira.*
 3S year leave.II-YP.IPL.FN that=T/F.CEFF.LOC come.DUR-DP.3S.FN
 'He came last year.'

The yesterday's past overlaps with the near past in encoding yesterday's events. However, the near past often occurs sentence medially with the imperfective {*ere-*}, the yesterday's past tense occurs primarily in sentence final position without the imperfective. When both tenses occur, the yesterday's past encodes a reference time chronologically preceding that of the near past.

2.4.4 DISTANT PAST TENSE: ({ERE-}) + STEM II + {-SENI}

The distant past forms are most often used to encode perfective events, events conceptualised as a single whole, at least two days prior to the speech act event. But events that happened years or centuries prior can also be encoded by the distant past tense.

Person	‘say’	‘enter’	‘see’	‘write’
1S	<i>sí-seni</i>	<i>teterú-seni</i>	<i>gosú-seni</i>	<i>gefú-seni</i>
2S	<i>sí-sesi</i>	<i>teterú-sesi</i>	<i>gosú-sesi</i>	<i>gefú-sesi</i>
3S	<i>sí-sira</i>	<i>teterú-sira</i>	<i>gosú-sira</i>	<i>gefú-sira</i>
1/3PL	<i>sí-seri</i>	<i>teterú-seri</i>	<i>gosú-seri</i>	<i>gefú-seri</i>
2PL	<i>sí-sevu</i>	<i>teterú-sevu</i>	<i>gosú-sevu</i>	<i>gefú-sevu</i>

Example 2.58 is from a letter. The dependent form *futusesa* ‘you sent’ is the predicate of a replacive relative clause. The independent final verb *ruruseni* ‘I received’ terminates the sentence and indicates that the reception of the letter occurred at least two days before this letter’s encoding time.

- 2.58 *Na aiyakoe beká re-s-ena, nanda reta giti futu-sesa,*
 1S thank.you truly IPF-say-PRES.1S.FN 1S.GEN letter first give.II-DP.2S.FN
f-ira buv-iri ruru-seni...
 come.DUR-SEQ.PAST.3S.SS arrive.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS get.II-DP.1S.AQ
 ‘I am saying (PRESENT) a hearty thanks, my letter that you first sent (DISTANT PAST) came and arrived and I got it...’

As a temporal indicator in discourse, the distant past set of forms encode past events that actually occurred as historical facts that can be validated by eyewitnesses currently living or from books and written records. It contrasts functionally with the today’s past tense, which is used to narrate legends and recount origin myths.

2.4.5 ENDURING PAST TENSE: {ERE-} + STEM II + {-UANA}

The paradigm presented below gives the dependent final forms, because the enduring past tense primarily functions as the predicate of dependent sentence bases (terminating with {-a}).

Person	‘say’	‘enter’	‘see’	‘write’
1S	<i>re-s-iána</i>	<i>teter-er-uána</i>	<i>ere-gos-uána</i>	<i>ere-gef-uána</i>
2S	<i>re-s-iása</i>	<i>teter-er-uása</i>	<i>ere-gos-uása</i>	<i>ere-gef-uása</i>
3S	<i>re-s-éira</i>	<i>teter-er-uéira</i>	<i>ere-gos-uéira</i>	<i>ere-gef-uéira</i> ²⁵
or		<i>teter-er-uíra</i>	<i>ere-gos-uíra</i>	<i>ere-gef-uíra</i>
or		<i>teter-er-uára</i>	<i>ere-gos-uára</i>	<i>ere-gef-uára</i>
1/3PL	<i>re-s-iára</i>	<i>teter-er-uára</i>	<i>ere-gos-uára</i>	<i>ere-gef-uára</i>
2PL	<i>re-s-iáva</i>	<i>teter-er-uáva</i>	<i>ere-gos-uáva</i>	<i>ere-gef-uáva</i>

²⁵ Current Korafe phonological rules do not permit strings of three unique vowels. So the suffix *-uéira* is a bit of an anomaly. Cross-linguistic comparisons within the Binandere family lead me to believe it is an older form. But it is currently being replaced by either *-uíra* or *-eira*. The problem does not occur with verbs that conjugate *-iana*, *-iasa*, *-eira*, etc.

The inherently imperfective enduring past tense forms must reference durative processes that cover a period of time that extends from their commencement time (at least three days prior to the speech act, but often in the remote past) up to, but not including, the speech-act moment. In contexts where both distant past and enduring past tense verb forms occur, enduring past tense forms mark a temporal span that exceeds that marked for distant past tense forms. Luke Nunisa gave the examples in 2.59 to show the difference in time depth between the distant past (2.59a) and the enduring past (2.59b).

- 2.59a *Jacob=mane Bauwame ir-iserá a=va, Yagirua semb-iseri.*
 Jacob=PL Bauwame remain-DP.3PL.FN that=CT Yagirua cross-go.DP.3PL.AQ
 ‘Jacob and company remained at Bauwame (for two years or less), but then they crossed over to Yagirua.’
- 2.59b *Jacob=mane Bauwame ir-iara a=va, Yagirua semb-iseri.*
 Jacob=PL Bauwame remain-EP.3PL.FN that=CT Yagirua cross-go.DP.3PL.AQ
 ‘Jacob and company lived at Bauwame (for a long, long time), but then they crossed over to Yagirua.’

Unlike other verbs, the inherently imperfective verb *iri* ‘remain’ conjugates without the imperfective {*ere-*} and manifests both dependent and independent enduring past tense paradigms. Dependent forms have the same suffix set as *re-s-iana* above. Independent forms are: *ir-iani, ir-iasi, ir-ei, ir-iari, ir-iavu*.

- 2.60 *Mandako+Gajari=de baji-do fas+ir-ei.*
 boy.DIM+close.DVB=COM.PL grow.I-SEQ.SS lie+remain-EP.3S.AQ
 ‘Covered-with-Sores-Boy grew up and remained an invalid.’

2.4.6 PRESENT TENSE: {*ERE-*} + STEM II + {-*ENA*}

The present tense obligatorily occurs with the endocentric imperfective marker {*ere-*} and stem II manifesting an imperfective, durative reading. The following paradigms illustrate the present tense conjugation for both indicative final and dependent final forms:

Person	‘say’	‘enter’	‘see’	‘write’
1S	<i>re-s-éna</i>	<i>teter-er-éna</i>	<i>ere-gos-éna</i>	<i>ere-gef-éna</i>
2S	<i>re-s-ésa</i>	<i>teter-er-ésa</i>	<i>ere-gos-ésa</i>	<i>ere-gef-ésa</i>
3S	<i>re-s-íra</i>	<i>teter-er-íra</i>	<i>ere-gos-íra</i>	<i>ere-gef-íra</i>
1/3PL	<i>re-s-éra</i>	<i>teter-er-éra</i>	<i>ere-gos-éra</i>	<i>ere-gef-éra</i>
2PL	<i>re-s-eva</i>	<i>teter-er-éva</i>	<i>ere-gos-éva</i>	<i>ere-gef-éva</i>

The present tense has the basic function of encoding progressive action in process at speech-act encoding time. Examples 2.61 and 2.62 illustrate progressive action in a declarative sentence.

- 2.61 *Didymus=mo, nu usu ere-if-íra.*
 Didymus=T/F 3S coconuts IPF-knock.down.II-PRES.3S.FN
 ‘Regarding Didymus, he’s knocking down coconuts.’

- 2.62 *Namonde oj-era, gitofu ere-taf-era.*
 IPL.INC come.NDUR-TP.3S.FN enemy IPF-find.II-PRES.IS.FN
 ‘We have arrived and are engaging the enemy.’

The present tense also has a secondary function: encoding climactic actions in narrative discourses. Example 2.63 is from a text in which the author recounts his experience with a stonefish sting. He switches from distant past tense (*sisena* ‘I said’) to present tense (*erenare* ‘I am going’, *erirare* ‘it is doing (blowing)’) to vivify the activity he and the wind are engaging in. He then continues with the story, switching back to the distant past with *iri...kotiseni* ‘as it was doing (that), I thought’.

- 2.63 ...*na si-sena a=mo, “Gego-á er-ira, nange*
 IS say.II-DP.IS.FN that=T/F nothing-that IPF-do.PRES.3S.FN how.do.FOC.I
ari na=mo oka beká eni-ko ga-y-ae
 do.SEQ.IR.3S.DS IS=T/F fish true one-INT spear.I-EPEN-not.do
y-aone=dae er-ira!” se-do inini+u-se
 go.DUR-H.IS.CR=PUR IPF-do.PRES.3S.FN say.I-SEQ.SS strength+do.II-SIM.SS
gembu-do er-ena=re. Yaura a=va teria, teria beká a=va
 write.I-SEQ.SS IPF-go.PRES.IS.FN=CR wind that=CT great great true that=CT
er-ira-re. Iri na koti-seni...
 IPF-do.PRES.3S.FN=CR do.SIM.R.3S.DS IS think.II-DP.IS.AQ
 ‘...I said, “That is blowing for nothing, it’s just trying somehow to make me not
 catch one little fish and go (back home)!” having said (that), I strengthened (myself)
 and here I am going along poling the canoe. That wind is here and now blowing up
 into a great, a truly great wind. As it was doing (that), I thought...’

2.4.7 FUTURE TENSE: STEM I + {-ARENA}, STEM II + {-URU} + {-ARENA}

The future tense paradigm²⁶ has the following independent and dependent forms:

Person	‘say’	‘enter’	‘see’	‘write’
1S	<i>s-árena</i>	<i>ter-árena</i>	<i>g-árena</i>	<i>gemb-árena</i>
2S	<i>s-áresa</i>	<i>ter-áresa</i>	<i>g-áresa</i>	<i>gemb-áresa</i>
3S	<i>s-árira</i>	<i>ter-árira</i>	<i>g-árira</i>	<i>gemb-árira</i>
1/3PL	<i>s-árera</i>	<i>ter-árera</i>	<i>g-árera</i>	<i>gemb-árera</i>
2PL	<i>s-áreva</i>	<i>ter-áreva</i>	<i>g-áreva</i>	<i>gemb-áreva</i>

Future tense forms encode an event that is projected to follow the encoding time of the speech act. Stress shifts from the initial syllable of the suffix to the second syllable of the suffix when the focus is on an argument rather than on the verbal predicate.

²⁶ It is possible that the suffix set for the Korafe future paradigm has the underlying configuration: *ari* ‘to do, doing’ + {-ena}, which has the surface structure: *arena*, *aresa*, etc. after the regressive vowel gobbling rule is applied.

- 2.64a. *Na sifode y-árena.*
 1S tomorrow go.DUR-F.IS.FN
 ‘I will definitely go tomorrow.’

- 2.64b. *Na sifode y-aréna.*
 1S tomorrow go.DUR-F.IS.FN
 ‘(I thought you’d already gone. No,) I’ll be going tomorrow.’

The future tense paradigm with stem II must host the exocentric imperfective morpheme {-uru}. The r-insertion phonological rule often occurs, as the paradigms for *se* ‘say’ and *gi* ‘see’ illustrate below:

Person	‘say’	‘enter’	‘see’	‘write’
1S	<i>si-r-ur-árena</i>	<i>teter-ur-árena</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-árena</i>	<i>gef-ur-árena</i>
2S	<i>si-r-ur-áresa</i>	<i>teter-ur-áresa</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-áresa</i>	<i>gef-ur-áresa</i>
3S	<i>si-r-ur-árira</i>	<i>teter-ur-árira</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-árira</i>	<i>gef-ur-árira</i>
1/3PL	<i>si-r-ur-árerá</i>	<i>teter-ur-árerá</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-árerá</i>	<i>gef-ur-árerá</i>
2PL	<i>si-r-ur-áreva</i>	<i>teter-ur-áreva</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-áreva</i>	<i>gef-ur-áreva</i>

This future imperfective set only occurs in dependent bases in sentences within the current language corpus. The event encoded by the verb it marks overlaps in some way with another event, as in example 2.65, whereas in example 2.66 the action of the stem I form *aresa* ‘you will do’ terminates before the action of *yaresa* ‘you will go’.

- 2.65 *Ategi=da Sifo buvurut-ur-arira, Bajari=da usasa janimb-arira.*
 question=GEN day come.out.II-IPF-F.3S.FN Lord=GEN brilliant.light shine-F.3S.FN
 ‘While the Judgment Day will just be approaching, the Lord’s brilliance will shine.’

- 2.66 *Ni eveva aresa, ni y-aresa.*
 2S good do.F.2S.FN 2S go.DUR-F.2S.FN
 ‘If you behave well, you will go.’

2.4.8 CUSTOMARY ASPECT: STEM I+ {-RAENA}

Korafe has two constructions that indicate generic/customary and habitual activities, sentence- or proposition-finally: the customary paradigm and the sporadic iteration clause complex that is used to encode habitual aspect, described in §9.2.4.1.2. The customary paradigm has the following independent and dependent forms:

Person	‘say’	‘enter’	‘see’	‘write’
1S	<i>se-ráena</i>	<i>tere-ráena</i>	<i>gi-ráena</i>	<i>gembu-ráena</i>
2S	<i>se-ráesa</i>	<i>tere-ráesa</i>	<i>gi-ráesa</i>	<i>gembu-ráesa</i>
3S	<i>se-ráira</i>	<i>tere-ráira</i>	<i>gi-ráira</i>	<i>gembu-ráira</i>
1/3PL	<i>se-ráera</i>	<i>tere-ráera</i>	<i>gi-ráera</i>	<i>gembu-ráera</i>
2PL	<i>se-ráeva</i>	<i>tere-ráeva</i>	<i>gi-ráeva</i>	<i>gembu-ráeva</i>

The customary forms do not refer to any specific instance of an event, but rather to its prototypical characterisation. As such, they are not bound to any specific time period, such

as future or today's past. In example 2.67, the customary form *gamburaira* occurs sentence-finally in a referencing medial verb clause chain, describing what mosquitoes always do.

- 2.67 (*Denda* "ghuin-ghuin") *S-eari* *ning-eoro*
 (Mosquito buzz-buzz say-SEQ.IR.CUST.3S.DS hear.I-SEQ.IR.CUST.3PL.DS
gi-do, amboda tamonda gambu-raira.
 see.I-SS.SEQ back.LOC body.LOC bite.I-CUST.3S.DN
 '(The mosquito buzzes) It buzzes and after it sees that we hear, it bites us
 (lit. at our body).'

2.4.9 NON-FACTUAL/COUNTERFACTUAL MOOD: STEM I + {-AETENI}²⁷
 STEM II + {-URU} + {-AETENI}

This paradigm encodes both epistemic and deontic notions in the realm of non-factivity. It is the only paradigm which hosts both speech-act value markers ({-i} and {-a}) sentence-finally in declarative sentences.

Person	'say'	'enter'	'see'	'write'
1S	<i>s-áeteni</i>	<i>ter-áeteni</i>	<i>g-áeteni</i>	<i>gemb-áeteni</i>
2S	<i>s-áetesi</i>	<i>ter-áetesi</i>	<i>g-áetesi</i>	<i>gemb-áetesi</i>
3S	<i>s-áeti</i>	<i>ter-áeti</i>	<i>g-áeti</i>	<i>gemb-áeti</i>
1/3PL	<i>s-áeteri</i>	<i>ter-áeteri</i>	<i>g-áeteri</i>	<i>gemb-áeteri</i>
2PL	<i>s-áetevu</i>	<i>ter-áetevu</i>	<i>g-áetevu</i>	<i>gemb-áetevu</i>

and also:

Person	'say'	'enter'	'see'	'write'
1S	<i>s-áetena</i>	<i>ter-áetena</i>	<i>g-áetena</i>	<i>gemb-áetena</i>
2S	<i>s-áetesa</i>	<i>ter-áetesa</i>	<i>g-áetesa</i>	<i>gemb-áetesa</i>
3S	<i>s-áetira</i>	<i>ter-áetira</i>	<i>g-áetira</i>	<i>gemb-áetira</i>
1/3PL	<i>s-áetera</i>	<i>ter-áetera</i>	<i>g-áetera</i>	<i>gemb-áetera</i>
2PL	<i>s-áeteva</i>	<i>ter-áeteva</i>	<i>g-áeteva</i>	<i>gemb-áeteva</i>

Non-factivity is asserted in the counter-factual contingency encoded in example 2.68a, in which {-i} marks the sentence-final verb. When {-a} is the speech-act value marking the verb terminating the sentence (as in 2.68b), non-factivity is only implied. That is, the meaning expressed is: *so far as I know, x has not happened yet, but I'm leaving my options open.*

- 2.68a. *Nu y-aetira a=mo, nanda koro nu g-aeti.*
 3S go.DUR-CFAC.3S.FN that=T/F 1S.GEN older.brother 3S see.I-CFAC.3S.AQ
 'If he had gone, my older brother would have seen him. (But I know he did not go.)'
- 2.68b. *Nu y-aetira a=mo, nanda koro nu g-aetira.*
 3S go.DUR-CFAC.3S.FN that=T/F my older.brother 3S see.I-CFAC.3S.FN
 'If he indeed went, my older brother saw him.'

²⁷ The morphological form and semantic configuration of this paradigm support the hypothesis that the negative deverbal *ae* 'not do' and the today's past form of the verb 'do': {*éteni*} are its components.

Deontic wishes and obligations as well as polite requests are also expressed by this paradigm. Example 2.69 expresses a strong recommendation.

2.69 *Ni oroko Tufi y-aetesi.*

2S today Tufi go.DUR-CFAC.2S.AQ

‘You ought to go to Tufi today.’

The counterfactual paradigm encoding overlap occurs with stem II forms and the irrealis imperfective morpheme {-uru}, as in:

Person	‘say’	‘enter’	‘see’	‘write’
1S	<i>si-r-ur-áeteni</i>	<i>teter-ur-áeteni</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-áeteni</i>	<i>gef-ur-áeteni</i>
2S	<i>si-r-ur-áetesi</i>	<i>teter-ur-áetesi</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-áetesi</i>	<i>gef-ur-áetesi</i>
3S	<i>si-r-ur-áeti</i>	<i>teter-ur-áeti</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-áeti</i>	<i>gef-ur-áeti</i>
1/3PL	<i>si-r-ur-áeteri</i>	<i>teter-ur-áeteri</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-áeteri</i>	<i>gef-ur-áeteri</i>
2PL	<i>si-r-ur-áetevu</i>	<i>teter-ur-áetevu</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-áetevu</i>	<i>gef-ur-áetevu</i>

and also:

Person	‘say’	‘enter’	‘see’	‘write’
1S	<i>si-r-ur-áetena</i>	<i>teter-ur-áetena</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-áetena</i>	<i>gef-ur-áetena</i>
2S	<i>si-r-ur-áetesa</i>	<i>teter-ur-áetesa</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-áetesa</i>	<i>gef-ur-áetesa</i>
3S	<i>si-r-ur-áetira</i>	<i>teter-ur-áetira</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-áetira</i>	<i>gef-ur-áetira</i>
1/3PL	<i>si-r-ur-áetera</i>	<i>teter-ur-áetera</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-áetera</i>	<i>gef-ur-áetera</i>
2PL	<i>si-r-ur-áeteva</i>	<i>teter-ur-áeteva</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-áeteva</i>	<i>gef-ur-áeteva</i>

- 2.70 *Fegha didiv-ur-aetira a=mo, na uvu mut-ono*
Fegha dance.II-IPF-CFAC.3S.FN that=T/F 1S water give.I-SEQ.R.IS.DS
mind-aeti. Nu jo div-ae gi-do, na jo
consume.I-CFAC.3S.AQ 3S NEG dance.I-not.do see.I-SEQ.SS 1S NEG
mut-ono mind-ae=ri.
give.I-SEQ.R.IS.DS consume.I-not.do=COP.AQ

‘If Fegha had danced, (during that time he was dancing) I would have given him a beverage and he would have drunk. Seeing he didn’t dance, I didn’t give him anything to drink.’

2.4.10 HORTATIVE MOOD: STEM I + {-ONE}

Hortative forms differ from others in that the basic speech-act value marker is -e, marking the speaker’s desire for the event to occur immediately. The positive hortative paradigm is illustrated below. Verbs with V or CV stem I forms (e.g. *se* ‘say’ and *gi* ‘see’) occur with an initial -a integrated with the first person and all plural suffixes.

Person	‘say’	‘enter’	‘see’	‘write’
1S	<i>s-aóne</i>	<i>ter-óne</i>	<i>g-aóne</i>	<i>gemb-óne</i>
2S	<i>s-áse</i>	<i>ter-áse</i>	<i>g-áse</i>	<i>gemb-áse</i>
3S	<i>s-áre</i>	<i>ter-áre</i>	<i>g-áre</i>	<i>gemb-áre</i>
1/3PL	<i>s-aóre</i>	<i>ter-óre</i>	<i>g-aóre</i>	<i>gemb-óre</i>
2PL	<i>s-aóve</i>	<i>ter-óve</i>	<i>g-aóve</i>	<i>gemb-óve</i>

Hortative verb forms are predicates of the final clause in sentences encoding suggestions that have only one base, composed of one (2.71a) or more clauses (2.71b).

- 2.71 a. *Y-aore!*
 go.DUR-H.1PL.CR
 ‘Let’s go!’
- b. *Y-a* *b-aore!*
 go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS get.I-H.1PL.CR
 ‘Let’s go and get it!’

They also are predicates of the clause in the second base in sentences such as 2.72, in which the first base has as its predicate an imperative form of the verb.

- 2.72 *Iruru, namane y-aore!*
 go.IPF.RED.IMP 1PL.EXC go.DUR-H.1PL.CR
 ‘Get going on your way, and we’ll be going shortly.’

Some speakers use this positive hortative suffix set to encode *-dae* purpose constructions outlined in §7.2.2.1, but most speakers use the sequencing irrealis medial set (§2.5.2.4).

2.4.11 NEGATIVE HORTATIVE MOOD: STEM I + {-EONE}

Examples of the negative hortative paradigm are:

Person	‘say’	‘enter’	‘see’	‘write’
1S	<i>s-eóne</i>	<i>ter-eóne</i>	<i>g-eóne</i>	<i>gemb-eóne</i>
2S	<i>s-eóse</i>	<i>ter-eóse</i>	<i>g-eóse</i>	<i>gemb-eóse</i>
3S	<i>s-eúre</i>	<i>ter-eúre</i>	<i>g-eúre</i>	<i>gemb-eúre</i>
1/3PL	<i>s-eóre</i>	<i>ter-eóre</i>	<i>g-eóre</i>	<i>gemb-eóre</i>
2PL	<i>s-eóve</i>	<i>ter-eóve</i>	<i>g-eóve</i>	<i>gemb-eóve</i>

The negative hortative paradigm is the negative counterpart to the imperative forms, expressing prohibitions. Negative hortative forms optionally occur with the negative focus marker {*erá*} ‘don’t’ which has the variants: *erá*, *erua*, *erama* and *eruama*.

- 2.73 *Sorara erá eove!*
 crying NEG do.NEG.H.3PL.CR
 ‘Don’t cry!’

It also occurs in negative purpose constructions (detailed in §7.2.2.2), expressing negative purpose, apprehensions and precautions.

2.4.12 IMPERATIVE MOOD:

Simple form:	stem I (+ <i>-vu</i>)
Durative form:	{ <i>ere-</i> } + stem II + (<i>-vu</i>)
Simultaneous form:	stem II + <i>-uru</i> + (<i>-vu</i>)

Korafe has three imperative sets: (1) the simple imperative, (2) the durative imperative with {*ere-*} and (3) the simultaneous imperative with {*-uru*}. Although imperative forms are final independent verbs, their paradigm is deficient, containing only second person forms. The singular and plural forms of the simple imperative set and the singular form of the other two sets are shown below:

	‘do’	‘speak’	‘enter’	‘see’	‘write’
Simple (S):	<i>e</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>tére</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>gémbu</i>
Simple (PL):	<i>é-vu</i>	<i>sé-vu</i>	<i>teré-vu</i>	<i>gí-vu</i>	<i>gembú-vu</i>
Durative:	<i>er-ú</i>	<i>re-sí</i>	<i>teter-er-ú</i>	<i>ere-gosú</i>	<i>ere-gefú</i>
Simultaneous:	<i>u-r-urú</i>	<i>si-r-urú</i>	<i>teter-urú</i>	<i>gos-urú</i>	<i>gef-urú</i>

The simple imperative indicates a command to perform the action or state encoded by the verb one time. Its singular form is identical with the stem I citation form; stress occurs with the initial syllable in non-complex verbs with three syllables or less. For plural forms, the stem I form occurs with the second person plural marker *-v* and the speech-act value marker {*-i*}, which is realised as *-u*. Stress falls on the final vowel (class or characteristic value) of the stem as example 2.74 shows with the plural command, *búvu* ‘take (PL)’.

- 2.74 *Nimamo Sextus=da ghaka bú-vu!*
 2S.father Sextus=GEN canoe take.I-2PL.IMP
 ‘Take your classificatory father Sextus’ canoe!’

The durative imperative with the imperfective marker {*ere-*} occurs very rarely. It encodes the idea: ‘do X for a while’, as *eregefú* ‘write for a while’ in example 2.75 illustrates.

- 2.75 *Ere-gefú, e-do fu-r-ase!*
 IPF-write.II.IMP do.I-SEQ.SS come.DUR-EPEN-H.2S.CR
 ‘Write for a while and then come!’

The simultaneous imperative, formed with the exocentric imperfective marker *-uru*, implies that another action will overlap with the action encoded in the command. In example 2.76, the speaker promises to come while the addressee is still doing his assignment.

- 2.76 *Na saramana mut-ena a=va ururu, na fu-r-one!*
 1S work give.I-TP.1S.FN that=CT do.II.IPF.IMP 1S come.DUR-EPEN-H.1S.CR
 ‘Get doing the work that I gave you today, and while you’re still working, I will come (back).’

When the addressee is at a distance or when the interlocutors are farewelling each other, the stentorian or declamatory *-o* terminates the imperative forms. The *y*-insertion rule applies in the formation of the singular stentorian imperatives (e.g. *e* → *e-o* → *é-yo*). The

vowel-gobbling rule applies in the formation of the plural stentorian forms (e.g. *é-vu* → *é-vu-o* → *é-vo*).

Stentorian	‘Do!’	‘Speak!’	‘Enter!’	‘See!’	‘Write!’
Singular:	<i>éyo</i>	<i>séyo</i>	<i>teréyo</i>	<i>gíyo</i>	<i>gembúyo</i>
Plural:	<i>évo</i>	<i>sévo</i>	<i>terévo</i>	<i>gívo</i>	<i>gembúvo</i>

2.5 FINITE VERB FORMS – MEDIAL VERB PARADIGMS

Like final verbs, finite same-subject and different-subject medial verb forms host a tripartite suffix set. As their name suggests, medial verbs occur sentence-medially. They must agree in status (realis or irrealis) with a subsequent final verb.

Unlike independent final verbs, medial verbs do not occur with the epistemic clitics: *asi* ‘saying that’, *tano* ‘probably’ or *tanojo* ‘perhaps’. The frustrative *ta* ‘contrary to your expectation’ occurs occasionally with DS medial verb forms.

Unlike dependent final verbs, medial verbs cannot precede demonstrative topicalisers (e.g. *amo* ‘given that’, *aimi* ‘by means of that’, *ava* ‘that (contrastive)’). Nor can they precede conjunctions which utilise these topicalisers or do not maintain iconic ordering of the events they link (e.g. *amo* ‘if, when’, *avata* ‘but, although’, *ava sedo* ‘therefore’, *ainda susu mo* ‘the source of that’).

The SS sequencing realis medial sets are described in §2.5.1. The DS medial verb paradigms are the focus of §2.5.2.

2.5.1 SAME-SUBJECT (SS) PARADIGMS

The SS sequencing realis durative medial paradigms are described in §2.5.1.1. The motion verbs *fu* ‘come’ and *i* ‘go’ have unique same-subject sequencing realis medial forms. These forms are the focus of §2.5.1.2.

2.5.1.1 SS SEQUENCING REALIS DURATIVE PARADIGMS: {ERE-} + STEM II + SUFFIX SETS

SS sequencing realis durative medial verb forms obligatorily occur with the imperfective marker {*ere-*}. They appear to occur with the same past tense (other than today’s past, which is perfective) suffix sets as dependent final verbs do, but dependent final verbs do not obligatorily host {*ere-*}. They usually occur with near past tense or enduring past tense suffixes; distant past suffixes are occasionally used. These SS medial paradigms are given below for the verb *gembu* ‘write’:

Person	Near Past	Enduring Past	Distant Past
1S	<i>ere-gef-ána</i>	<i>ere-gef-uána</i>	<i>ere-gefú-sena</i>
2S	<i>ere-gef-ása</i>	<i>ere-gef-uása</i>	<i>ere-gefú-sesa</i>
3S	<i>ere-gef-ára</i>	<i>ere-gef-uíra</i>	<i>ere-gefú-sira</i>
1/3PL	<i>ere-gef-ára</i>	<i>ere-gef-uára</i>	<i>ere-gefú-sera</i>
2PL	<i>ere-gef-áva</i>	<i>ere-gef-iáva</i>	<i>ere-gefú-seva</i>

- As stated in §2.2.2, the motion verbs *fu* ‘come’ and *i* ‘go’ and the stative verb *iri* ‘remain’ do not occur as SS sequencing medial verb forms with *-do*. Instead, they occur with SS sequencing irrealis and realis durative medial forms. Although *iri* ‘remain’ is inherently imperfective and does not occur with {*ere-*}, it does occur with the regular suffix sets. When *fu* ‘come’ and *i* ‘go’ occur with {*ere-*} and the suffix sets, movement for an extended temporal interval is encoded. The use of these verbs in discourse is further discussed in §11.1.4.

To encode much shorter intervals, the motion verbs *fu* ‘come’ and *i* ‘go’ use the SS sequencing realis paradigms shown in Table 2.5.

TABLE 2.5: SS SEQUENCING REALIS MEDIAL FORMS OF *I* AND *FU*

	IS	2S	3S	1/3PL	2PL
Today's Past:					
‘go’	<i>a-ena</i>	<i>a-esa</i>	<i>a-ira</i>	<i>a-era</i>	<i>a-eva</i>
‘come’	<i>oj-ena</i>	<i>oj-esa</i>	<i>oj-ira</i>	<i>oj-era</i>	<i>oj-eva</i>
Past:					
‘go’	<i>ena</i>	<i>esa</i>	<i>ira</i>	<i>era</i>	<i>eva</i>
‘come’	<i>f-ena</i>	<i>f-esa</i>	<i>f-ira</i>	<i>f-era</i>	<i>f-eva</i>

The today's past SS medial verb forms of *i* ‘go’ and *fu* ‘come’ are homophonous with the today's past dependent final verb forms. These today's past forms occur in SRCs terminated by today's past or present tense final verb forms. The past medial verb forms differ from the corresponding dependent final verb forms: *ena* versus *imutana* (YP) and *isena* (DP), *fena* versus *fumutana* (YP) and *fusena* (DP). The past forms occur in SRCs terminated by yesterday's past or distant past tense final verb forms.

In example 2.79, the sequencing realis past SS medial forms *fena* ‘I came and’ and *ena* ‘I went and’ occur in an SRC that terminates with a final verb in the distant past tense: *sisira* ‘he said’.

- 2.79 ...*na jovereghe f-ena nati=da oto*
 IS turn.around.ND come.DUR-SEQ.R.PAST.IS.SS village=LOC axe
bu-do ena afa=dae mut-eno
 get.ND-SEQ.SS go.DUR.SEQ.R.PAST.IS.SS father=BEN give.ND-SEQ.R.IS.DS
afa s-isira...
 father say.DUR-DP.3S.FN
 ‘...I turned around and came (back) to the village, got the axe, went and gave
 it to father, and father said...’

A copula or final verb in any tense can terminate sentences with dependent final verbs predicating dependent bases. In the topic-comment in example 2.80, a distant past dependent final verb form *fusena* ‘I came’ terminates an SRC, which functions as an internally headed relative construction. This construction relativised by *avo* ‘that one’ forms the comment which terminates with the copula *ri*.

- 2.80 *Emo nearo de-do ond-eso, vose jughu=da*
 this.T/F 2S.wife hit.I-SEQ.SS run.off-TP.2S.DS descend.I underneath.house=LOC
anumbe-do sorara+iri gi-do, nane unumbe bu-do
 sit.I-SEQ.SS cry+do.SIM.R.3S.DS see.I-SEQ.SS IS.ACT escort.I get.I-SEQ.SS
fu-sena avo=ri!
 come.DUR-DP.IS.FN that.CT=COP.AQ
 ‘This is that wife of yours (that) you hit and chased off and (that one) that descended
 and sat underneath the house, and that I saw crying, and that I escorted and brought
 (home)!’

In example 2.81, a distant past dependent final form of the verb *i* ‘go’ occurs in the dependent base of a sentence that terminates with a today’s past final verb: *ojeri* ‘they have come’.

- 2.81 *O, namonde i-sera a=in=da mino=da*
 those 1PL.INC go.DUR-DP.1PL.FN that=CEFF=GEN payback=LOC
oj-eri.
 come.NDUR-TP.3PL.AQ
 ‘Those (people) have come in return for (when) we went (to visit them).’

2.5.2 DIFFERENT SUBJECT (DS) MEDIAL VERB PARADIGMS

Korafe has four realis and six irrealis DS medial verb paradigms. Each of the paradigms is comprised of a stem and a suffix set. When the imperfective morpheme occurs, the stem II form of the verb must occur. The general structure of DS medial verbs is:

verb stem I/II (IPF) + suffix set.

The suffix sets have the following constituents:

Relative timing/STATUS + SUBJECT:PERSON/NUMBER + {-o}.

The initial partial by itself or in combination with an imperfective marker indicates the relative timing of the verb it marks (prior to [SEQ] or overlapping [SIM]) with the verb predicating the reference clause and the status (realis or irrealis) of the marked medial verb. The second partial marks the person and number of the subject referent in the marking clause. The final {-o} expresses the outward focus, indicating that it has a relationship with the subsequent reference clause, and more specifically indicating that the reference clause has a different subject than the marking clause.

The suffix sets for DS medial verb forms are shown in Table 2.6. Both the imperfective {-uru} and the suffix sets are given for the simultaneous irrealis paradigms. But only the suffix sets are shown for the DS near past and DS enduring past medial paradigms, because placement of {ere-} depends on the stem configuration, as given in the *ere* placement rule in §(7) at the beginning of this chapter.

TABLE 2.6: BASIC SUFFIX SETS FOR DS MEDIAL VERB FORMS

Sets without an Imperfective Marker:					
	SIM.R	SEQ.REALIS	SEQ.IR.(F)	SEQ.IR.CUST	SEQ.IR.NEG.H
Stem	Stem II	Stem I	Stem I	Stem I	Stem I
1S	<i>é-n-o</i>	<i>‘(t)e-n-o</i>	<i>(a)ó-n-o</i>	<i>é-o-n-o</i>	<i>eó-n-o</i>
2S	<i>é-s-o</i>	<i>‘(t)e-s-o</i>	<i>á-s-o</i>	<i>é-a-s-o</i>	<i>eó-s-o</i>
3S	<i>iri</i>	<i>‘(t)iri</i>	<i>ári</i>	<i>éari</i>	<i>euri</i>
1/3PL	<i>é-r-o</i>	<i>‘(t)e-r-o</i>	<i>(a)ó-r-o</i>	<i>é-o-r-o</i>	<i>eó-r-o</i>
2PL	<i>é-v-o</i>	<i>‘(t)e-v-o</i>	<i>(a)ó-v-o</i>	<i>é-o-v-o</i>	<i>eó-v-o</i>

Continued over....

Sets with an Imperfective Marker:

	SEQ.NP	SEQ.EP	SIM.IR.(F)	SIM.IR.CUST	SIM.I.NEG.H
Stem	{ <i>ere-</i> }+II	{ <i>ere-</i> }+II	II+{- <i>uru</i> }	II+{- <i>uru</i> }	II+{- <i>uru</i> }
1S	<i>á-n-o</i>	<i>uá-n-o</i>	<i>uru-r-ó-n-o</i>	<i>uru-r-é-o-n-o</i>	<i>uru-r-eó-n-o</i>
2S	<i>á-s-o</i>	<i>uá-s-o</i>	<i>uru-r-á-s-o</i>	<i>uru-r-é-a-s-o</i>	<i>uru-r-eó-s-o</i>
3S	<i>ári</i>	<i>eiri</i>	<i>uru-r-ári</i>	<i>uru-r-éari</i>	<i>uru-r-euri</i>
1/3PL	<i>á-r-o</i>	<i>uá-r-o</i>	<i>uru-r-ó-r-o</i>	<i>uru-r-é-o-r-o</i>	<i>uru-r-eó-r-o</i>
2PL	<i>á-v-o</i>	<i>uá-v-o</i>	<i>uru-r-ó-v-o</i>	<i>uru-r-é-o-v-o</i>	<i>uru-r-eó-v-o</i>

2.5.2.1 DS REALIS SEQUENCING PARADIGM: STEM I + {-ENO}

The sequencing realis medial verb paradigm is the most frequently used DS medial verb set. Examples of the paradigm are:

Person	'say'	'enter'	'see'	'write'
1S	<i>sé-teno</i>	<i>teré-teno</i>	<i>g-éno</i>	<i>gém-b-eno</i>
2S	<i>sé-teso</i>	<i>teré-teso</i>	<i>g-éso</i>	<i>gém-b-eso</i>
3S	<i>sé-tiri</i>	<i>teré-tiri</i>	<i>g-íri</i>	<i>gém-b-iri</i>
1/3PL	<i>sé-tero</i>	<i>teré-tero</i>	<i>g-éro</i>	<i>gém-b-ero</i>
2PL	<i>sé-tevo</i>	<i>teré-tevo</i>	<i>g-évo</i>	<i>gém-b-evo</i>

This paradigm resembles the today's past tense final forms, and exhibits the same fluctuation between *e*-verbs using the *-teno* suffix set and *i*-verbs and *u*-verbs with the *-eno* suffix set. The underlined medial verb *gembero* 'we have written' in example 2.82 refers to an event with realis status that occurred prior to the event marked by the present tense form of the verb, *tetererira* 'it is entering', which terminates the SRC.

- 2.82 ...*geka nunda dangio=ghae dabade gemb-ero*
 talk 3S.GEN shadow=COM.D together write.I-SEQ.R.1PL.DS

teter-er-ira.

enter.II-IPF-PRES.3S.FN

'...the explanations together with their pictures, we have written and they are entering (being recorded in the book).'

2.5.2.2 DS REALIS SEQUENCING DURATIVE PARADIGMS:

NEAR PAST: {*ERE-*} + STEM II + {-*ANO*}

ENDURING PAST: {*ERE-*} + STEM II + {-*UANO*}

Korafe has two DS sequencing durative paradigms that are very occasionally used: the near past and the enduring past paradigms. Both obligatorily occur with the imperfective marker {*ere-*}. The DS sequencing near past medial paradigm resembles the near past final paradigm, except for the final {-*o*}. It encodes iterated events or processes that began yesterday or today and terminated before or right at the commencement of the event encoded by the reference clause.

Person	'say'	'enter'	'see'	'write'
1S	<i>re-s-ano</i>	<i>teter-er-áno</i>	<i>ere-gos-áno</i>	<i>ere-gef-áno</i>
2S	<i>re-s-aso</i>	<i>teter-er-áso</i>	<i>ere-gos-áso</i>	<i>ere-gef-áso</i>
3S	<i>re-s-ari</i>	<i>teter-er-ári</i>	<i>ere-gos-ári</i>	<i>ere-gef-ári</i>
1/3PL	<i>re-s-aro</i>	<i>teter-er-áro</i>	<i>ere-gos-áro</i>	<i>ere-gef-áro</i>
2PL	<i>re-s-avo</i>	<i>teter-er-ávo</i>	<i>ere-gos-ávo</i>	<i>ere-gef-ávo</i>

The DS sequencing enduring past medial paradigm resembles the enduring past final paradigm, except for the final {-o}. It indicates a process or iterated activity that began at least three days ago but may have begun long before in the enduring past. The available examples all encode activities that terminate at the point the event encoded in the reference clause commences.

Person	'say'	'enter'	'see'	'write'
1S	<i>re-s-iáno</i>	<i>teter-er-uáno</i>	<i>ere-gos-uáno</i>	<i>ere-gef-uáno</i>
2S	<i>re-s-iáso</i>	<i>teter-er-uáso</i>	<i>ere-gos-uáso</i>	<i>ere-gef-uáso</i>
3S	<i>re-s-iári</i>	<i>teter-er-uári</i>	<i>ere-gos-uári</i>	<i>ere-gef-uári</i>
1/3PL	<i>re-s-iáro</i>	<i>teter-er-uáro</i>	<i>ere-gos-uáro</i>	<i>ere-gef-uáro</i>
2PL	<i>re-s-iávo</i>	<i>teter-er-uávo</i>	<i>ere-gos-uávo</i>	<i>ere-gef-uávo</i>

In example 2.83, the activity encoded by the DS sequencing enduring past medial verb *eregefuano* 'I was weaving' terminates at the point the speaker ran out of the string encoded by the reference clause, *asi dadabetira*, which has as its predicate a final verb in the today's past tense.

- 2.83 *Ati ere-gef-uano asi dadabe-tira.*
 stringbag IPF-write.II-SEQ.R.EP.1S.DS string finish.I-TP.3S.FN
 'I was weaving a stringbag until I ran out of string.'

2.5.2.3 DS REALIS SIMULTANEOUS PARADIGM: STEM II + {-ENO}

The simultaneous realis different subject medial paradigm resembles the present tense verb forms without {ere-}, but with final {-o} instead of {-a}. These forms indicate temporal overlap between the predicate of the marking clause and the predicate of the reference clause. The following examples illustrate the paradigm:

Person	'say'	'enter'	'see'	'write'
1S	<i>s-éno</i>	<i>teter-éno</i>	<i>gos-éno</i>	<i>gef-éno</i>
2S	<i>s-éso</i>	<i>teter-éso</i>	<i>gos-éso</i>	<i>gef-éso</i>
3S	<i>s-íri</i>	<i>teter-íri</i>	<i>gos-íri</i>	<i>gef-íri</i>
1/3PL	<i>s-éro</i>	<i>teter-éro</i>	<i>gos-éro</i>	<i>gef-éro</i>
2PL	<i>s-évo</i>	<i>teter-évo</i>	<i>gos-évo</i>	<i>gef-évo</i>

In example 2.84, the verbs *irero* 'while they were living' and *darigero* 'while they were clearing out' have simultaneous realis medial forms.

- 2.84 ...*kora a=in=da totofo Evaraga+Oyani a=i*
 white.sand.beach that=CEFF=GEN owners Evaraga+Oyani that=CEFF

ir-ero Korafe *buv-eri*. *Buvu-do*
 remain-SIM.R.3S.DS Korafe arrive.I-TP.3S.AQ arrive.I-SEQ.SS

de-tero *darig-ero* Korafe *anumbe-teri*.
 hit.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS clear.out-SIM.R.3PL.DS Korafe sit.I-TP.3PL.AQ

‘...while the proper owners of that beach, Evaraga and Oyani clans were living (there), the Korafe arrived. They arrived, attacked them, and while they (Evaraga and Oyani) were clearing out, the Korafe settled (there).’

These two verbs encode events that overlap with the events signalled by the final verbs in each of the sentences.

2.5.2.4 DS IRREALIS (FUTURE) PARADIGMS:

Sequencing paradigm: stem I + {-ono}
 Simultaneous paradigm: stem II + {-uru} + {-ono}

The DS irrealis (future) medial set is more frequently used than the other irrealis medial sets, the customary and negative hortative. Both sequencing and simultaneous paradigms of each of these sets occur with the same suffix sets. But the sequencing paradigm manifests stem I forms, and the simultaneous paradigm occurs with stem II forms and the imperfective marker {-uru}. The sequencing paradigm resembles the hortative mood paradigm, even exhibiting the fluctuation between {-one} and {-aone}, but occurring with final {-o} rather than -e. Paradigm examples are:

Person	‘say’	‘enter’	‘see’	‘write’
1S	<i>s-aóno</i>	<i>ter-óno</i>	<i>g-aóno</i>	<i>gemb-óno</i>
2S	<i>s-áso</i>	<i>ter-áso</i>	<i>g-áso</i>	<i>gemb-áso</i>
3S	<i>s-ári</i>	<i>ter-ári</i>	<i>g-ári</i>	<i>gemb-ári</i>
1/3PL	<i>s-aóro</i>	<i>ter-óro</i>	<i>g-aóro</i>	<i>gemb-óro</i>
2PL	<i>s-aóvo</i>	<i>ter-óvo</i>	<i>g-aóvo</i>	<i>gemb-óvo</i>

This paradigm occurs in SRCs that terminate with any irrealis form: future tense, customary aspect, counterfactual mood and positive hortative mood paradigms, positive and negative deverbals and forms in the imperative mood. The underlined verbs are marked as DS sequencing irrealis medial forms in the following examples which terminate with a final hortative form (2.85), a counterfactual form (2.86), a customary form (2.87) and a negative deverbal construction (2.88).

- 2.85 *Fu*, *s-aso* *ning-one!*
 come.DUR.IMP say.I-SEQ.IR.2S.DS hear.I-IR.1S.H
 ‘Come, tell me so that I may hear (about it)!’
- 2.86 *Ni na* *s-aso* *ning-aeteni*.
 2S 1S say-SEQ.IR.2S.DS hear.I-CFAC.1S.AQ
 ‘You might have informed me and I would have heard it.’
- 2.87 *J-aoro* *av-ari* *dunge-raera*.
 chop.I-SEQ.IR.1PL.DS dry-SEQ.IR.3S.DS burn.I-CUST.1PL.FN
 ‘We hack (down the bush), it dries, and we burn it.’

2.88 ...oka jo eni f-oa der-ari
 fish NEG a come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS touch.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS

jumb-ae=ri.

pull.in-not.do=COP.AQ

‘...not a single fish came and nibbled at the line (and so we) didn’t pull any in.’

Examples of the DS simultaneous irrealis medial paradigm are:

Person	‘say’	‘enter’	‘see’	‘write’
1S	si-r-ur-óno	teter-ur-óno	gosu-r-ur-óno	gef-ur-óno
2S	si-r-ur-áso	teter-ur-áso	gosu-r-ur-áso	gef-ur-áso
3S	si-r-ur-ári	teter-ur-ári	gosu-r-ur-ári	gef-ur-ári
1/3PL	si-r-ur-óro	teter-ur-óro	gosu-r-ur-óro	gef-ur-óro
2PL	si-r-ur-óvo	teter-ur-óvo	gosu-r-ur-óvo	gef-ur-óvo

The surface structure forms illustrated by the above paradigm examples result from applying the r-insertion and regressive vowel gobbling phonological rules. The simultaneous irrealis medial verb *ururoro* ‘while they will be endeavoring’ indicate that its action overlaps with the actions of the verbs that follow it in example 2.89.

2.89 ...kasoko b-ari=dae u-r-uroro oka sumbu
 dip.net get.I-DVB=PUR do.II-EPEN-SIM.IR.3PL.DS²⁸ fish run.I

y-ama baghimb-arira.

go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS get.lost-F.3S.FN

‘...while they will be endeavoring to get the dip net, the fish will run away and disappear (lit. go get lost).’

2.5.2.5 DS CUSTOMARY PARADIGMS:

Sequencing paradigm: stem I + {-éono}

Simultaneous paradigm: stem II + {-uru} + {-éono}

The DS customary medial paradigms occur only in SRCs that obligatorily terminate with a customary aspect final verb form or an habitual clause complex. Paradigm examples are:

Person	‘say’	‘enter’	‘see’	‘write’
1S	s-éono	ter-éono	g-éono	gemb-éono
2S	s-éaso	ter-éaso	g-éaso	gemb-éaso
3S	s-éari	ter-éari	g-éari	gemb-éari
1/3PL	s-éoro	ter-éoro	g-éoro	gemb-éoro
2PL	s-eovo	ter-eovo	g-eovo	gemb-eovo

²⁸

For the rest of the interlinear examples, the morpheme-by-morpheme translation for medial verbs with {-uru} will not include the marking imperfective. The marking SIM with irrealis (IR), customary (CUST) and negative hortative (NEG.H) will signal the presence of the imperfective marker, as in:

u-r-uroro or gef-uroro or gef-ureoro
 do.II-EPEN-SIM.IR.3PL.DS write.II-SIM.IR.3PL.DS write.II-SIM.CUST.3PL.DS.

In example 2.90 the underlined sequencing irrealis customary medial verbs occur in an SRC that terminates with a customary final verb.

- 2.90 *Nano+namendi* *amb-éaro*²⁹ *a=in=dae*
 older.brother+younger.brother die.I-SEQ.IR.CUST.3PL.DS that=CEFF=BEN
dubo+vevera+eari *a=in=dae* *kae*
 neck+hot+do.SEQ.IR.CUST.3S.DS that=CEFF=BEN poison
bor-éaro *simore-raira.*
 roast-SEQ.IR.CUST.3PL.DS be.born.I-CUST.3S.FN
 ‘Brothers die, therefore “neck gets hot” (anger happens), therefore we
 roast poison and it comes into being.’

Examples of the DS simultaneous customary paradigm are:

Person	‘say’	‘enter’	‘see’	‘write’
1S	<i>si-r-ur-éono</i>	<i>teter-ur-éono</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-éono</i>	<i>gef-ur-éono</i>
2S	<i>si-r-ur-éaso</i>	<i>teter-ur-éaso</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-éaso</i>	<i>gef-ur-éaso</i>
3S	<i>si-r-ur-éari</i>	<i>teter-ur-éari</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-éari</i>	<i>gef-ur-éari</i>
1/3PL	<i>si-r-ur-éoro</i>	<i>teter-ur-éoro</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-éoro</i>	<i>gef-ur-éoro</i>
2PL	<i>si-r-ur-éovo</i>	<i>teter-ur-éovo</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-éovo</i>	<i>gef-ur-éovo</i>

One only rarely finds the simultaneous customary medial verb forms in texts, because the DS simultaneous irrealis (future) forms are used instead. When employed, the simultaneous customary medials encode events that overlap with other events on a customary or habitual basis, like the mosquito’s advent while people are sleeping (*avitureoro*) in example 2.91.

- 2.91 *Nu, baimara+sifo buv-eari, evetu+genembo*
 3S famine+day come.out.I-IR.CUST.3S.DS woman+man
avi-r-ur-éoro, *tumba-ghae f-oama* *vasa*
 sleep.II-EPEN-SIM.CUST.3PL.DS night-COM come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS.T/F place
digari jo gamb-ae e-raira.
 many NEG bite.I-not.do do.I-CUST.3S.FN
 ‘After the famine season arrives (and is in full swing), and while people are
sleeping, it comes at night and doesn’t bite (them in) many places. (No, it first
 buzzes in the person’s ear. Then it bites his/her body.)’

2.5.2.6 DS NEGATIVE HORTATIVE PARADIGMS:

Sequencing paradigm:	stem I + {-éono}
Simultaneous paradigm:	stem II + {-uru} + {-éono}

The DS negative hortative medial forms occur only in SRCs where the final reference clause has as its predicate a negative hortative final verb form. Like the negative hortative

²⁹ Some older speakers utilise this paradigm: *-éaono, -éaso, -éari, -éaoro, -éaovo*. Because of the current trend to allow only two unique vowels in a sequence, most speakers use the {-éono} set, but Elijah Simati modified the sequence to ‘ea’ rather than ‘eo’ in this example: *boréaro* and *ambéaro*.

final verb forms, these forms occur with stress on the second vowel in the suffix. Examples of the sequencing negative hortative medial paradigm are:

Person	‘say’	‘enter’	‘see’	‘write’
1S	<i>s-eóno</i>	<i>ter-eóno</i>	<i>g-eóno</i>	<i>gemb-eóno</i>
2S	<i>s-eóso</i>	<i>ter-eóso</i>	<i>g-eóso</i>	<i>gemb-eóso</i>
3S	<i>s-eúri</i>	<i>ter-eúri</i>	<i>g-eúri</i>	<i>gemb-eúri</i>
1/3PL	<i>s-eóro</i>	<i>ter-eóro</i>	<i>g-eóro</i>	<i>gemb-eóro</i>
2PL	<i>s-eóvo</i>	<i>ter-eóvo</i>	<i>g-eóvo</i>	<i>gemb-eóvo</i>
Person	‘say’	‘enter’	‘see’	‘write’
1S	<i>si-r-ur-eóno</i>	<i>teter-ur-eóno</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-eóno</i>	<i>gef-ur-eóno</i>
2S	<i>si-r-ur-eóso</i>	<i>teter-ur-eóso</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-eóso</i>	<i>gef-ur-eóso</i>
3S	<i>si-r-ur-eúri</i>	<i>teter-ur-eúri</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-eúri</i>	<i>gef-ur-eúri</i>
1/3PL	<i>si-r-ur-eóro</i>	<i>teter-ur-eóro</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-eóro</i>	<i>gef-ur-eóro</i>
2PL	<i>si-r-ur-eóvo</i>	<i>teter-ur-eóvo</i>	<i>gosu-r-ur-eóvo</i>	<i>gef-ur-eóvo</i>

The negative hortative medial form refers strictly to hypothetical events that the speaker hopes will never eventuate in the real world. The negative hortative focus marker {*erá*} usually precedes the initial constituent in multiclausal negative hortative SRCs.

- 2.92 *Erá eóvo, dara re-f-ua*
 NEG:IPF.do.SEQ.IR.SS do.SEQ.NEG.IR.2PL.DS trouble IPF-come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
tamb-eúre!
 find.I-NEG.IR.3S.H
 ‘Don’t do it lest trouble come and come and come and find (your doorstep).’

In example 2.93, the negative hortative forms are used in an SRC in a negative purpose construction encoding an apprehension.

- 2.93 *Na oju+etení, erá vironu*
 1S fear+do.I-TP.1S.AQ NEG:IPF.do.SEQ.IR.SS speech
si-r-ureúri bainghe du-r-eóne=dae.
 say.II-EPEN-SIM.NEG.HORT.3S.DS nod.I fall.I-EPEN-NEG.IR.1S.H=PUR
 ‘I was afraid lest while he would be delivering (his) speech, I would nod off and fall (down from my perch).’

2.6 NOMINAL + VERB COMBINATIONS IN KORAFE

Like other Papuan languages, Korafe has complex expressions formed by nominals or nominal compounds with verbs. The nominals may relate to accompanying verbs as either complements or adjuncts.³⁰ The term ‘complement’ is used here to refer to obligatory nominal constituents which are objects of accompanying verbs or predicate complements. The term ‘adjunct’ is used for nominal constituents which modify accompanying verbs.

³⁰ Adjunct is the term that many Papuan linguists (Pawley 1968:30; Lang 1975:85ff.; Scott 1978:50; Foley 1986:117) have used for the nominal in these constructions. Pawley (1993:96) discusses them as “nominal or adverbial complements” preceding a generic verb in “complex expressions”.

Some combinations of nominal complements occur with generic verbs, such as *e* ‘do’, *ghe* ‘do again, continue’ and *se* ‘say’, as in the following:

Korafe N(N)+V:	Literal rendering:	Free translation:
<i>isoro e</i>	war make	‘wage war on enemies’
<i>saramana e</i>	work do	‘work’
<i>foká e</i>	excrement make	‘defecate’
<i>kasama e</i>	knowledge do	‘know, learn’
<i>inono e</i>	equivalence do	‘measure, be sufficient’
<i>fakina e</i>	strength do	‘be strong’
<i>ghousa e</i>	long/length do	‘be/become long’
<i>fakara e</i>	hard do	‘become hard/difficult’
<i>eghovo fakara e</i>	chin hard do	‘keep a stiff upper lip’
<i>dubo mema e</i>	neck pain do	‘feel sad, grieve’
<i>koto e</i>	court do	‘(be) put on trial’
<i>maketa e</i>	market do	‘sell’
<i>tafaroro e</i>	church service do	‘hold a church service’
<i>Baiboro se</i>	Bible say	‘promise on the Bible’
<i>kori se</i>	shout say	‘shout’
<i>ekono se</i>	cough say	‘cough’
<i>kokoreko se</i>	cockadoodle-doo say	‘crow (rooster)’
<i>mema se</i>	pain say	‘ache, throb, pain’
<i>(yau)yaughe</i> ³¹	cold do again	‘rejuvenate, get cold’
<i>tirotaroghe</i>	ripples do again	‘slosh, ripple, lap’
<i>(bain)bainghe</i>	nod do again	‘nod off, bow head’
<i>(joru)jorughe</i>	leap do again	‘leap, hurdle’
<i>fesifasaghe</i>	drip do again	‘leak, drip, sprinkle’

The most productive nominal + verb combination in Korafe involves the generic verb *e* ‘do’. The Korafe readily import words from other languages and combine them with *e* ‘do’ to coin new expressions such as *maketa e* ‘sell’ (from English) and *tafaroro e* ‘hold a church service’ (from Wedau).

Several lexically fixed complex expressions in Korafe are formed by the combination of a lexically restricted set of verbs with nominal complements. Some of these combinations are semantically transparent; others are semantically opaque. Korafe combinations that are semantically transparent are:

³¹ The combinations with *ghe* are always phonologically bound; the combinations with *e* and *se* are not. (See discussion below.)

<i>boare de</i>	tattoo hit	'tattoo (someone)'
<i>ambe de</i>	sago hit	'process sago'
<i>jinongu tambu</i>	swoon find	'swoon'
<i>ata gae</i>	foot spear	'spear/sting foot'
<i>bairobo bu</i>	choice of catch get	'get first pick of catch'
<i>buri dighi</i>	tether tie	'tether'
<i>uvu mindi</i>	liquid consume	'drink'
<i>oka bambu</i>	fish get	'catch fish'

Combinations that cannot be semantically predicted from their constituents include:

<i>tamo de</i>	body hit	'become accustomed to'
<i>agho de</i>	handle hit	'make a law'
<i>eghovo de</i>	chin hit	'comfort'
<i>avo gae</i>	bottom spear	'coax, persuade'
<i>dubo bu</i>	neck get	'love'
<i>tambuno gi</i>	moon see	'menstruate'
<i>kae tambu</i>	poison find	'get sick'
<i>ghamo mindi</i>	lungs eat	'catch one's breath'

A limited set of verbs occurs with adjunct nominals in a few complex expressions. The verb contributes the basic lexical and grammatical content to the expression. The adjuncts modify the verb, expressing a manner or instrumental sense. Unlike the complement nominals, adjunct nominals are not core arguments of accompanying verbs.³² Nor do they behave like oblique arguments which are marked by postpositions. Some examples are:

<i>iji avi</i>	sun burn/dry	'sun-dry'
<i>oju sumbu</i>	fear run	'flee, run away in fear'
<i>yaura gute</i>	wind bathe	'be chilled in wind'
<i>uvu gute</i>	water bathe	'bathe in water'
<i>soesa fuge</i>	haphazard throw	'squander'
<i>bagia bambu</i>	thievery get	'take without asking'
<i>imboe do</i>	averse leave	'turn up one's nose at'
<i>ata fete</i>	foot stand	'stand surely'
<i>dubo bune</i>	neck not know	'become confused'

The examples listed above and many other Korafe nominal + verb combinations can be positioned on a continuum that registers degree of bonding. At one end of the continuum are combinations which occur only as phonologically bound units and are written consistently that way. For example, the Korafe write as single words some of the compounds with *e* 'do', and all the compounds involving *ghe* 'do again, continue'; e.g. *ijugétira* 'he taught' (from *ijuga* 'teaching' + *e*), *baingherira* 'he is nodding off'. There are four phonological processes commonly used in bonding nominals with verbs. These all occur in the combination: *jebúga* 'life' + *e* 'do' (*etira* 'he did' is used here). The combination undergoes regressive vowel gobbling and stress perturbation to become

³² Some of the nominals functioning as 'adjunct' nominals in these combinations occur as complement nominals with the verb *e* 'do'; e.g. *oju e* 'fear, be afraid', *imboe e* 'detest, be averse to', *bagia e* 'steal'.

jébugetira ‘he recovered’.³³ Stress is reduced to occurring on one of the components, either the nominal segment as shown above, or the verbal segment, as in *jebugétira* ‘he recovered’. Although the nominal *jebúga* ‘life’ cannot be reduplicated, the nominal + verb combination can be reduplicated to emphasise distribution of the action over each experiencer, as in *jejébugeteri* ‘each one of them got well’.

At the other end of the continuum are those combinations which remain separate words phonologically, with each component (nominal and verbal) non-reduced, retaining word stress and potentially occurring as separate constituents in clauses. Some of the semantically opaque sequences are fairly inseparable, rarely occurring as separate sentence constituents. For example, the expression *dubo bu* ‘love (lit. neck get)’ deverbalises as a unit modifying *mandi* ‘boy’ in example 2.94a. When *káto* intensifies the deverbal, the entire expression must be intensified, as shown in example 2.94b. In example 2.94c, the object complement + verb combination functions as a unit predicating a transitive clause with the overt object, *ni* ‘you’. Although *dubo bu* can intensify as a verbal unit as in example 2.94d, example 2.94e is ungrammatical, because the nominal cannot be separately intensified. The nominal *dubo* is never permitted to head a separate NP when it occurs in conjunction with *bu* in the same clause.

2.94a *Nu nan=da dubo+b-ari mandi=ri.*
 3S 1S=LOC neck+get.I-DVB boy=COP.AQ
 ‘He is my favourite son.’

2.94b *Koro dubo+b-ari=káto...*
 older.brother neck+get.I-DVB=much.doing
 ‘Older brother, who is full of love...’

2.94c *Na ni dubo+ere-rur-ena.*
 1S 2S neck+IPF-get.II-PRES.1S.FN
 ‘I love you.’

2.94d *Na ni dubo+bu gogoghomb-er-ena.*
 1S 2S neck+get.I do.well.I-IPF-PRES.1S.FN
 ‘I love you with all my heart.’

2.94e **Na ni dubo beká a=va ere-rur-ena.*
 1S 2S neck true that=CT IPF-get.II-PRES.1S.FN

Nevertheless, Korafe does permit the negative focus marker *jo* to intervene between the nominal and verbal component of these combinations.

³³ Some nominals that occur in combination with *e* ‘do’ are found only bonded, not in isolation, in modern Korafe. Like *jebugetira*, stress occurs either on their nominal segment or on their verbal segment (e.g. *dadábetira* or *dadabétiira* ‘it ended’), but not on both. Examples are: *dadabe* ‘be finished’, *sirore* ‘be born’, *itatame* ‘feel’, *kamuse* ‘card’, *fase* ‘lie prone’ and a few others. The distinctive hortative forms these combinations have indicate that *e* ‘do’ is their verbal component. They occur with: *-aone* (1S), *-aore* (1/3PL), and *-aove* (2PL), instead of *-one*, *-ore*, and *-ove*, manifested by other verbs with more than CV stem I forms.

- 2.95 *Sasingu mendeni noi+numamo dubo jo b-ae*
 children some 3S.mother+3S.father neck NEG get.I-not.do

e-raera.

do.I-CUST.3PL.FN

'Some children do not love their parents.'

The institutionalised term for 'sorcery' is *kae jighari* 'poison holding'. This combination usually functions as a unit as in *kae jighari kato* 'one who repeatedly performs sorcery'. But unlike *dubo* in *dubo bu*, the nominal *kae* can be the head of a separate NP occasionally. For instance, in example 2.96 the subject *nine* 'you (focal actor)' intervenes between *kae* and *jigheso*.

- 2.96 *Gagara kae ni-ne jigh-eso fas-ir-ira?*
 girl poison 2S-ACT hold.I-SEQ.R.2S.DS lie.prone-remain-PRES.3S.FN
 'Was it you who practiced sorcery on the girl and she is prostrate?'

The components of *saramana e* 'work (lit. work do)' function separately quite often. The noun *saramana* 'work' occurs with the nominal intensifier *kato* without the verb *e* 'do': *saramana=kato* 'servant'. It also occurs as a separate head of noun phrase constituents in clauses, as example 2.97 indicates.

- 2.97 *Okia=da saramana mokogo=mo evevetu a=imi*
 clay.pot=GEN work center.CPAR=T/F women.RED that=CEFF.T/F

e-raera.

do.I-CUST.3PL.FN

'The manufacture of clay pots for the most part, the women do.'

However, the juxtaposed combination can undergo regressive vowel gobbling, yielding the reduced combination *sarámanétira* 'he worked'.

All of these combinations can be regarded as lexicalised expressions which the Korafe recognise as conventional and institutionalised and use regularly as units.³⁴ Some of the nominals are incorporated with verbs into phonologically united lexical verb compounds in Korafe, but for the most part, combinations of nominals with verbs retain their separate stress patterns and word status. These nominals sometimes function as heads of distinct NP clause constituents, but at other times they combine with verbs to function as the predicates in clauses. They are included here as verbal lexemes, because they are 'terms' for events that often are treated as phonological, syntactic and semantic units in Korafe.

³⁴ In order to categorise these nominal + verb complex expressions as either lexemes or products of syntactic rules, one must determine what constitutes the lexicon. According to Pawley (1985:86, 1986:98-104,116), grammarians and lexicographers differ in their conceptualisation of the lexicon. The grammarians' lexicon "contains all and only the unpredictable pairings of form and meaning, i.e. morphemes and various sorts of idioms". The lexicographers' lexicon includes "any composite form if it is a common usage, i.e. it if is recognised by members of the language community as a standard way of referring to a familiar concept or conceptual situation". The lexicographers' conceptualisation is preferred in this work.

CHAPTER 3

NOUN PHRASES: THEIR STRUCTURES AND FUNCTIONS

3.1 STRUCTURE

Korafe has several types of noun phrases (NPs). These include: headless noun phrases, noun phrases headed by personal pronouns, conjoined noun phrases, juxtaposed and summarising noun phrases.

Korafe also has a number of complement and relative constructions that function as heads or modifiers of NPs.

3.1.1 STANDARD NPs

Standard NPs occur with an obligatory head, an optional pre-head and four optional post-head modifying constituents.¹ The head consists of a noun or a nominal compound. The pre-head constituent is a possessive modifier, realised by a genitive postpositional phrase.² The post-head modifying constituents describe the nominal head or position it deictically. The post-head modifying constituents are ordered as follows: one to two qualifiers or qualifier phrases, one quantifier or quantifier phrase and a determiner.³ The structure of the standard NP is set out in Table 3.1.

TABLE 3.1: STRUCTURE OF THE KORAFE STANDARD NOUN PHRASE

Pre-head:	Head:	Post-head:
(possessor)	noun/nominal compound	(qualifier ¹⁻²) (quantifier) (determiner)

Although the above table gives the potential constituents, Korafe standard NPs are not found with more than four modifying constituents and do not usually occur with more than

¹ Korafe is not unusual among Papuan languages in having pre-head genitive and post-head attributive modifiers (cf. Foley 1986:85 [Yimas], Reesink 1987:120-122 [Usan], Roberts 1987:84-87 [Amele] as well as the Binandere family languages).

² Postpositional phrases have the general constituent structure:
NP=postposition, e.g. *gagara=da* ‘of the girl’ or *gagara eveva=da* ‘of the good girl’.
Postpositions cliticise (marked by =) to the final constituent in the NP. Postpositions with heavy [(C)VV] syllables or two syllables may occur with word stress on their initial syllable. Postpositional phrases are detailed more fully in §3.2.

³ This order accords with the universals #18, #19 and #20 that Greenberg (1963:58-90) suggests for SOV languages. As was stated in Chapter 1, nominals constitute a major word category that includes nouns, qualifiers and quantifiers among its subcategories. Although undifferentiated morphologically, nouns differ from qualifiers and quantifiers in distribution and in number of semantic properties.

two. Examples 3.1 to 3.4 are typical NPs which are taken from texts. In example 3.1, two qualifying modifiers follow the head in the NP.

- 3.1 [[*ika*]_{HEAD} *ghousa teria*]_{NP}
 tree long large
 ‘a tall, large tree’

In example 3.2, the nominal head *koromane* ‘older brothers’ is modified by two constituents, a possessor preceding it and a qualifier following it. The possessor is a genitive postpositional phrase.

- 3.2 [[*gagara=da*]_{GEN,PP} [*koro=mane*]_{HEAD} *etoto*]_{NP}
 girl=GEN older.brother=PL two
 ‘the two older brothers of the girl’

The NP in example 3.3 has a compound nominal head and four modifying constituents. A possessor in the form of a genitive postpositional phrase precedes the head, and a qualifier, a quantifier, and a demonstrative follow it.

- 3.3 [*nunda* [*ambo+jimbi*]_{HEAD} *beká* 12 *a*]_{NP}
 3S.GEN back+tail true 12 that
 ‘those 12 genuine disciples of his’

Standard NPs have the following phonological characteristics. They are unbroken by pauses, occurring within one rhythm unit. They usually contain one word that receives heavier stress on its inherently stressed syllable than the other words.⁴ This heavy stress or accent⁵ is manifested by increased intensity (amplitude) and/or a higher pitch, together with length. Accent often falls on the final constituent in Korafe NPs. For example, the word that is accented in the NP in example 3.4 is *e'toto* ‘two’. Accent in an intonational contour is symbolised by (').

- 3.4 *gagara=da* *koro=mane* *e'toto*
 girl=GEN older.brother=PL two
 ‘the two older brothers of the girl’

When the final constituent is itself a phrase, as in example 3.5, the accent falls on the head of the phrase.

- 3.5 [*baundari* [*e'toto* *naká*]]_{NP}
 boundary two in.all
 ‘two boundaries’

⁴ Pike (1945:27,34) defines ‘rhythm units’ as stretches of speech “spoken with a single rush of syllables uninterrupted by a pause”. Innate stress is the normal stress each polysyllabic word and some monosyllabic words occurring in phrases receive, in accordance with Korafe word stress rules.

⁵ The term ‘accent’ is utilised in addition to the term ‘stress’ to reflect a distinction which Bolinger (1972b:22) makes between phrase or sentence stress and word stress. The inherently stressed syllable in a word is its stressed syllable; it receives word stress. The stressed syllable in a word that is important in a sentence or phrase is more heavily stressed or accented than inherently stressed syllables in other words.

Qualifier + noun nominal compounds and noun phrases manifest a different accent pattern from other nominal compounds and noun phrases. Because the initial constituent encodes contrastively significant information, the accent falls on it rather than on the terminal constituent, as examples 3.6 and 3.7 show.

- 3.6 *'datu+gagara*
 promise.payment+girl
 'fiancée'
- 3.7 *fe't-ari+mose*
 stand.I-DVB+single.woman
 'old maid'

3.1.1.1 THE HEAD CONSTITUENT IN STANDARD NPS

Nouns and nominal compounds function as heads of standard NPs.⁶

Two nominals (i.e. noun + noun, noun + modifier,⁷ modifier + noun) form compounds that usually remain separate words phonologically, i.e. retain their word stress.⁸ Duplication of nominals as in *boanda boanda* 'each one's portion (lit. portion portion)' is one form of compounding. Other Korafe nominal compounds (see examples 3.8a-e) appear to be taxonomic sets indicating ways the people classify items in their ethnography. In many of these sets, the second member is considered to be more prominent by the Korafe.

- 3.8 a. *aya 'gfa* 'parents (lit. mother-father)'
 b. *avia a'buā* 'ancestors: (lit. grandmother-grandfather)'
 c. *sino 'fuka* 'animals: (lit. dog-pig)'
 d. *eva 'yaura* 'rough weather (lit. waves-wind)'
 e. *sino ta'yuya* 'instruments (lit. kundu drum-conch shell)'

Examples (3.9a-c) illustrate generic-specific relationships.

- 3.9 a. *oka jam'bura* 'the fish (called) dugong'
 b. *javo ko'dokodo* 'the name orchid'
 c. *rika 'kafu* 'the bird (called) owl'

⁶ Pronouns also are heads of NPs, but they occur without pre-head modifiers and qualifier post-head modifiers. Like NPs, sentential complements and relative clauses and clause sequences in Korafe function as subject and object in matrix clauses and as left-dislocated themes in sentences. However, they cannot occur with the range of modifiers that the standard noun phrase does. They are discussed in §3.1.7 and Chapter 8, §8.10 and §8.11.

⁷ The modifier constituent in noun + modifier compounds may be either a qualifier or a quantifier nominal. In modifier + noun compounds, it is a qualifier nominal, a deverbal or a noun, acting as a modifier.

⁸ Of the criteria that Pike (1947:167) lists for identifying compounds, the following apply to Korafe nominal compounds. (1) All compounds occur in fixed order without any pause between the segments. (2) Some can be inflected for plurality as a unit. (3) Only the stressed syllable of one of the components, usually the last one, is given additional stress intensity, which often coincides with a higher pitch than all the syllables of the other components manifest.

Endocentric nominal compounds illustrating whole–part relationships are given in 3.10a–e.

- 3.10a. *ika 'vuji* ‘tree fruit (colloquial for coffee)’
 b. *boyove tu'no* ‘pumpkin tips’
 c. *kambo 'eno* ‘house ridgepole’
 d. *ata jo'gha* ‘thongs (lit. foot-sole)’
 e. *jiro 'munju* ‘brain (lit. head-egg)’

Some exocentric noun + modifier combinations have colexicalised.

- 3.11a. *tamo 'foyago* ‘Europeans (lit. skin white)’
 b. *janje 'eko* ‘anger (lit. esophagus bad)’
 c. *dubo e'veva* ‘feeling of well-being (lit. neck good)’

Noun + verb combinations undergo deverbalisation as a unit and form nominal compounds that function as heads in NPs.

- 3.12a. *usu a'vari* ‘dry coconut (coconut-dry out)’
 b. *beka ga'jari* ‘promise (mouth-close)’
 c. *kae ji'ghari* ‘sorcery (poison hold)’
 d. *yaru di'vari* ‘dance (song-sing)’

Deverbals and deverbal compounds that result from the deverbalisation process as well as several nouns compound with *kato/kakato* ‘an implement or person characterised as habitually performing the activity’, as in 3.13a–c.

- 3.13a. *gembari 'kato* ‘writing implement’
 b. *isoro ka'kato* ‘soldiers’
 c. *oka bambari 'kato* ‘fishing aficionado’

Korafe has a number of modifier + noun combinations, in which the modifier classifies or identifies the modified noun. The modifier can be a qualifier (3.14), a deverbal (3.15) or a noun (3.16). The preceding qualifier *eveva* in 3.14a specifies five species of trees (e.g. *benomba*, *Octomeles sumatiana*) that make superb canoe logs. In 3.14b, the postposing qualifier *eveva* praises a specific canoe’s design.

- 3.14a. [*E'veva ghaka*]_{NP} *jeti-sira*.
 good canoe chop.II-DP.3S.FN
 ‘He has chopped down the recommended tree for making canoes.’

- 3.14b. *Kenneth=da ghaka=mo*, [*ghaka e'veva*]_{NP}=*ri*.
 Kenneth=GEN canoe=T/F canoe good=COP.AQ
 ‘Kenneth’s canoe is a good canoe.’

Deverbals distinguish the homonyms, *sino* ‘dog’ and *sino* ‘drum’ in example 3.15a, b.

- 3.15a. *gam'b-ari sino* b. *di'v-ari sino*
 bite.I-DVB dog sing.I-DVB drum
 ‘a biting dog’ ‘a drum for singing and dancing’

In example 3.16a,b, two types of pigs are differentiated by preceding modifying nouns.

- 3.16a. *'taima fuka*
bush pig
'wild pig'
- b. *'nati fuka*
village pig
'domesticated pig'

A number of modifier + noun combinations have colexicalised and are used as names of entities i.e. *ujavi fiyogha* 'seahorse (lit. swimming medicine)' or classes of entities, i.e. *fetari mose* 'old maid (lit. standing-waiting mature unmarried female).' Others are used innovatively. For example, the terminal noun *embo* 'person' remains constant in all the examples given in 3.17; the noun modifier varies.

- 3.17a. *A'merika embo* 'American'
- b. *Ko'rafe embo* 'Korafe person'
- c. *Baga embo* 'Baga villager'
- d. *'kae embo* 'sick person (lit. poison person)'
- e. *'oka bambari embo* 'fisherman (lit. fish getting person)'

Example 3.17e indicates that a deverbal nominal compound, i.e. *oka bambari* 'getting fish' can itself be used as the classifying modifier in another nominal compound. The same is true in example 3.18 with the deverbal combination *dubo bari* 'love (lit. neck getting)' used as a classifying modifier. In this example, it is the classifying modifier that remains stable in the three contexts. As 3.18c illustrates, both classifier and classified are nominal compounds themselves, arising from recursive compounding.

- 3.18a. *nanda 'dubo+b-ari mandi*
1S.GEN neck+get.I-DVB boy
'my favourite son'
- 3.18b. *nunda 'dubo+bari bayau*
3S.GEN neck+get.I-DVB food
'his favourite food'
- 3.18c. *namane=da 'dubo+bari nano+namendi*
1PL.EXC=GEN neck+get.I-DVB older.brother+younger.brother
'our beloved brothers'

All classifier + noun sequences are a distinctive group differentiated from both NPs and other nominal compounds by their accent which falls on the inherently stressed syllable of the classifier constituent, not on the terminal constituent. Both innovative and lexicalised classifier + nominal compounds manifest the following four characteristics of compound nominal heads. (1) They must occur juxtaposed in fixed order with no words or pauses intervening. (2) Some of them can be inflected for plurality as a unit. (3) The classifying modifiers in these compounds do not occur in headless NPs. (Modifiers that are unambiguously NP constituents occur in headless NPs, as discussed in §3.1.2.) (4) These classifying modifiers cannot be intensified; post-head modifiers in NPs can be.

3.1.1.2 SOME NOTES ON MODIFYING CONSTITUENTS

The pre-head constituent, the possessor, can itself be the possessum of another possessor. In such a case, the construction contains two genitive postpositional phrases, one within another, as example 3.19 illustrates.

- 3.19 *nangae=da gagarako=da gomo*
 ID=GEN younger.sister=GEN grave.plot
 ‘our younger sister’s grave mound’

Nominal compounds can function as post-head qualifiers. In example 3.20, the compound *kasoko agho* ‘dipnet handle’ has lexicalised to signify ‘extremely thin’.

- 3.20 [*sino*]_{HEAD} [*kasoko+agho*]_{QUALIFIER}
 dog dip.net+handle
 ‘an extremely thin dog’

Example 3.21 has two post-head qualifiers.⁹ The second qualifier is a lexicalised nominal+qualifier expression: *ata ghoghousa* ‘tall (lit. long legs)’.

- 3.21 [[*nati*]_{HEAD} *babai* [[[*ata*]_{HEAD} *ghoghousa*]_{QUALIFIER} *10 a*]_{NP}]
 house big.PL leg long.RED 10 that
 ‘those ten tall, large houses’

Both post-head qualifiers and quantifiers may be modified. Qualifiers are modified to indicate scalar proportions. Contrary to Greenberg’s universal #21, even though Korafe has OV order, all Korafe adverbial modifiers like *beka* ‘really’, *eni* ‘one’, *futo* ‘too much’, *ambari* ‘exhaustive (lit. dying)’ and *ambari eko/ambarako* ‘awfully exhaustive’ follow the qualifying modifiers.

- 3.22a. *ghousa beká* b. *ghousa amb-ari eko*
 long true long die.I-DVB bad
 ‘very long’ ‘stupendously long’

The lone exception is the downtoner *itako* ‘a little bit’ which precedes qualifiers it modifies, as in example 3.23.

- 3.23 *Roera itako bouvu fumbu!*
 thing a.bit heavy shoulder.S.IMP
 ‘Carry something a bit heavier!’

The numerators *etoto* ‘two’, *etodaba* ‘three’ and *avononde* ‘four’ may be modified by the restrictive quantifier *naká:etoto naká* ‘two (of them) all told’. The quantifier *isambu* can be additionally modified by a numerator: *isambu 10* ‘ten in all’.

Qualifiers conjoined by *ã* ‘and’ or *o* ‘or’ occur more often than juxtaposed qualifiers in NPs. Example 3.24 illustrates conjoining of qualifiers by *ã* ‘and’.

⁹ The Korafe obligingly provide NPs with strings of post-head qualifiers, when they are elicited. In that case, the preferred order of the adjective categories which Dixon (1982:16-26) lists appears to be: *age*, *value*, *colour*, *dimension*, *physical property* and *human propensity*. But the whole issue is rather academic, since sequences of even two post-head qualifiers occur so rarely in NPs in natural conversation or in texts.

- 3.24 *Numo oka mindafu ā fakina-go=ri.*
 3S.T/F fish big and strong-CPAR=COP.AQ
 'It is a big and very strong fish.'

Qualifiers can be conjoined with quantifiers, as shown in example 3.25.

- 3.25 ...*oka teria o dig-ari-go bambu-do ghu-seri.*
 fish immense or multiply-DVB-CPAR get.I-SEQ.SS do.again.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 '...they would either catch a large fish or lots of fish.'

Quantifiers can also be conjoined by *o* 'or', as example 3.26 illustrates.

- 3.26 ...*nu fuka etoto o etodaba sandi-do...*
 3S pig two or three catch.I-SEQ.SS
 '...he caught two or three pigs...'

The determiner constituent can be filled by a demonstrative, a limiter (e.g. *inono* 'each equally', *nembo* 'only', *barago* 'also') or a combination of a demonstrative marked by a pragmatic postposition and a limiter. Some examples are: *sifo evia inono* 'each and every day', *adejamena ava nembo* 'only the girls' and *videjamena barago* 'the boys also'. Korafe speakers frequently interject a slight pause before the demonstrative-limiter combination. The demonstrative-limiter then is viewed as a summarising NP, which is more fully explained in §3.1.5.

3.1.2 HEADLESS NPS

Ellipsis of head nouns is allowed, if the referent is recoverable from the cultural context, the physical setting of the speech situation or the discourse context. Headless noun phrases consist of one or more of the modifier constituents in the standard noun phrase. In example 3.27, the underlined headless noun phrases consist of qualifiers which are followed by the demonstrative *a* 'that' and marked by the postposition *mo*.

- 3.27 *Kuta a=va gate-ge-do, ghoghousa a=mo*
 sweet.potatoes that=CT select.I-do.FOC.I-SEQ.SS long.RED that=T/F
Aubrey=dae mutu-vu. O domba+domba a=mo, nan=dae
 Aubrey=BEN give.I-2PL.IMP or round.DUP that=T/F IS=BEN
simbuge-vu.
 prepare.I-2PL.IMP
 'Separate those sweet potatoes and give the long ones to Aubrey.
 Or the round ones, prepare for me.'

The possessive modifier, *nunda* 'his, hers', occurs in two headless noun phrases underlined in example 3.28.

- 3.28 *Jaká, Newton gafe-do, avo, nunda boanda+boanda*
 betelnut Newton cut.I-SEQ.SS all.right 3S.GEN portion+DUP
futu-sira, Conrad nunda mutu-do, Conrad noaro nunda...
 give.II-DP.3S.FN Conrad 3S.GEN give.I-SEQ.SS Conrad 3S.wife 3S.GEN
 ‘The betelnut, Newton cut and gave each one his or her share, he gave Conrad
 his, Conrad’s wife hers...’

3.1.3 NPs HEADED BY PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Noun phrases headed by personal pronouns may occur wherever standard noun phrases occur. However, either they have only one constituent—the pronominal head—or they are restricted to occurring with an appropriate quantifier. A demonstrative can also occur when accompanied by an effector of change marker to limit the activity to those and only those referred to by the pronoun, as in example 3.29.

- 3.29 *Nen=gae etoto a=imi y-aréra.*
 3PL=COM two that=CEFF.T/F go.DUR-F.3PL.FN
 ‘Those two will be the ones going.’

In example 3.30, the effector of change marker again limits the pronominally headed NP to the unique referent it signals.

- 3.30 *Nu-ne daba-i jovereghe makoe+ari y-ama*
 3S-SPEC/CEFF one-CEFF turn.around.I luck+do.SEQ.IR.3S.DS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
oka dig-ari-go. bambu-raera.
 fish multiply-DVB-CPAR get.I-CUST.3PL.FN
 ‘He himself the very same one, turns around and gives good luck, and they go and catch lots of fish.’

3.1.4 CONJOINED NPs

Korafe has two types of conjoined NPs: (1) coordinate NPs conjoined by *ā/edo* ‘and’ or *o/ai* ‘or’, and (2) associative NPs marked terminally as conjoined by a comitative postposition.

Coordinate NPs consist of two or more NPs which are linked by coordinating conjunctions between at least the last two NPs, but sometimes between others. In example 3.31, the coordinate phrase consists of four NPs, in which the second and third NPs and the third and fourth NPs are conjoined by *ā* ‘and’.

- 3.31 *Barbara, Molly, ā Aubrey, ā aya Monica...*
 Barbara Molly and Aubrey, and mother Monica
 ‘Barbara, Molly, and Aubrey, and (my) mother Monica...’

In example 3.32, two NPs are conjoined by *o* ‘or’.

- 3.32 *Na Papilus o Selwyn Tufi jo g-ae-ri.*
 1S Papilus or Selwyn Tufi not see.I-not.do-COP.AQ
 'I didn't see either Papilus (Paphylus) or Selwyn at Tufi.'

When two NPs are in a kinship, set, or significant associative relationship, they are juxtaposed, and the second NP is followed by a comitative postposition: *ghae* 'with (DUAL)' or *de* 'with (PLURAL)'. In example 3.33, comitative postposition *ghae* 'with (DUAL)' follows two NPs that encode two persons associated by marriage.

- 3.33 *Na kotofu-ka noaro=ghae g-eni.*
 1S leader-DIM.that 3S.wife=with.D see.I-TP.1S.AQ
 'I saw (our) clan chief with his wife.'

In example 3.34, the initial NP refers to people, and the second NP, marked by the dual comitative postposition, refers to the emotion the people are experiencing.

- 3.34 *Namane dubo+mema=ghae ir-era.*
 1PL.EXC neck+pain(grief)=with.D remain.I-PRES.1PL.FN
 'We are grieving (lit. with neck pain).'

The plural comitative *de* 'with (PLURAL)' has been found with up to three NPs when associating people related to each other. In example 3.35, the NPs Michael and *noaro* 'his wife' precede the final NP *nenda sasingude* 'with their children'.

- 3.35 *Michael noaro nen=da sasingu=de*
 Michael 3S.wife 3PL=GEN children=COM.PL
 'Michael, his wife and their children'

The plural comitative *de* also associates possessions and plural body parts (or the lack thereof) with people. Sometimes more than one entity can be associated with the initial NP. In example 3.36, the initial NP *mandi* 'boy' precedes two other NPs conjoined by *ã* 'and'. These other NPs each are marked by the plural comitative postposition to indicate the association between the possessions they encode and the boy referred to in the initial NP.

- 3.36 *Fegha nu [mandi gugua=de ã*
Fegha 3S boy pandanus.mat.rolls=with.PL and
susu+fafo=de]NP=ri.
 source+canoe.platform(wealth)=with.PL=COP.AQ
 'Fegha is a very rich boy.'

3.1.5 JUXTAPOSED AND SUMMARISING NPS

NPs are directly juxtaposed to encode: (1) relationships where the second NP elaborates the first, (2) lists, or (3) sequences in which the final NP summarises the previous NPs. In example 3.37, the second NP provides further information about the first NP.

- 3.37 *Gagara, javo+Yayau...*
 girl name+Yayau
 'a girl, named Yayau...'

Although juxtaposed NPs often are similar in constituency to nominal compounds, juxtaposed NPs can potentially be separated by a pause; nominal compounds cannot.

The Korafe sometimes use juxtaposed NPs instead of coordinate NPs to list items in a series. In example 3.38 from a description of the ‘coming of age’ feast, the author gives a sample list of items given away. He sums up the list with the NP *roera evia isambu* ‘all these things’.

- 3.38 *E-do roera=da javo evi=ri: sifa, ghara*
do.I-SEQ.SS things=GEN name this=COP.AQ armbands plaited.cane.legbands
guri rirabona boka+bovotu,
shell.jewelry plaited.cane.belts loincloth+paper.mulberry
embo+bovotu, goroba, ghanda, div=ari+sino,
lavalava+paper.mulberry spears paddle sing.I=DVB+drum
voto+kasoko, okia, ghaito, bayau ambe+koema, roera
fish.nets+dip.nets pots mats food(uncooked) sago+packages thing
evia isambu inono+eari gi-do...
this.CT all enough+do.I.SEC.CUST.3S.DS see.I-SEQ.SS
‘And these are the names of the things: armbands, plaited cane legbands, shell jewelry, plaited cane belts, tapa loincloth and lavalavas, spears, paddles, drums, fish nets and dip nets, clay pots, pandanus mats, uncooked food, sago packages, all these things when they are seen to be sufficient...’

As illustrated in example 3.38, one or more NPs can be followed by a summarising NP. This summarising NP frequently is a demonstrative marked by postpositions or a personal pronoun and/or a limiter (e.g. *isambu* ‘all’, *nembo* ‘only’, *dabade* ‘together’). Typical examples are: *aimi nembo* ‘those only’, *ainde dabade* ‘those together’, *namane isambu* ‘we all’. The summarising NP can be a quantifier or quantifier phrase followed by a demonstrative (e.g. *isambu 10 ava* ‘10 in all’). Or it can be an NP headed by a general noun or nominal compound (e.g. *evetu genembo* ‘people’, *roera* ‘things’). Significant participants at crucial points in narrative discourses or themes in explanatory or descriptive discourses are often marked by summarising NPs. For instance, example 3.39 is the initial sentence in a description of the Chinese Little Tern. The pronoun summarises the left-dislocated thematic noun phrase *rika kanau* ‘the bird (called) the Chinese Little Tern’ and functions within the clause as the NPs copy or placeholder.

- 3.39 *Rika+kanau, nu eva=da rika=ri.*
Bird+Chinese.Little.Tern 3S sea=GEN bird=COP.AQ
‘The bird (called) the Chinese Little Tern is a sea bird.’

In example 3.40, *isambu* ‘all’ summarises three juxtaposed comitative constructions.

- 3.40 [Michael *noaro nen=da sasingu=de*]_{NP}, [Kenneth *noaro nen=da*
Michael 3S.wife 3PL=GEN children=COM.PL Kenneth 3S.wife 3PL=GEN
sasingu=de]_{NP}, [Kingsley *noaro nen=da sasingu=de*]_{NP}, *isambu*,
children=COM.PL Kingsley 3S.wife 3PL=GEN children=COM.PL all
eveva beká a=va ir-era, avo=ri.
good truly that=CT remain-PRES.3PL.FN all.right=COP.AQ
'Michael, his wife and their children, Kenneth, his wife and their children,
Kingsley, his wife and their children, all of them are very healthy, all right.'

3.1.6 SOME REMARKS ABOUT COMPLEMENTS AND RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Complements and relative constructions have characteristics that classify them as base constituents¹⁰ of sentences and others that classify them as heads or modifiers of NPs. Like NPs, they can function as arguments within clauses. Clauses in complements and prenominal relative constructions can terminate with deverbals and verbal clauses/clause sequences, which are classified as NPs. Like NPs, complements and relative constructions often are marked to indicate their relationship with the main sentence base by postpositions indicating semantic and/or pragmatic functions or by demonstratives which usually host one or two postpositions.

Like dependent sentence bases in coranking sentences, Korafe complements and relative clauses or clause sequences regularly terminate with dependent final verbs. They usually function as left-dislocated thematic constituents at sentence onset. In this position, complements and relative constructions can have the same format as adverbial clauses and clause sequences that fill sentence bases. In example 3.41, the initial base marked by the conjunction *amo* is the same for all three sentences. However, in 3.41a it is a adverbial clause setting the temporal framework for the second clause.

- 3.41a. *Nanda mandi evetu+fifitu-sira a=mo, jo taima=da*
1S.GEN boy woman+put.II-DP.3S.FN that=T/F NEG bush=LOC
sumb-ae=ri.
run-not.do=COP.AQ
'When my son got married, he didn't run away with her into the bush.'

In 3.41b, it is a complement clause encoding an event the speaker is evaluating.

- 3.41b. *Nanda mandi evetu+fifitu-sira a=mo, eveva=ri.*
1S.GEN boy woman+put.II-DP.3S.FN that=T/F good=COP.AQ
'It's good that my son has got married.'

¹⁰ The term *base* refers to any primary constituent of a sentence. The term comes from Longacre (1985:235-237), but he limits his definition of *base* to the nucleus or primary sub-parts of the sentence nucleus. It is used more broadly in this book to refer to clauses terminating with a medial verb or a final verb in SRCs. In co-ranking sentences, it is any dependent or independent primary constituent that is cut off from other primary constituents by pauses or conjunctions. For a fuller discussion of sentence bases, refer to the introductory sections of Chapter 8.

In 3.41c, it is a replacive relative clause modifying the same referent that is indicated as having subject role in the final clause.

- 3.41c *Nanda mandi evetu+fifitu-sira a=mo, oroko Moresby*
 1S.GEN boy woman+put.II-DP.3S.FN that=T/F today Port.Moresby
ir-ira.
 remain-PRES.3S.FN
 ‘My son that’s married is living in Moresby now.’

The initial underlined base in all three gives the thematic orientation for the rest of the sentence. In fact, all three underlined clauses can be considered presuppositions, defined by the dictionary as *that which the speaker supposes or assumes beforehand or takes for granted*. In all three, the initial clause terminates with a dependent final verb and is in hypotactic relationship (indicated by the topic-marking demonstrative *amo*) with the final independent base. Since sentences containing complements and relative constructions have the form of coranking sentences with both bases terminating with dependent final verbs, they are for the most part detailed in the opening paragraphs of Chapter 8, and in §8.11.

3.1.6.1 COMPLEMENT EXAMPLES

Complements that are embedded in or occur as phonologically integrated constituents of matrix clauses include those that terminate with a deverbal¹¹ and customary verbal-action complements.

Semantically, complements encode events or states that are (1) indirect quotes, (2) the objects of mental process verbs and other ‘secondary verbs’,¹² (3) the topics in evaluations and (4) customary verbal action object noun phrases. In example 3.42, the complement is an indirect quote, the object of the verb *sedo* ‘saying’ in the matrix clause. The use of the contrastive pragmatic marker *va* as a complementiser helps to convey the idea of pretence.

- 3.42 *Genembo=ó fuka gay-ari=va se-do, nati embo*
 man=that pig spear.I-DVB=CT say.I-SEQ.SS village people
gesire+u-mutari.
 pantomime+do.II-YP.3PL.AQ
 ‘The village people pretended that the man had speared a pig and pantomimed the event.’

In example 3.43, the object complement which is embedded by the demonstrative *á* ‘that’ into the matrix clause has as its predicate the mental-process verb *kotisira* ‘he thought’. This complement terminates with a deverbal and manifests OSV configuration.

¹¹ Only complements terminating with deverbals can occur with the complementisers *mo* (topic/focus), *va* (contrastive topic/focus), and *a* ‘that’. Complements terminating with dependent final verbs can occur without a complementiser when they are phonologically set apart from the rest of the sentence. Or they occur with demonstratives marked for pragmatic roles (e.g. *amo* ‘that (topical)’, *ava* ‘that (contrastive)’, and semantic roles (e.g. *aminda* ‘there’, *aindae* ‘for that one’).

¹² Dixon (1987:3) defines secondary verbs as verbs which “relate to some action or state and demand a grammatical link to another verb”.

- 3.43 *Mandi koti-sira, na nombura=i b-ari=á koti-sira...*
 boy think.II-DP.3S.FN IS crocodile=CEFF get.I-DVB=that think.II-DP.3S.FN
 ‘(My) son thought that a crocodile had gotten me. (lit. The boy thought, a crocodile had gotten me he thought.)’

The above deverbal complement clauses express hypothetical events. Because deverbals are used when it is not necessary to assign temporal boundaries to the information given in the complement, they can encode real events or hypothetical events. In example 3.44, the event encoded by the deverbal complement clause is neither established nor denied.¹³

- 3.44 *Mary amb-ari=mo, John jo tumond-ae=ri.*
 Mary die.I-DVB=T/F John NEG believe-not.do=COP.AQ
 ‘John did not believe that Mary died. (And the speaker doesn’t know either whether Mary is dead or not.)’

The following example consists of two polar questions that ask the addressee to make an evaluation. The complements and the complementisers are underlined.

- 3.45 *...tefo ir-ari a=mo eveva=ri, āi? Saramana+ari a=mo
 nothing remain-DVB that=T/F good=COP.AQ yes work+do.DVB that=T/F
eko=ri, āi?
 bad=COP.AQ yes
 ‘...is it good to remain doing nothing, yes? Is it bad to work, yes?’*

Example 3.46 contains a deverbal complement, for which an evaluation is expressed.

- 3.46 *Sasingu tofo+tofo banunga joká=da d-ari=mo eko=ri.*
 children self+DUP prayer inside=LOC hit.I-DVB=T/F bad=COP.AQ
 ‘For children to hit each other in worship services is bad.’

Korafe has one other complement structure encoding customary verbal action. This noun phrase has three constituents: (1) a genitive PP modifying (2) the nominal head (comprised of the periphrastic verb sequence encoding sporadic iteration), followed by (3) a demonstrative *ava*. This complement construction has object function (cf. discussion of the object (O) function on page 116) in the matrix clause in which it is embedded. The referent of the possessor is coreferential with the referent of the subject of the dependent final verb in this construction. The English gloss of example 3.47 could be translated by a gerund ‘their doings’, but the Korafe has a fully inflected dependent final verb.

¹³ However, when the event of dying is syntactically realised by a possessor (filled by a genitive PP) + head noun (filled by the deverbal *ambari* ‘death’), the construction encodes the actual death of the possessor.

Mary=da amb-ari=mo, John jo tumond-ae=ri.
 Mary=GEN die.I-DVB=T/F John NEG believe-not.do=COP.AQ
 ‘Regarding (the fact of) Mary’s death, John did not believe (it had happened)’.

- 3.47 ...*nunda aki=mane isambu vose-do [nenda e-do*
 3S.GEN older.sister=PL all descend.I-SEQ.SS [3PL.GEN do.I-SEQ.SS
ghe-tera *ava*]_{NP} *e-tero* *dadabe-tiri...*
 continue.I-TP.3PL.FN that.CT]_{NP} do.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS finish.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 ‘...all her older sisters came down and did their (activities) that they always did,
 and when they were completed...’

Verbs and periphrastic verb sequences encoding customary or habitual activities may follow a genitive postpositional phrase, precede a demonstrative and function as the head of the noun phrase.

- 3.48 [*Nanda kote-raena ã si-se ir-ena a=va*]_{NP}
 [1S.GEN think.I-CUST.1S.FN and say.II-SIM.SS remain-PRES.1S.FN that=CT]
beká sirore-tira.
 reality come.into.being.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘That which I usually think and remain constantly saying has actually happened.’

3.1.6.2 RELATIVE CONSTRUCTION EXAMPLES

While complements are verb-centred, relative constructions are noun-centred. Korafe relative constructions can be divided into three basic structural types: (1) replative or internally headed relative constructions, (2) those occurring with the specifier *ará* ‘it is that one that, you know the one that’, and (3) prenominal relative constructions. Prenominal relative constructions may terminate with either deverbals or dependent final verbs; replative and *ará* relative constructions terminate with dependent final verbs. Prenominal relatives are the only relative constructions that embed as modifiers in noun phrases. They are the focus of the discussion in this section. (Fuller details of the replative and *ará* relative constructions are given in §8.11.)

Prenominal relative constructions either embed in a genitive construction that possesses the nominal head, or they directly precede the nominal head. In the following example, an SRC terminated by a deverbal occurs as the head of the NP which is the possessor¹⁴ constituent of the NP headed by *ati* ‘string bag’ in the matrix clause.

- 3.49 *A=mo nenda jaká, fiká, taona, ã nenda*
 that=T/F 3PL.GEN betelnut mustard.pepper.leaf tobacco and 3PL.GEN
jigho=mane vendi bu-do deingh-ari=da ati=ri.
 comb=PL put.in.I get.I-SEQ.SS travel-DVB=GEN stringbag=COP.AQ
 ‘That is their string bag for carrying around their betelnut, mustard pepper leaf,
 tobacco and their pick-combs.’

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It has been suggested that the construction in example 3.49 might be analysed as a purposive NP complement. Although purpose is a possible semantic encoding for this construction, its actual syntax indicates that it is a relative construction functioning as the possessor constituent in an NP with the head noun *ati*, not a complement functioning as a core NP in the matrix clause. The postposition *dae* ‘to, for’, not the postposition *da* ‘of’, functions as the complementiser for purpose constructions.

When prenominal relative constructions occur in the classifier position in standard NPs, they are uttered rapidly without a pause intervening between them and the head noun. Prenominal relative constructions in combination with their head nouns often convey spatial and temporal locations. In example 3.50, the clause *evevetu aviraera* ‘the women sleep’ specifies a certain house.

- 3.50 *Evevetu* *avi-raera* *kambo a=mo, kambo mindafu=ri.*
 women.RED sleep.I-CUST.3PL.FN house that=T/F house big=COP.AQ
 ‘That house where the women sleep is a big house.’

3.2 FUNCTIONS

NPs function at three levels: syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic.

The syntactic functions of NPs are the structural relationships (e.g. subject, object) they have in clauses and sentences, reflected in their marking, constituent order and concord relationships.

Semantic functions specify the roles (e.g. agent, patient, benefactive, locative) that NP referents play within an activity or state of affairs.

Pragmatic functions specify the nature of the information NPs communicate, i.e. the speaker’s topic and the salient information to be communicated. This takes into account the world view of the speech-act participants, their current state of knowledge, and their spatial and temporal perspectives. Those entities that are controlling or effecting change in a situation or being changed or contrasted with other entities are also pragmatically marked.

Syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic functions are signalled by coding devices. Korafe segmental coding devices include: (1) cross-referencing of person and number of subject on verbs, (2) NP markers and (3) word order and equi-NP deletion. Suprasegmental coding devices include: (4) pauses and (5) placement of stress in future final verb forms and accent in intonation contours.

3.2.1 SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS

Syntactic functions are either external or internal to the clause (Andrews 1985:80-81). Noun phrases with external syntactic functions either precede or follow the clause and are separated from it by pauses. These are associated with pragmatic functions, and detailed in §3.2.3.

Syntactic functions that are internal to the clause include both core and oblique functions. In Korafe, NPs that realise syntactic core functions are unmarked unless pragmatic considerations come into play, as described in §3.2.3. NPs with core functions have the grammatical functions that Dixon (1979:59) terms A, S, and O and “any others that behave like these rather than obliques (Andrews 1985:97).”¹⁵ According to Andrews, these

¹⁵ According to Dixon (1979:59), A, S and O are universal semantic-syntactic primitives realised by nominal case inflections or cross-referencing on the verb. A represents ‘transitive subject’, S ‘intransitive subject’ and O ‘transitive object’.

grammatical functions provide the basis for defining the grammatical relations (i.e. *subject*, *object*) that occur in a given language. The grammatical relation, *subject*, is identified by a number of syntactic features in Korafe. See (1)–(4) below.

- (1) The subject NP is cross-referenced for person and number on the final verb in the clause. Following a nominative-accusative pattern, Korafe verbs cross-reference transitive and intransitive subjects (Dixon's A and S). Example 3.51 has two core NPs having the grammatical functions, A and O. In this case, the NP with A function *ni* 'you (2S)' is cross-referenced on the verb.

A O
3.51 *Ni oka jumb-areša.*
2S fish pull-F.2S.FN
'You will pull in a fish.'

In example 3.52, the only core NP (with grammatical function S) is the pronoun *nu* 'it'. It triggers third person singular agreement marking on the verb.

S
3.52 *Tumba=mo, nu avi-raira.*
night=T/F 3S sleep-CUST.3S.FN
'Nights, it sleeps.'

It should be noted that the subject category is determined by verb coreferencing markers rather than by constituent ordering restrictions, even though SV/AOV is the default constituent order for Korafe verbal clauses. In example 3.53, the subject must be *nomburai* 'the crocodile', because it is the third person singular NP that the verb coreferences.

3.53 *Uvu=da vosi+y-eove!*¹⁶ *Ne oroko nombura=i*
water=LOC descend.1+go.DUR-NEG.H.2PL.CR 2PL today crocodile=CEFF
gamb-arira.
bite.1-F.3S.FN
'Don't go down to the river. (If you do,) The crocodile will bite you now.'

- (2) Only NPs that realise the grammatical relation *subject* govern 'switch-reference marking, which includes coreferential relationships between purpose constructions and their matrix clauses. The subject NP in marking clauses is cross-referenced on verbs terminating marking clauses. Across clause boundaries, subject tracking indicators mark coreferentiality or its absence between the subjects of the clauses.

In example 3.54, the marking on the medial verb *fugeteso* cross-references a second person singular referent as its subject. It also indicates that this second person singular referent is not the subject of the subsequent adjacent clause.

¹⁶

As discussed in §2.4.12, the addressee of imperatives is coreferenced as the subject.

The subject argument normally controls the use of the reflexive nominal form *tofo* 'self, possession, relative', but not always, as the following example illustrates.

Na Edrick=dae, tofo nunda oto ava mut-eno b-ira.
IS Edrick=BEN self 3S.GEN axe that.CT give.1-SEQ.R.IS.DS get.1-TP.3S.FN
'I gave Edrick his own axe (lit. that axe of himself) and he took it'.

- 3.54 *Ni re-jo fuge-teso,*
 2S what.SPEC throw.I-SEQ.R.2S.DS
 ‘What did you throw

sino ri-se gangara+re-s-i?
 dog eat.II-SIM.SS growl+IPF-say-PRES.3S.AQ
 that is causing the dogs to growl while they’re eating it?’

The coreference status of the subjects in the terminal clause of purpose constructions with the subjects of matrix clauses is also monitored. As terminal predicates in purpose constructions, deverbal forms indicate coreferentiality of subject and DS irrealis medial verb forms indicate disparity of subject. This is illustrated in the examples in 3.55.

3.55a Same Subject:

Na Tufi y-ari=dae er-ena.
 1S Tufi go.DUR-DVB=PUR IPF-do.PRES.1S.FN
 ‘I’m about to go to Tufi.’

3.55b Different Subject:

Nu [na Tufi y-aono=dae] re-s-ira.
 3S 1S Tufi go.DUR-SEQ.IR.1S.DS=PUR IPF-say-PRES.3S.FN
 ‘He is saying that I will (must) go to Tufi.’

- (3) Korafe has focal actor pronouns (pronoun stem marked by *-ne*, as in *nane* ‘I’, *nene* ‘you all/they’) which only copy or replace subject NPs (with animate referents). No matter where this pronoun is placed in the ordering of constituents in the clause, it clearly identifies the subject.
- (4) When a predication is deverbalised, only the subject relation can assume a genitive relationship with the deverbal nominative.

As the subject in example 3.56b, Kokombara can be the possessor of the act of running (*sumbari*). But ‘60’ cannot, so 3.56c is ill-formed.

- 3.56a. *Kokombara 60 sumb-ira.*
 Kokombara 60 run.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘Kokombara ran fast (like 60 miles an hour).’

- 3.56b. *Kokombara=da sumb-ari*
 Kokombara=GEN run.I-DVB
 ‘Kokombara’s prowess in running’

- 3.56c. **60=da sumb-ari*
 60=GEN run.I-DBV

Objects are defined negatively in Korafe as those core NPs with the grammatical function O that are not cross-referenced by verbal suffixation. In addition, however, they are the only NPs that can be relativised on in second position, their normal position. This is illustrated by the object *bare* ‘taro seedlings’ in example 3.57.

- 3.57 *Edna bare nandae futu-sira a=va, gov-ari=dae*
 Edna taro.seedlings 1S.BEN give.II-DP.3S.FN that=CT plant-DVB=PUR

er-ena.

IPF-do.PRES.1S.FN

‘I am about to plant those taro seedlings that Edna gave me.’

Animate recipients (marked *dae* or *kena*) and inanimate locative arguments (marked *da*) in Korafe can be unmarked and placed before the object when they act as participants. See the discussion on LOCUS arguments in §3.2.2.1.

NPs internal to the clause that do not have core grammatical functions (A, S, and O) have oblique functions. Except for a few lexical exceptions that are listed below, NPs with oblique functions have the structure of postpositional phrases. These phrases consist of noun phrases marked by morphologically autonomous postpositions which cliticise to the final constituent of the noun phrase. In example 3.58 the locative marker *da* ‘at, in, to’ follows both NPs headed by *fororo* ‘mud’.

- 3.58 a. *fororo=da* b. *fororo raugo=da*
 mud=LOC mud soft=LOC
 ‘in the mud’ ‘in the soft mud’

NPs with oblique function basically correspond to and overlap with the set of postpositional phrases that indicate circumstantial semantic case arguments.

In contrast to NPs with core functions that get marked to indicate pragmatic functions, those with oblique function lose their semantic case marking and are fronted when they have the pragmatic role of topic. In example 3.59, the indirect object, Randall, has lost its marking *dae* ‘to, for’ and been fronted to initial position in the sentence where it functions as the topic for both clauses in the sentence.

- 3.59 *Randall jaká nane mut-ena a=va, eto=da=go mut-esi.*
 Randall betelnut 1S.ACT give.I-TP.1S.FN that=CT top=LOC=CPAR give.I-TP.2S.AQ
 ‘Randall I’d already given betelnut to, but you gave him (more) on top of (his due).’

In example 3.60, in which both clauses have only NPs with core functions, neither the subject (A) nor the object (O) is marked in 3.60a. But the object (O) in 3.60b is marked by *ava* ‘that one contrastively’ to contrast Boltin Yamboltin with the speaker, who is really the addressee’s wife.

- A O
 3.60a. ...*Boke+Gimasa nunda evetu bu-do...*
 Cassowary+Lad 3S.GEN woman get.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘...Boke Gimasa got his wife (and)...’

- A O
 3.60b. ...*ni Boltin+Yamboltin ava bu-do...*
 2S Boltin+Yamboltin that.CT get.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘...you have gotten Boltin Yamboltin that (one in contrast to me and)...’
 (Boltin Yamboltin is a spirit woman.)

NPs with oblique function that are relativised on are obligatorily unmarked and fronted to the initial position in the clause. In example 3.61, the *ningu* ‘needle’ is fronted. It is not marked for its instrumental function in its containing clause, because it is topicalised. The demonstrative *aimi* ‘with that one’ indicates that it serves as a left-dislocated topicalised instrument in the sentence.

- 3.61 *Ningu ati gembu-raena a=imi, na genembo=da*
 needle stringbag weave.I-CUST.IS.FN that=CEFF.T/F IS man=GEN

javo ere-gef-ena.

personal.bag IPF-weave.II-PRES.IS.FN

‘The needle I use to weave string bags with that one, I am weaving (my) husband’s personal bag.’

The noun *kambo* ‘house’ is not marked as a locative argument with *da* in example 3.62, because it is relativised on and serves as the theme.

- 3.62 *Kambo evevetu avi-raera a=mo, mindafu=ri.*
 house women.RED sleep-CUST.3PL.FN that=T/F big=COP.AQ

‘That house where the women sleep is big.’

Several words and expressions encoding temporal or manner notions are lexically fixed as unmarked forms, but are still unambiguously interpreted as temporal or manner NPs with oblique function. Many temporal and manner expressions that are marked have also been lexicalised. In example 3.63a *oroko* ‘today’ is an unmarked temporal word functioning as an NP head, and *sifode* ‘tomorrow’ in 3.63b is a PP that has lexicalised as a temporal expression.

- 3.63 a. *Oroko mind-aresa, ai?* b. *Sifo=de mind-aresa, ai?*
 today eat.I-F.2S.FN yes day=COM.PL eat.I-F.2S.FN yes
 ‘Will you eat (it) today?’ ‘Will you eat (it) tomorrow?’

Examples 3.64a and b illustrate expressions encoding manner that are unmarked and marked respectively.

- 3.64a. *Nu tefo oj-ira.*
 3S nothing come.NDUR-TP.3S.FN

‘He came without anything./He didn’t come with any specific purpose in mind. (lit. He came nothing.)’

- 3.64b. *Nu toto=i=go oj-ira.*
 3S speed=CEFF=CPAR come.NDUR-TP.3S.FN
 ‘He came quickly.’

Proper nouns encoding placenames also occur as bare NPs. Even though *Tufi* in example 3.65 is a locative argument with oblique syntactic function, it is unmarked.

- 3.65 *Na Papilus o Selwyn Tufi jo gae=ri.*
 1SG Papilus or Selwyn Tufi NEG not.see=COP.AQ
 ‘I didn’t see Papilus or Selwyn at Tufi.’

In this section, A, S, and O, as defined by Dixon, have been used to discuss grammatical functions. In Korafe, A and S realise one grammatical relation, *subject*, so henceforth S will stand for this grammatical relation that includes both transitive and intransitive subjects.

3.2.2 SEMANTIC ROLES

Semantic roles pertain to a predicate and function within the domain of a clause. They are either participatory or circumstantial (Andrews 1985:69). As was indicated in the previous section, the postpositions that mark NPs having oblique functions indicate their role as circumstantial semantic arguments. These postpositions define and label a cluster of similar semantic relations.

For the most part, the same NPs have both core syntactic and participatory semantic functions. These NPs are usually unmarked for semantic function, but can be disambiguated by pragmatic markers when the need arises. The pragmatic markers {*imi*} (contrastive effector of change) and {*va*} (contrastive) indicate the focus argument in examples 3.66a and b, but the Korafe use these markers to interpret the semantic functions *gagara* ‘the girl’ has as well. Because the effector of change marker {*imi*} indicates an entity exercising control over an event, it can mark an AGENT, as in 3.66a. On the other hand, the contrastive {*va*} often indicates an entity that is in some way affected and as such marks the EXPERIENCER in 3.66b.

3.66a. *Jo gagara a=imi d-ae=ri.*
 NEG girl that=CEFF.T/F hit.I-not.do=COP.AQ
 ‘It wasn’t the girl that did the hitting.’

3.66b. *Jo gagara a=va d-ae=ri.*
 NEG girl that=CT hit.I-not.do=COP.AQ
 ‘It wasn’t the girl that got hit.’

3.2.2.1 PARTICIPATORY SEMANTIC ROLES

Participatory semantic roles are distinguished by the following features: control, affectedness (including changes of state and/or position), animacy, volitionality. Such features are often indicated in Korafe by markers on NPs, the semantic argument’s accessibility to the subject role, its ability to be replaced by the focal actor pronoun, and/or its ability to occur as the referent of the addressee in clauses that have as their predicate a verb in the imperative mood. The following participatory semantic roles are suggested for Korafe: AGENT, FORCE, EXPERIENCER, PATIENT, OBJECT/THEME, and LOCUS.¹⁷

¹⁷

To avoid confusion with other terms used in the book, FORCE is used here instead of EFFECTOR, and OBJECT/THEME instead of THEME. Since the seminal works by Gruber (1965) and Fillmore (1968), linguistic researchers have developed a wide range of terms for indicating the semantic case roles operative in predication. As consensus on what are the universal semantic case roles has not been attained, it is recognised that the selection of semantic case roles in Korafe, though based on distribution and syntactic cooccurrence restrictions, is a somewhat arbitrary process, hampered by the researcher’s lack of an insider’s perspective.

The AGENT [+control, ±affected, +animate, +volition] plays “the role of the animate entity which instigates an action or acts of its own accord” (Dik 1978:37). The AGENT may effect a change in another entity as in 3.67, relocate it as in 3.68, or act on its own accord, as in 3.69.

3.67a. *Gegenembo nanjogo bayau mind-eri?*
men.RED how.many food eat.I-TP.3PL.AQ
‘How many men ate the food?’

3.67b. *Bayau gegenembo nanjogo=i mind-eri?*
food men.RED how.many=CEFF eat.I-TP.3PL.AQ
‘How many men ever ate (all that) food?’

3.68 *Ā ni Boltin+Yamboltin a=va bu-do er-es-ere.*
and 2S Boltin+Yamboltin that=CT get.I-SEQ.SS IPF-go.PRES.2S-this.CR
‘And you have gotten that spirit called Boltin Yamboltin and are taking it away right now.’

3.69 *Genembo a=mo, nu sumb-ira.*
man that=T/F 3S run.I-TP.3S.FN
‘Regarding that man, he ran away.’

FORCES [+control, ±affected, -animate, -volition] are non-volitional and inanimate entities which unwittingly effect changes. When an inanimate FORCE occurs in a clause with the entity it is effecting a change in, it obligatorily occurs with the effector of change marker {*imi*}. AGENTS are not obligatorily marked by {*imi*}. The FORCES initiating these events can be either natural forces such as the wind, waves, etc. as in example 3.70 or instruments (when AGENTS are not present), as in example 3.71.

3.70 *Nanda ghaka eva+yaura=i jighi bunununghe-tira.*
1S.GEN canoe sea.waves+wind=CEFF hold.I come.apart.I-TP.3S.FN
‘The wind and waves rocked my canoe apart.’

The EXPERIENCER [+affected, -control, +animate, -volition] is an animate participant who can undergo a change of state, be relocated or be affected by the action in some way. The pig is the EXPERIENCER totally affected by the action in which the trap *vaghoi* operates as a FORCE in example 3.71.

3.71 *Vagho-i vose fuka fat-iari ambu-raira.*
trap-CEFF descend.I pig press.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS die.I-CUST.3S.FN
‘The trap comes down and crushes the pig, and it dies.’

The boy *Mandi Gajaride* is the EXPERIENCER of the action encoded by *bajido* ‘grew and’ in example 3.72.

3.72 *Mandi+Gajaride baji-do fas+ir-ei.*
boy+closed.with grown.I-SEQ.SS lie+remain-EP.3S.AQ
‘The boy Mandi Gajaride grew up and remained an invalid.’

Likewise, *na* ‘I’ is the EXPERIENCER, hearing the news in 3.73.

- 3.73 *A=va=ta na ninda bino a=va niningu-se ir-iana*
 that=CT=FRUS 1S 2S.GEN news that=CT hear.II-SIM.SS remain-SEQ.EP.IS.SS
jare-do oj-eni.
 despair.I-SEQ.SS come.NDUR-TP.IS.AQ
 ‘But I was continually hearing those reports about you, and I despaired and came.’

The PATIENT [+affected, -control, -animate, -volition] is an inanimate participant which can undergo a change of state, be relocated or in some way affected by the action.¹⁸ PATIENTS manifest the features [+affected, -control, -animate, -volitional]. In 3.74, an AGENT cooks the food and fish, which undergo a change of state in the action.

- 3.74 *Nin=da oka+bayau eko beká it-esi.*
 2S=GEN fish+food bad true cook.I-TP.2S.AQ
 ‘You did a lousy job of cooking the meat and the food.’

The nipa roofing leaves are the relocated PATIENT in the following example.

- 3.75 *...ni sisoro fiti-do ambo=da viti fu!*
 2S nipa.leaves put.I-SEQ.SS back=LOC ascend.I come.DUR.IMP.2S
 ‘...you put the nipa leaves for making roofing (down), and afterwards come up!’

The OBJECT/THEME [-affected, -control, ±animate, -volition] is the salient entity or “participant which is characterized as being in a state or position” (Andrews 1985:70).¹⁹ In example 3.76, the ripe pandanus tree is the OBJECT/THEME of the action encoded by *gido* ‘saw and’.

- 3.76 *...nangae a-era jegha safufu ava gi-do...*
 1.D go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.1PL.SS pandanus.tree ripe that.CT see.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘...the two of us went and saw a ripe pandanus tree and...’

Topic–comment copular clauses have nominal predicates; they regularly occur with a participatory OBJECT/THEME argument. In example 3.77, the OBJECT/THEME argument, which is underlined, is marked by the topic marker *mo*.

- 3.77 *Rika+kofafa=da tamo=mo kokoigo=ri.*
 bird+parrot=GEN body=T/F red=COP.AQ
 ‘The bird (called) parrot’s body is red.’

The LOCUS [±affected, -control, ±animate, -volition] is a semantic participatory role which either includes or has a large overlap with the circumstantial roles, GENITIVE (marked by *da*), RECIPIENT (marked by *dae* and *kena*) and LOCATIVE (marked by *da* and *kena*). It is always expressed by a bare NP. The LOCUS functions as (1) the goal of transfer

¹⁸ This definition utilises Andrews’ (1985:68) definition: “a participant which the verb characterizes as having something happen to it, and as being affected or changed by what happens to it”. However, it also adds relocating features that have been attributed to THEME. Foley and Van Valin (1985:47,51) define THEME as “the located entity” or the “entity whose location is at issue”.

¹⁹ The term OBJECT/THEME is used here instead of THEME or OBJECT to distinguish this semantic role from the syntactic function of OBJECT and the pragmatic function of THEME, as used by Dik (1978:19). This notion of THEME utilises only the first half of Andrew’s (1985:70) definition of THEME as “a participant which is characterized as being in a state or position or changing its state or position”.

predications and (2) the topical site in which the events of impersonal experiential predicates and other predicates take place. When referents of LOCUS arguments do not have a participatory function in transfer predications or topical function in predications encoding physiological events, they occur as circumstantial arguments. As LOCUS arguments, they occupy either a position before the patient/object-theme argument (transfer predications) or the initial topic position (predications encoding physiological events and transfer predications). The examples in 3.78 illustrate LOCI that play a role in transfer predications and in subsequent predications in the same sentence. The underlined locus in 3.78a is an animate recipient. In 3.78b, it is an inanimate recipient.

3.78a. *Na* *ni* *guri* *asi=ghae* *mu-tono* *ghauro* *b-aresa*.
 IS 2S shell.jewelry string=COM.D give.I-SEQ.IR.IS.DS bamboo get.I-F.2S.FN
 ‘I will give you a string of shell jewelry, and you will get the bamboo (in which you put the girl’s hair).’

3.78b. *Tevari* *ghaka* *etoto* *goroba* *oto=ghae* *vendi-do* *davu-seri*.
 Tevari canoe two spear axe=COM.D put.in.I-SEQ.SS paddle.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 ‘The clan leader of Tevari put a spear and an axe in the two canoes and paddled (off).’

The topical LOCUS of the following impersonal experiential predication is *na* ‘I/me’.

3.79 *Gembu-do* *i-se*, *na* *diti=ko* *bainghu-sira*.
 pole.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-SIM.SS IS eye=DIM close.II-DP.3S.FN
 ‘I poled (the canoe) and while I was going along, I got drowsy
 (lit. I/me little eye(s) drooped).’

The following hierarchy indicates the accessibility of semantic arguments to being the syntactic subject from most accessible to least accessible: AGENT > FORCE > EXPERIENCER > PATIENT > OBJECT/THEME. As can be seen from the examples, NPs with AGENT and FORCE role function as syntactic subjects. But NPs with FORCE role must be marked with {*imi*} to indicate that they are in control of the event encoded. And when NPs that are instruments occur in a clause with an NP having AGENT role, they have circumstantial INSTRUMENT role (see §3.2.2.2) rather than participatory FORCE role. NPs with EXPERIENCER role can function as syntactic subject of both transitive (3.73) and intransitive verbs (3.72) and syntactic object (3.71). But those with PATIENT role can function only as syntactic subject of intransitive verbs or syntactic object. NPs with OBJECT/THEME role function as syntactic object in transitive clauses or as the entity about which something is predicated in stative predications (see §4.2). The LOCUS can never be syntactic subject.

3.2.2.2 CIRCUMSTANTIAL SEMANTIC ROLES

Circumstantial arguments are marked by eight postpositions. Three usually mark relationships between NPs. They are:

the comitative dual-manner	<i>ghae/gae</i>	‘with’
the comitative plural	<i>de</i>	‘with’
the genitive	<i>da</i>	‘of, belonging to’

Examples illustrating how these three arguments relate NPs are given above in §3.1.1 and §3.1.4. Some NPs marked with COMITATIVE postpositions relate to the predicate, indicating manner (e.g. *dubo jamaghae* ‘cheerfully (lit. neck warm with)’) or temporal arguments (e.g. *sifoghae* ‘mornings’, *tumbaghae* ‘evenings’, *sifode* ‘tomorrow’, *tumbade* ‘last night’).

Postpositions that more regularly relate to the predicate are:

the locative	<i>da</i> ²⁰	‘at, in, on, to’,
the recipient/benefactive-purpose/ reason/referential	<i>dae</i>	‘to, for, in order to, ‘because of, re, about’,
the approximate locative-referencing	<i>kena</i>	‘toward, in the vicinity of, concerning, with regard to’,
the comparative marker	<i>gol/ga</i>	‘like’, and
the instrument-means	<i>i/imi</i>	‘with, by, by means of’.

The LOCATIVE may express either temporal or spatial location. Example 3.80 illustrates the use of a locative postposition with a demonstrative *aminda* ‘there’, following a relative clause.

- 3.80 *Na taká sife, fura dotutu-mutara a=min=da,*
 IS frustratingly yesterday week leave.II-YP.IPL.FN that=CEFF.T/F=LOC
kae+tafu-mutani.
 poison+find.II-YP.3S.AS
 ‘I frustratingly enough just yesterday, a week ago (lit. in the week we have
 just left behind) got sick.’

The APPROXIMATE LOCATIVE *kena* is used in fundamental contrast with the LOCATIVE *da* and the BENEFACTIVE *dae*. While *da* indicates fixed locations (of places and inanimate objects) and *dae* permanent placement and specific reference, *kena* indicates an approximate area (near a place, object, or person), temporary placement, and general reference. Example 3.81 illustrates the use of *da* with a place.

- 3.81 *Nati=da sumbu y-asi!*
 village=LOC run.I go.DUR-IMP.2S.AQ
 ‘Run and go to the village!’

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The genitive *da* and the locative *da* both indicate the location of objects or events and are presumably related. However, the genitive *da* does not change the stress pattern of the word it follows. The locative *da* perturbs the stress of a large number of words to which it attaches, moving the stress one syllable to the right. Up to this point, we have not found a rule which would predict all cases where stress perturbation occurs. For example, the following perturb: *diti*→*ditída* ‘in the eye’, *áti*→*atída* ‘in the stringbag’, *éva*→*eváda* ‘on the sea’, *réima*→*reimáda* ‘in the rib cage area’, *bútu*→*butúda* ‘on the island’, *átu*→*atúda* ‘at the back (of the house), and *gháito*→*ghaitóda* ‘on the mat’. But these words with similar phonological patterns do not perturb: *náti*→*nátida* ‘in the village’, *éto*→*étoda* ‘on top of’, *jiva*→*jivada* ‘in the “latrine” area’, *táima*→*táimada* ‘in the bush’, *bétu*→*bétuda* ‘on the bank (of a river)’, *útu*→*útuda* ‘in the sky, in heaven’, and *vóto*→*vótoda* ‘in the fish net’.

The approximate locative, *kena*, is obligatorily used when a human is the goal or the source, as 3.82 illustrates.

- 3.82a. *Aya=kena sumbu y-asi!*
 mother=ALOC run.I go.DUR-IMP.2S.AQ
 'Run and go to mother!'

- 3.82b. **Aya=da sumbu y-asi!*
 mother=LOC run.I go.DUR-IMP.2S.AQ

A number of position nominals combine with *da* and *kena* and follow nouns to specify positions more precisely than the bare postpositions do. In examples 3.83 and 3.84, *joka* 'the interior of' is used.

- 3.83 *Ribere genembo=a beku joka=da fit-iari...*
 flying.fox man=that cave inside=LOC put.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS
 'The flying fox would put that man inside a cave...'

In 3.84, *foka* 'the exterior surface of' is also used with *kena* 'toward' in contrast with *jokakena* 'toward the inside of'. Since *agha kofiri* 'cup (and) water jug' occurs with *jokakena*, it is ellipsed before *jokakena*.

- 3.84 *Ne kau genembo eni, nun=da agha+kofiri foka=kena*
 2PL kind man a 3S=GEN cup+coconut.water.jug outside=ALOC
seghu-se joka=kena jo segh-ae e-tira,
 wash.II-SIM.SS inside=ALOC NEG wash-not.do do.I-TP.3S.FN
a=min=go=ri.
 that=CEFF=CPAR=COP.AQ
 'You are like a man (who) while washing the outside of his cup and coconut water jug did not wash the inside, like that one.'

The postposition *dae* operates in several semantic domains, encoding purpose, final recipient, beneficiary/maleficiary, reason and referential. Example 3.85 illustrates both maleficiary (*nandae*) and reason (*aindae*).

- 3.85 *Gagara=a nan=dae ari ekoko u-sira a=in=dae, nane*
 girl=that 1S=BEN deed bad.RED do.II-DP.3S.FN that=CEFF=BEN 1S.ACT
nun=da beo bu-do ghauro joka=da fend-eno
 3S=GEN hair get.I-SEQ.SS bamboo inside=LOC put.in.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS
ir-ira.
 remain-PRES.3S.FN
 'That girl did some bad deeds to me, therefore, I myself got (some of) her hair, put it inside a bamboo (to work sorcery), and it remains.'

In both item and message transfers, the temporary recipient is marked by *kena*, and the intended recipient with *dae*. The present in example 3.86 is temporarily transferred to the husband (*nimo=kena*), who is expected to take it and give it to his wife (*nearo=dae*).

- 3.86 *Na yafara+é nearo=dae, nimo=kena ere-fut-ena; bu*
 IS gift+this 2S.wife=BEN 2S.T/F=ALOC IPF-give.II-PRES.IS.FN get.I
y-asi mu-taso b-are!
 go.DUR-IMP.2S.AQ give.I-SEQ.IR.2S.DS get.I-H.3S.CR
 'I am giving this present to you for your wife; take it and give it to her (so)
 she gets (it).'

The referencing *kena* (3.87a) topicalises a theoretical situation or general state, whereas the referential *dae* (3.87b) refers to a specific situation.

- 3.87a. *Jingabu mind-ari=kena, semb-ae=ri.*
 snake eat.I-DVB=ALOC cross.I-not.do=COP.AQ
 'Regarding eating of snakes, (it's) wrong.'
- 3.87b. *Namane aimbe=dae se-do, era*
 IPL.EXC funeral.feast.responsibility=PUR say.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR.PAST.3S.FN
oka+jambura a=va garu-seri.
 fish+dugong that=CT spear.II-DP.1PL.AQ
 'We, speaking about our funeral feast responsibility, went and speared a dugong,
 that fish.'

The comparative postposition *go/ga* marks NPs as the standard for comparison. The *go* occurs in copula predications and following infinitives in encoding pretence, and the *ga* elsewhere.

- 3.88a. *Luke=da kau=mo mave=go=ri?*
 Luke=GEN kind=T/F who=CPAR=COP.AQ
 'What's Luke really like?'
- 3.88b. *Geka mave=ga si-se se-teri?*
 talk who=CPAR say.II-SIM.SS say.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 'What was the tenor of the discussion they had?'
- 3.89 *O-e, afa+Susugari jimbi ri-r-urari, aya Daisi+Kotara*
 o-e father+Susugari tail eat.II-EPEN-SIM.IR.3S.DS mother Daisi+Kotara
gifua mind-ari=dae u-r-uroro gay-ari=go e-teni.
 head eat.I-DVB=PUR do.II-EPEN-SIM.IR.3PL.DS spear-DVB=CPAR do.I-TP.1S.AQ
 'O-e, I have been acting as if my father, Susugari, would be eating the tail and my
 mother, Daisi Kotari would be eating the tail, while they would be acting (that way)
 I would be spearing (fish).'

The semantic range of the effector of change set of markers *i/imi* includes instrument and means.

- 3.90 *Oka a=mo, oto=i oje-do, iti dumbu e-do*
 fish that=T/F axe=CEFF butcher.I-SEQ.SS cook.I serve.up.I do.I-SEQ.SS
ri-seri.
 eat.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 'About that fish, they butchered (it) with an axe, cooked (it and) served (it) up,
 and they ate (it).'

Both the stem I or serial verb form *ghe* and the same subject sequential medial verb form *ghedo* are used in conjunction with the locatives *da* and *kena* to indicate 'from', marking the originating location for an event, as in 3.91. Placenames that are proper nouns do not require the postposition *da*, as 3.92 shows with *Koruve ghedo*.

- 3.91 ...*evetako=i sekara=da ghe buvu-do sekara*
 old.woman=CEFF reef.rock=LOC from come.out.I-SEQ.SS reef.rock
dengesi=da anumb-ir-iri...
 side=LOC sit-remain-SIM.R.3S.DS
 '...an old woman came out of the reef rock (and) while she was sitting beside
 the reef rock...'

- 3.92 ...*ne reighi Koruve ghedo vose semb-a-era reighi*
 3PL village Koruve from descend.I cross.I-go.DUR-TP.3PL.FN village
Ganisere tere-teri.
 Ganisere enter.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 '...they descended from Koruve village, crossed (the fiord), and entered Ganisere
 village.'

A few manner expressions are marked with two semantic case markers (e.g. *eto=da=go* 'over and above the call of duty (lit. top=LOC=CPAR)' used in example 3.59.

When an oblique/circumstantial semantic argument is the salient information the speaker is focusing on, the focus construction (noun phrase or embedded clause or sentence) terminates with a demonstrative. The demonstrative obligatorily hosts either *i* or *mi*²¹ (the instrument or topical effector of change markers) before taking any other postpositions. Clauses embedded by role-marking demonstratives are found in examples 3.80 with *aminda*, 3.84 with *amingo*, and 3.85 with *aindae*.

3.2.3 PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS

The speaker assigns pragmatic functions to NPs in order to communicate his or her viewpoint to addressees. This NP denotes the topic to be discussed, the salient focal information which addressees are meant to assimilate, a significant contrast between entities, or the focus of the speaker's empathy. Unlike NPs marked for semantic roles which relate to one predicate at the clausal level, NPs encoding pragmatic functions often

²¹ The *i* occurs before the postpositions *da* (genitive), *ghae*, *de*, *dae* and *kena ainda* 'of that', *ainghae/ainde* 'with that', *aindae* 'because of that', and *aikena* 'in that direction'. The *mi* is placed before *da* (locative) and *go*: *aminda* 'there', *amingo* 'like that'.

reference entities that extend their scope of influence beyond the clause. Some even are discourse themes.

Three types of speech-packaging devices are used by Korafe speakers in oral and written texts: (1) word order, (2) postpositions and other syntactic markers (including demonstratives, interrogative-indefinites, and focal pronouns) (3) phonological features.

Pragmatic functions are highlighted phonologically by **accent, stress, pauses and intonation contours**. (See fn.5 in this chapter re definitions of accent and stress.) Accent and stress are used to indicate the focused element in the clause or in the intonation contour. Accent (or heavy stress) is manifested by increased intensity (amplitude) and/or a higher pitch on the inherently stressed syllable of the word that receives the main focus of the segment that correlates with the intonation contour. Accent within the intonational contour is symbolised below by a double-underlined single quote ('). Stress perturbs from the antepenultimate syllable to the penultimate syllable of future verb suffixes to shift the focus from the verb to another element in the clause. Examples 3.93a and b illustrate the combination of accent and stress to mark the focused unit in two clauses. In 3.93a, the focus is on the verb and the action of going.

- FOCUS
- 3.93a. *Na sifo=de 'y-árena.*
 1S day=COM.D go.DUR-F.1S.FN
 'I will go tomorrow. (I am definitely going tomorrow, no two ways about it.)'

In example 3.93b, the focus is on the argument preceding the verb, as indicated by both accent and perturbed stress on the verb.

- FOCUS
- 3.93b. *Na s'fo=de y-aréna.*
 1S day=COM.D go.DUR-F.1S.FN
 'I will go tomorrow. (You thought I'd already gone. No, I'll be going tomorrow.)'

Pauses separate the external or pragmatic functions of theme and tail from the main sentence base(s). Pauses are signalled by punctuation marks such as commas and full stops in written texts. For examples with themes and tails, see §3.2.3.1. Pauses also mark rhythm groups, which contain one or more intonation contours and are equivalent to coherent informational units or thematic clause chain units (TCCUs) in sentences. A fuller explanation of TCCUs is given in §9.3. The intonation contours and amplitude graphs that characterise statements, questions, and commands are illustrated in §4.7 and its subsections.

The pragmatic functions Korafe has, the word order demonstrated by these functions and the morphological indicators of pragmatic functions in Korafe are outlined in the following sections: 3.2.3.1, 3.2.3.2 and 3.2.3.3.

3.2.3.1 WORD ORDER AND PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS

Korafe has two pragmatic structures:

P2:THEME, P1:TOPIC S O V, P3:TAIL (Dik 1978:19-21)²² and

P2:THEME, P1:TOPIC COMMENT(NP/PP-(ri)), P3:TAIL.

These structures make use of four pragmatic functions: THEME, TOPIC, FOCUS and TAIL. THEME and TAIL are external to the predication proper and occupy the special positions, P2 and P3 respectively. TOPIC and FOCUS are internal functions of the predication. In the schema that Dik (1979:21) proposes, the P1 position is “taken by elements from special categories of constituents (e.g. questions words) or is used for constituents with Topic or Focus function”. In Korafe, when a TOPIC NP is overtly present in predications terminating with verbs, it is always in the P1 initial position in the predication. But a constituent bearing FOCUS function may not necessarily be in the initial P1 position. In the second Korafe pragmatic structure, FOCUS is normally associated with the COMMENT constituent.

The THEME in P2 position is external to the main clause, preceding it, phonologically separated from it by a pause. Dik’s definition of THEME dovetails with Chafe’s (1976:50) definition of ‘Chinese topics’: “the topic sets a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds”.

The TOPIC in P1 position is internal to the main clause. It is “the entity ‘about’ which the predication specifies something in the given setting” (1976:50). TOPIC NPs are marked by *mo* in Korafe as “the starting point of the utterance” (Brown and Yule 1983:126) when no contrast is involved and {*imi*} or {*va*} when contrast is involved.

The THEME overlaps with the TOPIC in the type of information it conveys, but THEMES do not ever function as clausal subjects. Neither the THEME nor the TOPIC are required to have selectional restrictions with the verb, but the TOPIC is sometimes the syntactic subject of the clause. As subject, its person and number are cross-referenced by the predicating verb. Most Korafe sentences have either a THEME or a TOPIC; some have both, but some have only the comment element. In example 3.94, the P2:THEME function realised by *orokoé* ‘nowadays’, and the P1:TOPIC realised by *ogha mo* ‘the crow’ reference distinct semantic entities. The THEME provides the temporal setting for the sentence, and the TOPIC (*ogha*) has subject function in the clause in which it occurs.

- 3.94 [*Oroko=é*]_{THEME} [*ogha=mo*]_{TOPIC} *Kofure ir-ira*.
 today=this crow=T/F Kofure remain-PRES.3S.FN
 ‘[Nowadays]_{THEME} [crows]_{TOPIC} live at Kofure.’

²² The initial pragmatic structure is abstracted for Korafe from Dik’s (1978:19-21) *language independent preferred order of constituents* (LIPOC). The LIPOC structure that Dik proposes has this format: P2, P1 (V) S (V) O (V), P3, in which “S and O stand for the neutral or unmarked positions of Subject and Object. The Vs indicate the possible positions of (finite and infinite) verbs. P1, P2, and P3 indicate ‘special positions’ used for special purposes, and the commas stand for breaks in the intonation” (Dik 1978:21).

It should be noted that Korafe switch-reference constructions (SRCs) can occur with large numbers of clauses (i.e. (TOPIC) (S) (O) V). Up to 27 have been found in one sentence. SRCs can also manifest more than one instance of the entire set of constituents from P₂ through to P₃ with several clauses in between.

Korafe also distinguishes a pragmatic structure centred around a verbless or copular TOPIC-COMMENT clause, which is represented by the second formula. The occurrence of more than two TOPIC-COMMENT clauses in one sentence is rare. Sentence-internal TOPIC-COMMENT clauses often occur without the copula.

In example 3.95, both P2:THEME and P1:TOPIC functions reference the same semantic entity. Personal pronouns commonly occur in Korafe as TOPICS copying the THEME constituent. The main clause in this example has TOPIC-COMMENT structure, terminating with a copula instead of a verb.

- 3.95 [Oka kokombara=mo,]_{THEME} [nu]_{TOPIC} [oka evevago=ri.]_{COMMENT}
 fish Blue.banded.Hussar=T/F 3S fish good.CPAR=COP.AQ
 ‘[Regarding the fish (called) the Blue-banded Hussar,]_{THEME} [it]_{TOPIC} [is a beautiful fish.]_{COMMENT}’

Example 3.96 does not have a THEME function. Its TOPIC function, *na* ‘me’, is distinct from the subject which is cross-referenced as third person singular on the verb.

- 3.96 [Na]_{TOPIC} [oka+gua a=imi]_{SUBJECT} garu-sira.
 IS fish+stonefish that=CEFF.T/F spear.II-DP.3S.FN
 ‘I got stung by a stonefish. (lit. Me, that fish, the stonefish, stung.)’

The following example has two sentences. The initial sentence introduces the THEME. The second contains two juxtaposed clauses that are just COMMENTS.

- 3.97 [Oka+bububorita,]_{THEME} [nu]_{TOPIC} [borita=da kau=go=ri.]_{COMMENT}
 fish+garpike 3S long-tom=GEN kind=CPAR=COP.AQ
 [Tamo ingago=ri,]_{COMMENT} [anofafa veveyako=ri.]_{COMMENT}
 body black=COP.AQ scales small.RED=COP.AQ
 ‘[The garpike,]_{THEME} [it]_{TOPIC} [is like the long-tom.]_{COMMENT} (It) [is black]_{COMMENT}
 (and) [(has) tiny scales.]_{COMMENT}’

Korafe can have more than one THEME constituent in a sentence. In example 3.98, there are two thematic constituents before the three clauses occur.

- 3.98 [Ata nu,]_{THEME} [genembo javo+Harija a=va,]_{THEME}
 that.FRUS 3S man name+Harija that=CT
 [noaro=mane]_{TOPIC} [isambu 15,]_{COMMENT} [nunda sasingu]_{TOPIC}
 3S.wife=PL all 15 3S.GEN children
 [isambu 25,]_{COMMENT} [nunda fuka=mane]_{TOPIC} [isambu 3,000
 all 25 3S.GEN pig=PL all 3,000
 a=min=go=ri.]_{COMMENT}
 that=CEFF.T/F=CPAR=COP.AQ
 ‘But the most unexpected thing (I saw there, was the domestic set-up of) a fellow named Harija, his wives totalled 15, his children totalled 25, and his pigs totalled around about 3,000. (lit. ...his wives all 15, his children all 25, his pigs were all 3,000 like that.)’

Noun phrases with FOCUS function convey either new information or ‘what is relatively the most important or salient information in the given setting’, or else they single out one member of a set to the exclusion of the others. As already mentioned above and illustrated in example 3.93, accent (or heavy stress) falls on the inherently stressed syllable of the constituent having FOCUS function. The FOCUS can include the verb or be the verb itself. In

the following example, the THEME is a temporal argument, the TOPIC is a locative argument, and the rest of the clause, *evevetu ava nembo irera* ‘only women remain’ has FOCUS function.

- 3.99 [Edo oroko *a=mo*,]_{THEME} [reighi *a=min=da*]_{TOPIC}
 and/do.I.SEQ.SS today that=T/F place that=CEFF.T/F=LOC
 [evevetu *a=va nembo ir-era*.]_{FOCUS}
 women.RED that=CT only remain-PRES.3PL.FN
 ‘And regarding the present time, at that place, there are only women.’

Personal pronouns and interrogative-indefinites with FOCUS function must be marked when they occur as the COMMENT in TOPIC–COMMENT constructions. Personal pronouns occur with *mo*, as example 3.100 from Matthew’s Gospel (27:42) illustrates.

- 3.100 [Israel *embo=da kini=mo*]_{TOPIC} [*nu=mo=ri*.]_{FOCUS/COMMENT}
 Israel people=GEN king=T/F 3S=T/F=COP.AQ
 ‘The king of the people of Israel is he himself.’

Interrogative-indefinite pronouns with FOCUS-function occur obligatorily with the specifier *jo*, as example 3.101 illustrates.

- 3.101 [*Ni*]_{TOPIC} [*mave=jo=ri?*]_{FOCUS/COMMENT}
 2S who=SPEC=COP.AQ
 ‘Who’s there? (lit. Who are you?)’

Like the P2:THEME function, the P3:TAIL is an external function, phonologically set off from the main clause by a pause. The TAIL follows the main clause. It gives an “‘afterthought’...information meant to clarify or modify (some constituent contained in) the Predication (Dik 1978:130)”. Purpose expressions (3.102) and spatial (3.103) and temporal locatives frequently are TAILS.

- 3.102 ...*nun=da koro-mane jovereghe-do oj-eri*,
 3S=GEN older.brother-PL turn.around.I-SEQ.SS come.NDUR-TP.3PL.AQ
 [*nen=da gagarako=da gomo g-ari=dae*.]_{TAIL}
 3PL=GEN younger.sister=GEN belly(=grave) see.I-INF=PUR
 ‘...her older brothers turned and came back, [in order to see their younger sister’s grave site]._{TAIL}’
- 3.103 *A=mo, usu sirore-do ir-ira, [reighi=da]*_{TAIL}
 that=T/F coconut be.born.I-SEQ.SS remain-PRES.3S.FN place=LOC
 ‘Regarding that, coconuts have come into being and remain, [in (our) place]._{TAIL}’
 (Free translation: ‘That is the story how coconuts came to exist in our place.’)

The TAIL function, like the FOCUS function, may highlight the most salient information, as *voyuva* (the name of the vine) is accentuated in example 3.104, for example.

- 3.104 *Ghaka digh-ari=da asi javo se-raera, [voyuva]*_{TAIL}
 canoe tie.I-DVB=GEN vine name say.I-CUST.1PL.FN *voyuva*.vine
 ‘We call the name of the canoe-tying vine, [*voyuva*]._{TAIL}’

As noted above, the initial argument in a clause usually has TOPIC function. Sometimes this argument coincides with the subject, because the unmarked order of constituents in Korafe verbal clauses is SOV. This unmarked order mirrors the inherent natural flow of attention from agent initiator to patient goal/recipient, according to Delancey (1981:632-635).²³ The Korafe assume that SOV order is operative in clauses like the one in example 3.105 that has two unmarked arguments.

S:TOPIC O
 3.105 ...*numamo=mane kakati dighi-do...*
 3S.father=PL platform lash.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘...his fathers lashed together platforms...’

Subject referents that are lower on the animacy hierarchy²⁴ than object referents can still occur as unmarked agents when the default SOV order is maintained. In example 3.106a, the Papuan Black snake is certainly lower on the animacy hierarchy than people are, but it is not marked.

S:TOPIC O:
 3.106a. *Juumi evetu+genembo gamb-eari ambu-raera.*
 Papuan.Black.snake woman+man bite.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS die.I-CUST.3PL.FN
 ‘The Papuan Black snake bites people, and they die.’

In Korafe, the object is topicalised and the subject given FOCUS function by assigning OSV order to the arguments.²⁵ In these cases when the subject is lower on the animacy hierarchy, one of the two NPs must be marked. In example 3.106b, the subject is marked by the effector of change marker, {*imi*}. Example 3.106c is ill-formed, because neither one of the arguments is marked.

O:TOPIC S:FOCUS
 3.106b. *Evetu+genembo juumi=i gamb-eari*
 woman+man Papuan.Black.snake=CEFF bite.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS
 ambu-raera.
 die.I-CUST.3PL.FN
 ‘The Papuan Black snake is one who bites people and they die.’

²³ As Delancey (1981:632) expresses it, “events have an inherent natural AF [ATTENTION FLOW], which recreates the flow of attention involved in actually witnessing the event”. The speaker with a different perspective on events may rearrange NPs to reflect his or her viewpoint.

²⁴ Delancey (1981:627-628,644) labels the animacy hierarchy the ‘empathy hierarchy’, incorporating the following distinctions: SAP (speech-act participants) > 3rd pronouns > human > animate > natural forces > inanimate.

²⁵ Korafe does not have passive voice. However, objects can be topicalised (one of the functions of the English passive construction) by fronting them in OSV-ordered clauses. Unlike English, the agent NP in the Korafe construction is not demoted to an oblique function; it still is cross-referenced as subject on the verb.

- 3.106c. **Evetu+genembo juumi gamb-eari*
 woman+man Papuan.Black.snake bite.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS
ambu-raera.
 die.I-CUST.3PL.FN

In cases where the O constituent occurs with *ava* 'that (contrastive)', it and the subject tend to be marked, as example 3.107 from a letter illustrates.

- THEME O:TOPIC S:FOCUS
 3.107 *Eni, tank tingu=da wire a=va yaura a=imi*
 one tank corner=LOC wire that=CT wind that=CEFF.T/F
bunununghe-tiri...
 shred.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 'Another thing, that wire at the tank corner of the house, the wind has shredded and...'

Only when the subject is distinguishable from the deictic or cultural context may all the core arguments in OSV constructions remain unmarked. In practice, this means that only subject NPs with the feature [+human] may be unmarked when they have focus function.

- O:TOPIC S:FOCUS
 3.108 ...*gagara namane=da mandi fit-arira.*
 girl 1.PL.EXC=GEN boy put.I-F.3S.FN
 '...(your) daughter our son will marry.'
 O:TOPIC S:FOCUS
 3.109 *Sino nun=da bayau namane mutu-raera.*
 dog 3S=GEN food 1PL.EXC give.I-CUST.1PL.FN
 'The dog's food we provide.'

3.2.3.2 MARKERS INDICATING PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS

The three main information-marking postpositions that indicate pragmatic functions are: *mo*, {*imi*}, {*va*}. The following example illustrates their use in a similar context.

THEME/TOPIC:

- 3.110a. *Elijah=mo, mará, amb-ira.*
 Elijah=T/F what.a.pity die.I-TP.3S.FN
 'Regarding Elijah, what a pity, he has just died.'

CONTRAST (EXHAUSTIVE FOCUS OF CONTRAST):

- 3.110b. *Elijah a=va amb-ira, jo Simon ir-ae=ri.*
 Elijah that=CT die.I-TP.3S.FN not Simon remain-not.do=COP.AQ
 'It was Elijah that died, not Simon.'

EFFECTOR OF CHANGE:

- 3.110c. *O genembo=i ambu-raira a=mo, evetu a=in=dae*
 or man=CEFF die.I-CUST.3S.FN that=T/F woman that=CEFF=BEN
rori se-raera.
 widow say.I-CUST.IPL.FN
 (lit. 'Or when a man dies, we say "widow" about (his) wife.') 'A man's
 death causes his wife to become a widow'.

As examples 3.110b and c indicate, these three information markers commonly occur in combination with demonstratives.

The postposition *mo*²⁶ regularly marks left-dislocated THEMES [P₂]. NPs marked by *mo* can reference either entities that are newly introduced, or entities that the speaker assumes the addressee is familiar with, because they are already 'evoked' or inferrable²⁷ from background knowledge (such as generic entities) (Prince 1981:236). The NP marked by *mo* in example 3.111 is a new theme anchored in the text's overall or global theme: cassowaries.

- 3.111 *Nun=da tataya=mo, ata a=imi e-raira.*
 3S=GEN fight=T/F feet that=CEFF.T/F do.I-CUST.3S.FN
 'About its fighting, it does (it) with its feet.'

PPs can also be marked by *mo*. In example 3.112, *mo* marks the setting introducing a description of the customary behaviour of teenagers in the ancestors' time.

- 3.112 *Giti avia+abua=da sifo=da=mo, ade+vide ne*
 first grandmother+grandfather=GEN day=LOC=T/F teenagers 3PL
noi+numamo=de ir-ise...
 3S.mother+3S.father=COM.PL remain-SIM.SS
 'At first in our grandparents' day, teenagers while remaining with their parents...'

The *mo* also occurs often with TOPIC NPs [P₁] in topic-comment copular clauses, as example 3.113 illustrates.

- 3.113 *Oka+sesema=mo tamu+foyago=ri.*
 fish+hammerhead.shark=T/F body+white=COP.AQ
 'The hammerhead shark is white.'

²⁶ Korafe does not use *mo* as an obligatory suffix on personal pronouns, but only as an emphatic suffix. In contrast, the Binandere languages, Binandere (Capell 1969b:2-3) and Orokaiva (Larsen and Larsen 1982:78,80) use it in combination with demonstratives to indicate third person singular pronouns and terminate emphatic NPs. Ewage-Notu (Parrington 1978?:56-58) and Baruga (Farr and Farr field notes) use it to mark nominative singular personal pronouns.

Although the Eastern Highlands is 200 kilometres from Tufi where the Korafe live, *mo* topic markers occur in languages there. Haiman (1980:363,411-412,452) states that the Hua *-mo* is a potential topic marker. James (pers. comm.) attests to a *mo* topic marker for Siane.

²⁷ Prince (1981:235-237) outlines a taxonomy defining the concepts of given and new information. She says NPs reference entities that are new, inferrable, or evoked. New entities are either brand-new or unused long enough not to be in the speaker's consciousness. Evoked entities are those that the addressee already has in his or her consciousness from the immediate textual context or the situation, the script the speaker is using. Inferrable entities are those the speaker assumes the addressee can derive by reasoning.

Resumptive TOPIC NPs are also marked by *mo*. The referent of *noaro* 'his wife' is initially introduced two sentences before the clause sequence given in example 3.114.

- 3.114 *Noaro e=mo itatame-do iri...*
 3S.wife this=T/F feel.I-SEQ.SS do.SIM.R.3S.DS
 'This wife of his had gone into labour and was travelling...'

Although *mo* usually marks THEME and TOPIC constituents that are not contrastive, it also marks personal pronouns that have FOCUS function in the comments in topic-comment clauses. In example 3.115, only the pronoun marked with *mo*, *namori* '(It) is I', is acceptable; *nari* is ungrammatical.

- 3.115 [*Australia y-ari re-s-eva a=mo*]_{THEME} [*eni*]_{TOPIC}
 Australia go.DUR-DVB IPF-say-PRES.2PL.Fn that=T/F one
 [*na=mo=ri/*na=ri*]_{COMMENT}
 IS=T/F=COP.AQ/IS= COP.AQ
 'Regarding those that you say will go to Australia, count me in! (lit. one (of that number) is me.)'

Very occasionally *mo* marks TAILS [P3], as example 3.116 illustrates. In this example, the TAIL includes a relative construction.

- 3.116 *E-do namonde s-eoro ningi-raera,*
 and/do.I-SEQ.SS IPL.INC say.I-SEQ.CUST.3PL.DS hear.I-CUST.1PL.FN
 [*Jusi+embo isoro+e-do ghu-sera*]_{RELATIVE CLAUSE} *a=in=da*
 Jews+people war+do.I-SEQ.SS continue.II-DP.3PL.FN that=CEFF=GEN
bino=mo.
 news=T/F
 'And they tell us and we hear, the tales about the Jewish people's wars
 (lit. that news of the Jewish people repeatedly warred).'

The postposition {*va*} 'change of direction' regularly encodes contrast. It usually marks NPs with the FOCUS function. But in combination with demonstratives, it also marks left-dislocated P2:THEME constituents. In the following example, the NP it marks has FOCUS function and indicates contrast between reality and the expectation of reality. It also singles out the cat as opposed to the other domestic pet, the dog.

- 3.117 *Vare joká=da, fusi=va g-eni, jo sino jo*
 garden inside=LOC pussy=CT see.I-TP.IS.AQ NEG dog NEG
g-ae=ri.
 see.I-not.do=COP.AQ
 'In the garden, I saw a cat, I did not see a dog.'

Exhaustive focus of contrast is encoded by the demonstrative combination *ava*.²⁸

²⁸ The contrastive-change of direction thematic marker {*va*} has the following allomorphs: *va*, *vo*, *via*, and *vi*.

COPULA FORMS are: *eviri*, *avori*, and *oviri*.

FORMS WITH ALL OTHER PREDICATES are: *evia*, *ava*, and *ovia*.

- 3.118 ...*gegenembo* *a=mo* *nen=da* *gika+futo* *a=va* *nembo*
 men.RED that=T/F 3PL=GEN pig.spear+pig.net that=CT only

fumbu-do...

shoulder.I-SEQ.SS

'...those men shouldered only their pig spears and nets (not the game they had caught and already eaten) and...

Like *mo*, *ava* can mark PPs as well as NPs.

- 3.119 *Roera etoto* *e=mo*, *jo* *Korafe=kena* *a=va* *nembo*
 thing two this=T/F NEG Korafe=ALOC that=CT only

ir-ae=ri.

remain-not.do=COP.AQ

'These two things don't belong to the Korafe people only.'

- 3.120 ...*Michael=da* *nati=da* *a=va* *viti* *ena...*
 Michael=GEN house=LOC that=CT ascend.I go.DUR.PAST.IS.FN
 '...I climbed up on Michael's house, that one...'

THEME constituents are occasionally marked by *ava*. In example 3.121 from an animal book, the author marks the thematic NP with *ava* to introduce it as a new topic that contrasts with other topics in the book.

- 3.121 *Sike* *a=va*, *nu jingabu=ri*, *a=va=ta* *nu jo*
 slender.tree.snake that=CT 3S snake=COP.AQ that=CT=FRUS 3S NEG

baj-ae *e-raira.*

grow.I-not.do do-CUST.3S.FN

'Contrasting the slender tree snake (with other snakes), it is a snake, but it does not grow big.'

Ava and the related form *avata* function like the English conjunction 'but', in this case indicating reversal.

- 3.122 *Kingston* *fur-ari=va* *seteni*, *a=va=ta* *jo*
 Kingston come.DUR-DVB=CT say.I-TP.IS.AQ that=CT=FRUS NEG

fur-ae=ri.

come.DUR-not.do=COP.AG

'I said (thought) that Kingston had come, but he hasn't come.'

As indicated in the discussion of circumstantial semantic roles in §3.2.2.2, the postposition {*imi*}²⁹ 'effector of change' marks NPs with INSTRUMENT and MEANS roles. It

²⁹

The Korafe effector of change marker {*imi*} has two forms: *i* and *imi*. Both *i* and *imi* follow NPs cliticising to the terminus of the NP they are relating to the predicate or a larger discourse chunk; their usage in this context is not clearly differentiated in the corpus of Korafe data available to us. However, in combination with a demonstrative root (*e*, *a*, *o*), *i* precedes the postpositions: *ghae* and *de* (comitative dual and plural): *ainghaelainde* 'with that one'/'with those', *da* (possession): *ainda* 'of that one', *dae* (purpose, final/intended goal-recipient, applicative): *aindae* 'on account of that', and *kena* 'toward that (end), regarding that'. Postpositions do not follow *imi*. But the segment *mi* does

also marks subject NPs in OSV-ordered clauses. These NPs have pragmatic FOCUS function and usually play AGENT or FORCE semantic roles. When *fuka* ‘the pig’ occurs as subject and AGENT in example 3.123a with SOV order, it is not marked, but it must be marked when the order is OSV, as in 3.123b.

- 3.123a. *Fuka namane=da vare sosighi+u-sira.*
 pig 1PL.EXC=GEN garden plunder+do.II-DS.3S.FN
 ‘Pigs demolished our garden.’
- 3.123b. *Namane=da vare fuka=i/*fuka sosighi+u-sira.*
 1PL.EXC=GEN garden pig=CEFF plunder+do.II-DS.3S.FN
 ‘Our garden, the pigs demolished.’

In example 3.124, a FORCE is the *imi*-marked subject.

- 3.124 *Ā agari nu eva=imi fat-iri...*
 and rat 3S sea.waves=CEFF.T/F press/cover.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 ‘And the rat, him the sea waves overwhelmed...’

The {*imi*} can also mark subjects in SOV-ordered clauses. In example 3.125, both subject and object are marked for pragmatic function. In the context, both referents have been textually evoked, but the speaker focuses on both referents as the entities initiating the event (i.e. *gagara eimi* ‘this girl’) and being affected by it (i.e. *Remukoe ava* ‘Remukoe, that one as opposed to any other’).

- 3.125 *A=in=da tuka=mo: gagara e=imi Remukoe a=va dere*
 that=CEFF=GEN point=T/F girl this=CEFF.T/F Remukoe that=CT trick.I
ji-sira, evetu+genembo=da dombu=da.
 laugh-CP.3S.FN woman+man=GEN face=LOC
 ‘The main point of that is: this girl mocked Remukoe, that one, in front of the people.’

The {*imi*} marker might be construed to mark NPs as having the ergative³⁰ case, if we just examined the previous examples in which it marks subjects in transitive clauses. However,

cliticise to demonstratives and then is followed by the postpositions *da* (locative): *aminda* ‘there’ and *go* (comparative): *amingo* ‘like that one’.

All the other documented languages in the Binandere family register a subject marker *mi* and the demonstrative *ami* or *meni* and also a pronominal actor marker, marked by *-na* in Suena, Orokaiva and Baruga, *-nemi/-nei* in Ewage-Notu, and *-ne* in Korafe. They also have markers of objects and sentences very close to the Korafe *ava* (e.g. *awa* [Suena, Binandere], *awo* [Orokaiva], *awa* and *awawa* [Ewage-Notu], *aghā* [Baruga]. For more details, see Wilson (1994:79-84) for Suena, Capell (1969b:4), Larsen and Larsen (1982:78,80) for Orokaiva, Parrington (1978?:37,57-58) for Ewage-Notu, and Farr field notes for Baruga.

³⁰ Ergativity, as defined by Dixon (1979:59-62) is a syntactically based marking system in which morphological case marking and/or syntactic constraints distinguish the A syntactic relation from the S and O syntactic relations which are treated alike. Ergativity documented in Papuan languages is usually realised by case marking on the A syntactic relation. Researchers commonly report nominative/accusative syntax with constraints that reflect an A/S pivot. Li and Lang (1979:321) suggest that “ergativity is restricted to case markings without any syntactic or discourse consequences”, but add that a correlation does exist between the “use of the ergative marker on the subject of a complex sentence and the requirement of an agent by the subordinate verb”.

From his survey of 35 Papuan languages, Whitehead (1981:50-51) concluded that case marking utilised on the agent or actor does not consistently manifest canonical ergativity. He notes that

it also marks NPs that are subjects in intransitive clauses and objects in transitive clauses. In example 3.126 repeated from 3.110c, the *i*-marked NP is the subject of an intransitive clause which has as its predicate the verb *ambu* ‘die’.

- 3.126 *O genembo=i ambu-raira a=mo, evetu a=in=dae rori*
 or man=CEFF die.I-CUST.3S.FN that=T/F woman that=CEFF=BEN widow
se-raera.
 say.I-CUST.1PL.FN
 ‘Or when a man dies, we say ‘widow’ about (his) wife.’ (A man’s death causes his wife to become a widow.)

Like the NPs marked with {*imi*} in preceding examples, *genemboi* ‘the man’ is an effector of change. Although his demise is non-volitional, he does initiate the cycle of events that turns his wife into a widow. Likewise in example 3.127, although the {*imi*} marks an NP in a clause where it has syntactic object function, it plays the INSTRUMENT role for the events encoded in the subsequent clause.

- 3.127 ...*ã ghamana a-imi bu-do je bas-ari amb-ari...*
 and rock that-CEFF.T/F get.I-SEQ.SS gash.I bore.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS die.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 ‘...and (he) gets that rock and hacks (the wallaby), and it dies...’

Contrastive focus is also indicated by {*imi*}. In example 3.128, the force, the sun (*iji=i*) is contrasted with the drying rack *faro* and selected as the proper drying agent. The sun *iji* is obligatorily marked by the effector of change marker in this context.³¹

- 3.128 *Kiribatu iji=i av-are; erá*
 sea.cucumber sun=CEFF dry-H.3S.CR NEG.IPF.do.SEQ.IR.SS
faro+eove!
 smoke.rack+do.H.2PL.CR
 ‘Let the sun dry the sea cucumbers; don’t smoke (them)!’

languages surveyed have the following conditioning factors for marking Agents and Actors: (1) displacement from initial position, (2) introduction of new participants, (3) emphasis of one group of participants over or to the exclusion of another, and (4) the identification of the controlling identities at the various stages of discourse.

31 Arguments encoding FORCE do not require marking when the effect of the FORCE is a natural consequence of its existence and in cases where neither its control in the situation nor the exclusion of other possible forces is focused on. Anderson and Wade (1988:9,14) note that the ergative marker in Folopa (Southern Highlands Province Papuan language) is not required to mark NPs referencing entities that are performing routine social activities “in which control is de-emphasized”. Therefore, in the following Korafe example where the natural process of cut grass and bush drying in the sun is described, *iji* ‘the sun’ is not marked with *-i* ‘EFFECTOR OF CHANGE’ and does not function as the syntactic subject with FORCE semantic role. Instead, it is an adjunct, forming a nominal+verb combination with *avare* (see §2.6).

*Enda ghojaba+e-do je-vu, fas-e-do iji/*iji-i av-are!*
 ground machete+do.I-SEQ.SS chop.I-2PL.IMP lie-do.I-SEQ.SS sun/*sun-CEFF dry-H.3S.CR
 ‘Hack the bush with a machete and chop (it) down, so that it may lie and be sun-dried’.

Indeed, in this example, verbal morphology prohibits the use of *ijii* ‘the sun, EFFECTOR OF CHANGE’ as subject with FORCE role. The verb *fasedo* ‘lie down’ is marked to indicate that the next verb has the same subject, and it has, as its understood subject, *enda* ‘the ground (bush)’. Therefore, the subsequent verb *avare* ‘that it may dry’ is required to have *enda* as its understood subject; *ijii* cannot function as its subject.

In example 3.129, *ei* ‘this contrastive actor’ exclusively specifies *namonde* ‘we (INC)’ as the only entity performing the event.

- 3.129 *Ghasemo e=mako, namonde e=i vos-oro*
 canoe this=T/F.DIM 1PL.INC this=CEFF descend.I-SEQ.IR.1PL.DS
inono+arira.
 enough+do.F.3S.FN
 ‘Regarding this canoe, just we here can board (it), and it has capacity to hold us
 (lit. we here as opposed to all others will descend, and it will be sufficient).’

The {*imi*} does not often mark NPs with left-dislocated THEME function. But when it does, exhaustive contrast is regularly encoded. Most {*imi*}-marked THEMES are relative clauses that play a semantic AGENT, FORCE or INSTRUMENTAL role in the matrix clause, but do not have syntactic realisation in the matrix clause. In example 3.130, the relative clause is headless and bears a semantic AGENT relationship with the matrix clause.

- 3.130 *Ghaka=da a-era a=imi, isasambu*
 canoe=LOC go.NDUR-TP.3PL.FN that=CEFF.T/F all.RED
vevendi+ge-teri.
 put.in.RED+do.FOC-TP.3PL.AQ
 ‘Those ones that went on the canoe, they made all (of the goals in the soccer
 match, each making one).’

The instrument functions as the TOPIC and is positioned initially in example 3.131 to contrast it with all other knives as well as indicating its control in the event that transpired.

- 3.131 *Vikoko e=imi Janicewide jingabu gafu+ge-tira.*
 knife this=CEFF.T/F Janicewide snake cut.II+do.FOC-TP.3S.FN
 ‘This is the knife with which Janicewide cut the snake in two.’

The postposition {*imi*} marks TOPIC and FOCUS functions in verbal clauses only, not in non-verbal topic-comment clauses, as example 3.132 shows.

- 3.132 *Genembo fuka mindafu garu=sira a=mo/*a=imi,*
 man pig big spear.II=DP.3S.FN that=T/F/*that=CEFF.T/F
genembo eveva=ri.
 man good=COP.AQ
 ‘That man that shot a big pig, (he) is a good man.’

According to the Korafe explaining this restriction, the presence of {*imi*} focuses their attention on the event performed. Verbs are not predicates of topic-comment clauses; therefore, {*imi*} cannot mark NPs in them. However, {*imi*} can mark the subject of the existential stative verb *iri* ‘remain’, as example 3.133 illustrates.

- 3.133 *Bijo+gharube a=in=da joka=da, ade=jamena a=imi*
 banana+gharube that=CEFF=GEN inside=LOC teenage.girl=PL that=CEFF.T/F
ir-ia+ghe-teri.
 remain-SEQ.IR.SS+continue.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 ‘Inside that Gharube banana tree, those girls were remaining.’

Although both *mo* and {*ava*} mark postpositional phrases indicating semantic case roles as THEMES, {*imi*} marks NPs only.

The pragmatic information marker *mo* introduces entities and re-invokes them as non-contrastive THEMES and TOPICS, but {*imi*} and {*va*} mark entities that specify contrast and often have FOCUS function. The {*imi*} marks the initiator of the event (AGENT), and {*va*} the one affected or relocated in the course of the event (PATIENT/EXPERIENCER). Although both marked NPs in 3.134 have subject function in intransitive clauses, the *i*-marked referent in 3.134a is a bird with magical powers that it volitionally uses to help people catch fish. However, in 3.134b, the spirit of the dead man is marked with *ava* ‘that affected one’, because he is the patient in a prior event: his family have farewelled him properly. Therefore, he is obligated to come back and use his magical powers to assist his relatives in fishing and hunting.

- 3.134a. ...*nune daba-i jovereghe makoe+ari...*
 3S.ACT one-CEFF turn.around luck+do.SEQ.IR.F.3S.DS
 ‘...it itself, that very one will turn around and bring luck...’
- 3.134b. *Aoro y-ama sekago jovereghe-do,*
 do.SEQ.IR.F.1PL.DS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS again turn.around.I-SEQ.SS
sukaru a=va f-ama makoe+e-do
 evil.spirit that=CT come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS luck+do.I-SEQ.SS
ghu-seri.
 do.again.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 ‘We do (that proper farewelling of the spirit), and he goes and again turns around, that spirit comes and gives good luck.’

In the following two examples, *i* marks an NP performing an ongoing activity. The *ava* marks the same NP when the focus in the verb is on the end of the event and the NP is viewed less actively.

- 3.135a. *Vive=i gagoj-er-ira.*
 weeds=CEFF close.I-IPF-PRES.3S.FN
 ‘The weeds are in the process of closing in.’
- 3.135b. *Vive a=va rave-do ere-gaj-ira.*
 weeds that=CT cover.I-SEQ.SS IPF-close-PRES.3S.FN
 ‘Those weeds have just about covered the whole area.’

The demonstrative *ai/aimi* combination has an additional use as a marker of rhetorical questions. It marks the interrogative verb *nangetira* ‘how did it happen?’ in example 3.136.

- 3.136 *Ni nange-tir-aimi si-mutana jo fu-r-ae*
 2S do.what.I-TP.3S-that.CEFF say.II-SEQ.YP.IS.SS NEG come-EPEN-not.do
u-mutasi?
 do.II-YP.2S.AQ
 ‘What in the world happened to you that you didn’t come yesterday when I said (you should)?’

In example 3.137, it is used to indicate sarcasm.

- 3.137 *A=mo* *eva=r=aimi*, *oju+u-se* *ghaifo+er-esi!*
 that=T/F sea.waves=COP=that.CEFF.T/F fear+do.II-SIM.SS delay+IPF-do.PRES.2S.AQ
 ‘As if those were real high waves that you are fearing and delaying (getting started on the trip)!’

The marker {*imi*} is not limited to marking NPs that function as subjects within transitive clauses, as is an ergative case marker (Dixon 1994:10-11). Nor does {*imi*} mark only NPs with the semantic roles of AGENT, FORCE, and/or INSTRUMENT. Beyond its intraclausal use as a marker of syntactic and semantic role functions, it marks NPs that extend their controlling influence across several clauses in many cases. Korafe data indicates that any entity that is in some way an initiator or effector of change or the starting point for communicating contrastive information about an effector of change can host {*imi*}. Therefore, a comprehensive view of it as a mixed pragmatic and semantic role marker signalling the contrastive EFFECTOR OF CHANGE seems warranted. Unlike ordinary semantic role markers that operate intraclausally, it marks semantic role at the discourse level interclausally.

3.2.3.3 OTHER MORPHOLOGICAL MARKERS OF PRAGMATIC CONSTITUENTS

The following morphological markers also indicate pragmatic constituents: (1) current relevancy markers and *ará*, (2) modal thematic markers (*asi* and *ta*), (3) personal pronouns including focal actor pronominal set, (4) interrogative pronouns and other forms, and (5) contrastive specifiers (*jo* and *nu*).

The current relevancy marker *re* ‘here is, currently in focus’ marks THEME NPs, given information the speaker assumes is “already activated” (Chafe 1976:30) in the mind of the addressee. The noun phrases or noun clauses marked by *re* are part of the gestural or symbolic deictic context of the speech act, as illustrated in 3.138.

- 3.138 *Dudley=re*, *a=rá* *buva=ghae*, *a=vo=ri*.
Dudley=COP.here *that=COP.there* *scar=COM.D* *that=CT=COP.AQ*
 ‘Dudley here (you want to know which of the twins is Dudley), he’s that one with the scar, that one.’

The modal markers *asi* ‘that certainly was said (reported speech)’ and *ta* ‘unexpectedly, frustratingly’ follow final verbs. They also mark THEME NPs, as shown in examples 3.139 and 3.140.

- 3.139 *Father=masi*, *bagia+kato=ri*.
Father=T/F.that.say.II *thief+repeated.doer=COP.AQ*
 ‘Father, they certainly say, is a thief.’
- 3.140 *A=mo=ta*, *ir-ira* *a=mo!*
that=T/F=FRUS *remain-PRES.3S.FN* *that=T/F*
 ‘There, you ninny, it’s right over there (near you)!’

- This set indicates the focal actor in both transitive (3.141) and intransitive (3.142) clauses.

- The pronominal referent undergoing some action can be singled out by adding *mo+á* to the pronominal root forms, as illustrated by *namoá* ‘me myself’ in example 3.143.

- Interrogative pronouns and other interrogative forms** have FOCUS function in clauses or sentence bases, drawing the accent of the intonation contour to their inherently stressed syllable, as examples 4.104 and 4.105 illustrate.

When the **contrastive specifier** *nu* occurs as THEME, it signals the topic for discussion that the speaker is selecting out of a range of possible topics, as in example 3.98 above. When *nu* follows the TOPIC in a clause that is part of the initial base in a sentence, it marks that base as the one contrastively focused on. In example 3.144, the speaker is correcting a misapprehension of the addressee, by marking the event he knows occurred, contrasting it with the non-event which he believes the addressee thinks occurred.

- This specifier is further discussed in §8.12.

CHAPTER 4

CLAUSES, PREDICATES, PREDICATIONS AND SENTENCES

4.1 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

This chapter surveys Korafe clauses/predications and briefly outlines the structure and intonation patterns of simple sentences.

Clauses roughly correspond to the semantic notion of full predications, i.e. predications with both participatory and circumstantial semantic arguments. The predication types detailed in the following sections are based on the correspondence between the number of core arguments that can occur and the semantic roles these arguments play. Predication types in Korafe are either stative or active. Non-verbal clauses and clauses with *iri* 'remain' express *states of affairs*. Other verbal predicates express *events*, the verb stem being an "*event classifier*: a verb stem denoting a kind of action [or process], conceptually simple or complex" (Pawley 1987:335-336).

Simple sentences have two basic components: a base with accompanying prosodies. Because the base of a simple sentence corresponds syntactically to a clause and semantically to a predication, predication types are presented first in the following discussion. The simple sentences surveyed in the final section of this chapter are: statements, content questions, polar questions, and commands.

4.1.1 TYPES OF CLAUSES AND THEIR PREDICATES

Clauses have two basic configurations in Korafe: topic-comment (\pm copula) and S-O-V, in accordance with the predicate¹ they contain. Topic-comment clauses exhibit non-verbal predicates. Verbal clauses are headed by verbal predicates, which occur in final position.

¹ The notion *predicate* refers to a construct that functions syntactically as a main constituent of clauses, and semantically as the basic element in predications. Among the definitions Crystal (1985:241-242) gives, two utilised in this chapter are: (1) "A 'predicate' is that term in a proposition which provides information about the individual entity, e.g. *the car is stolen/big/beautiful...*: it is seen as a device whereby simple propositions can be formed out of names. A simple proposition is then said to be a function of its component name(s), the name(s) being its ARGUMENT(S). The terms 'one-place/two-place, etc. predicates' are then used, depending on the number of arguments contained within the proposition." (2) "In FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR...a predicate is taken to be the basic element of a predication; it is listed in the LEXICON in the form of a **predicate frame**, from which **nuclear predications** are formed by inserting appropriate terms into the ARGUMENT positions. **Full predications** are then formed from NUCLEAR predications by the addition of SATELLITES [circumstantial arguments] (e.g. MANNER, LOCATIVE)."

Non-verbal predicates are differentiated from verbal predicates by the following criteria:

- (1) non-verbal predicates are NPs or PPs that function as predicate complements in the comment slot of topic–comment clauses.² Verbal predicates consist of verbs and nominal + verb combinations that act as lexical verbal units (see §2.6).
- (2) non-verbal predicates are restricted to realis status (see discussion in (5) in the introductory sections of Chapter 2), but they are not bound to any specific time frame, (e.g. today’s past tense). Verbal predicates are realis and bound to specific time frames (either marked directly on them or mediated through a verb they depend on), or else they have irrealis status. For example, yesterday’s past tense and today’s past tense are realis and limited in temporal scope; future tense, hortative and counterfactual verb forms have irrealis status.

4.1a. *Nu ijuga=kato=ri.*

3S teaching=much.doer=COP.AQ

‘He is a teacher.’

ACTIVE VERBAL CLAUSE-FUTURE TENSE/IRREALIS STATUS:

4.1b. *Nu ijuga=kato arira.*

3S teaching=much.doer do.F.3S.FN

‘He will become a teacher.’

ACTIVE and STATIVE VERBAL CLAUSES-YESTERDAY’S PAST TENSE/REALIS STATUS:

4.1c. *Nu ghaeko dotutu-mutara aminda, teseni=da*

3S year leave.II-YP.1PL.FN that.T/F.CEFF.LOC station=GEN

ijuga=kato e-do iri-muta.

teaching=much.doer do.I-SEQ.SS remain-YP.3S.AQ

‘He became and remained the teacher at (Tufi government) station last year
(lit. the year that we left behind).’

- (3) non-verbal predicates have no imperative realisation. Verbal predicates do, as the examples in 4.2 show.

4.2a. *Dubo+jama=ghae ir-i!*

neck+cool=COM.D remain-IMP.2S

‘Stay content!’

4.2b. **Dubo+jama=ghae=ri.*

neck+cool=COM.D=COP.AQ

- (4) non-verbal predicates do not occur in serial verb constructions (4.3b); verbal predicates do (4.3a).

² The term *non-verbal* is used here for topic–comment clauses generally. Those that occur without the copula, sentence-medially, are unequivocally non-verbal (NPs or PPs). Those that occur with the copula, sentence-finally, are also considered non-verbal, even though a case might be made for viewing the copula as a degenerate verb. (Refer to fn.3 of Chapter 2.) Both types manifest the distribution restrictions listed here.

- 4.3a. *Tefo ghaka giti e=min=da dainghe*
 nothing canoe prow this=T/F.CEFF=LOC stand.erec.I

fet-ir-eno...

stand.I-remain-SIM.R.IS.DS

‘While I’m standing erect remaining here on the prow of the canoe,
 doing nothing...’

- 4.3b. **Na dainghe fete fakina=kato=ri.*
 IS stand.erec.I stand.I strength=much.doer=COP.AQ
 ‘*I am standing erect and I am very strong.’

- (5) predicate complements in non-verbal predicates are intensified by nominal intensifiers, e.g. *beká* ‘truly’, *futo* ‘excessively’, *kato* ‘very much’. Verbal predicates are intensified by verbal intensifiers: verb stem + *gogogho e* ‘do well’ or verb stem + *gogoghombe* ‘do well’.

NON-VERBAL:

- 4.4a. *Nu saramana=kato eveva beká=ri.*
 3S work=much.doer good true=COP.AQ
 ‘She is a very good worker.’

VERBAL:

- 4.4b. *Nu saramana+e+gogoghombe-tira.*
 3S work+do.I+do.well.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘She worked very well (today).’

- (6) the lexical semantic content of a non-verbal predicate is expressed by a predicate complement, and a copula indicates its grammatical content. The lexical and grammatical content of a verbal predicate is jointly expressed by the verb form used.

More specific criteria are given for verbal predicates in §4.1.2 and for non-verbal predicates in §4.2.1.

4.1.2 GENERAL PROPERTIES OF CLAUSES WITH VERBAL PREDICATES

Korafe verbal predicates follow the syntactic arguments (core and oblique NPs) in verbal clauses. Constituent order in Korafe verbal clauses is governed by pragmatic constraints, rather than being fixed syntactically. Only the verb-final position is rigidly adhered to. Verbal clauses that can manifest only one core argument, the subject NP, are intransitive. Those that can manifest two core arguments, the subject NP and another unmarked NP with object function, are transitive clauses. Although SOV represents the unmarked order of core constituents in transitive verbal clauses, other configurations (i.e. OSV, SV, OV, V) also occur. Oblique arguments may also be ‘sprinkled’ throughout verbal clauses. This non-configurational structure can be represented as:

(NP)ⁿ + V [+subject marked],

in which NP includes PP (postpositional phrases) and ‘n’ indicates 0-5 arguments.³ Clauses occur with three unmarked (or core) arguments under certain conditions, detailed in §4.4.4 and its accompanying sub-sections. Clauses may be bounded by pauses.

Korafe has a number of verbs that can be used as predicates of both transitive and intransitive clauses.⁴ For instance, the verb *averege* ‘overflow, pour’ in example 4.5 is ambi-transitive.

INTRANSITIVE:

- 4.5a. *Uvu averege vovos-er-ira.*
 water overflow/pour.I descend.II-IPF-PRES.3S.FN
 ‘Water is overflowing and running down.’

TRANSITIVE:

- 4.5b. *Uvu averege mind-one!*
 water pour.(2S).IMP eat.I-IR.1S.H
 ‘Pour (me some) water that I may drink.’

In the above example, it is clear that the NP expressed by *uvu* ‘water’ has S function in 4.5a and O function in 4.5b, i.e. S(intransitive subject)=O. Other Korafe verbs that function as one-place and two-place predicates in which S(intransitive subject)=O include: *beje* ‘break, shatter’, *tise* ‘shred/disintegrate’, *degage* ‘break in two’, *sarige* ‘split’, *avi* ‘be burned, (fire, sun) burn (entity)’, *birurughe* ‘turn, twist’, *feunghe* ‘bob, toss a canoe up and down’ and *de* ‘hit, contact another surface forcefully’. Among the ambitransitive verbs in which S can be either transitive or intransitive are: *junge* ‘hide’, *du* ‘fall/place down on ground’, *divu* ‘sing (song), dance (dance)’ and *jovereghe* ‘turn over, turn around’. Perception predicates and impersonal predicates conveying psychological responses are also expressed by two separate role frames, depending on the semantico-pragmatic nature of the particular event being encoded. Perception predications are the focus of §4.4.2, and impersonal predications are detailed in §4.4.3. Since benefactive or locative oblique arguments can be promoted to the participatory locus role, predications with them also manifest two separate valencies, depending on the situation being described.

4.2 STATIVE PREDICATIONS

Stative predications which express permanent states of affairs are expounded by topic–comment clauses. Clauses having the existential verb *iri* ‘remain’ as their predicate indicate existence or temporary states of affairs. Stative predications encode four semantic areas: identity of topic/subject, attribution, possession, and location.

³ Although a maximum of five-clause internal NP arguments are found in available data, many clauses contain no overt NPs.

⁴ Verbs which allow both transitive and intransitive readings are called *ambitransitive* (or *labile*) verbs (Dixon 1994:54,227). The semantic component [+CAUSE] is associated with transitive realisations of Korafe *ambitransitive* verbs and [-CAUSE] with intransitive ones. It is not always possible to differentiate intransitive clauses of this ambitransitive set from clauses with an ellipsed NP, because Korafe allows ellipsis of any recoverable NP. Because Korafe does not have valency-reducing operations such as passivisation or anti-passivisation, Dixon (pers. comm.) suggests that Korafe might be more accurately described as manifesting “fluid transitivity” with shifts in number of arguments, depending on the semantico-pragmatic conceptualisation of the particular situation the predicate refers to.

4.2.1 PERMANENT STATE PREDICATIONS: TOPIC–COMMENT CLAUSES

Among the permanent states of affairs that topic–comment clauses express is the identity of the entity having topic role.⁵ In example 4.6, the *fuka* ‘pig’ is identified as *jambura da ghato* ‘the dugong’s cousin’.

- 4.6 ...*fuka jambura=da ghato=ri*.
 pig dugong=GEN cousin=COP.AQ
 ‘...the pig is the dugong’s cousin.’

The predicate complement ($\pm ri$) also indicates permanent attributes of the topic, qualifying or quantifying it, as example 4.7 shows.

- 4.7 ...*nunda tamo ingago=ri*.
 3S.GEN body black=COP.AQ
 ‘...its body is black.’

Some copular clauses express possession on a permanent basis.

- 4.8 *Buku etoto e=mo, ningi=a nin=da=ri?*
 book two this=T/F which=that 2S=GEN=COP.AQ
 ‘Of these two books, which is yours?’

Other copular clauses indicate permanent location. The predicate complement in example 4.9 signals the terminus of a legend.

- 4.9 *Kiki tano e=min=da=ri*.
 story boundary this=T/F.CEFF=LOC=COP.AQ
 ‘Here is the end of the legend.’

Sometimes, the topic just limits the domain within which the comment is applicable. Although the free translation in example 4.10 conveys a possessive semantic relationship, the literal translation indicates a much looser connection between topic and comment.

- 4.10 *Na mandi dabako tainako=ri*.
 1S boy one only.DIM=COP.AQ
 ‘I have only one son. (lit. I/me one and only one boy/son.)’

As explained and illustrated in the previous chapter, topics can be unmarked, or they can be marked by personal pronoun copies, pragmatic information markers (i.e. *mo* and {*va*}) or demonstratives, in the case of referential topic NPs. The topic in the topic–comment clause in example 4.11 is unmarked.

- 4.11 [*Toavara rika kau*]_{TOPIC} [*eveva beká=ri*]_{COMMENT}
 bird.of.paradise bird kind good true=COP.AQ
 ‘The bird of paradise species of birds is very beautiful.’

The pragmatic information postposition *mo* (4.12) or personal pronouns (4.13) often mark generic topics.

⁵ It should be noted that topic–comment clauses have a topic rather than a subject, being non-verbal and lacking person and number-of-subject agreement marking.

- 4.12 [*Rika+javo=mo*]_{TOPIC} [*uufa=ri.*]_{COMMENT}
 bird+name=T/F Willy.Wagtail=COP.AQ
 ‘The name of (this) bird is (the) Willy Wagtail.’
- 4.13 [*Ghiro nu*]_{TOPIC} [*g-ari eveva beká=ri.*]_{COMMENT}
 Duchess.Lorikeet 3S see.I-DVB good true=COP.AQ
 ‘The Duchess Lorikeet has a very good appearance.’

Combinations of the markers occur, as in examples 4.14 with *ava* ‘that (contrastive)’ and 4.15 with *numo* ‘it definitely’.

- 4.14 [*Nen=da isoro a=va*]_{TOPIC} [*eko beká=ri.*]_{COMMENT}
 3PL=GEN warfare that=CT bad true=COP.AQ
 ‘That warfare of theirs was truly awful.’
- 4.15 [*Garegha nu=mo*]_{TOPIC} [*rika evevago=ri.*]_{COMMENT}
 King.Parrot 3S=T/F bird good.CPAR=COP.AQ
 ‘Regarding the King Parrot, it definitely is an attractive bird.’

Example 4.16 comes from a text describing the King Parrot, where it follows example 4.15. The initial topical component is separated off phonologically from the two topic-comment clauses that follow it and has sentential theme function.

- 4.16 [*Nun=da tamó=mo,*]_{THEME} [*mendeni*]_{TOPIC} [*ingago=ri*]_{COMMENT} *ã*
 3S=GEN body=T/F some black=COP.AQ and
 [*dubo=kena kokoigo=ri.*]_{COMMENT}
 neck=ALOC red=COP.AQ
 ‘Regarding its body (colouration), some are black, and near (their) necks (they) are red.’

The copula *ri* usually signals a sentence boundary. In sentence-internal positions, the subject-topic and the predicated constituent are juxtaposed without a copula, as the following coordinated sentence indicates.

- 4.17 *Bosivara=mo mindafu, ã nunda tamó ingago=ri.*
 porpoise=T/F big and 3S.GEN body black=COP.AQ
 ‘The porpoise is big, and its body is black.’

Non-verbal clauses dependent on and in a hypotactic relationship with another sentence base obligatorily occur without a copula. In example 4.18, the topic-comment clause is left-dislocated, functioning as the antecedent of *ava* in the following base.

- 4.18 *Nunda buroro=mo ghoghousa, ava bu-do tuse-do*
 3S.GEN fur=T/F long.RED that.CT get.I-SEQ.SS pluck.I-SEQ.SS
tendi-do dighi divu-raera
 lash.on.I-SEQ.SS tie.I dance.I-CUST.IPL.FN
 ‘Its feathers (which are) long, those we get, pluck them, lash them on to a cane headdress framework, tie that on to our heads, and we dance.’

In addition to the topic–comment(\pm copula) structure and general criteria detailed in §4.1.1, non-verbal clauses are uniquely specified by five distributional and/or morphological restrictions. They are:

- (1) topic and comment NPs are never marked by {*imi*}.
- (2) comment NPs have unique forms of {*va*}.
- (3) comment NPs must express comparison with *go*, not *ga*.
- (4) personal pronouns that are predicate nominals must host *mo*.
- (5) interrogative-indefinite NPs occurring as predicate nominals in comments obligatorily host *-jo*.

As examples 4.19 and 4.20 illustrate, *mo* and *va* can mark topics of non-verbal predications; the effector of change marker *imi* never does.

4.19a. *Seeka=da* *tamo=mo* *fakara=ri*.
 fantail.ray=GEN body=T/F hard=COP.AQ
 ‘The body of the fantail ray is hard.’

4.19b. **Seeka=da* *tamo=imi* *fakara=ri*.
 fantail.ray=GEN body=CEFF.T/F hard=COP.AQ

4.20a. *Ghoghosa=da* *saramana+ari* *a=va* *fakara* *beká=ri*.
 Leopard.cone.bracelet=GEN work+do.DVB that=CT hard true=COP.AQ
 ‘The work involved in making a leopard cone bracelet is very hard.’

4.20b. **Ghoghosa=da* *saramana+ari* *a=imi* *fakara* *beká=ri*.
 Leopard.cone.bracelet=GEN work+do.DVB that=CEFF.T/F hard true=COP.AQ

The examples in 4.21 illustrate the use of demonstrative + pragmatic information marker combinations in topic–comment clauses. In example 4.21a, *mo* is limited to marking demonstratives in topic position or in fragments without the copula. Examples 4.21b and 4.21c contrast the use of allomorphs of {*va*} that occur with demonstratives having pragmatic focus function. In non-verbal clauses with the copula *ri*, {*va*} has the allomorphs [*vi* or *vo*], as in *evi* ‘this’, *avo* ‘that’, *ovi* ‘that’. In verbal clauses, its allomorphs are [*via* or *va*], as in *evia* (*eva*), *ava*, and *ovia* (*ova*).

4.21a. *Ajá, na e=mo!* **Ajá na e=mo=ri*.
 Idiot IS this=T/F Idiot IS this=T/P=COP.AQ
 ‘Idiot, I’m here (where I’m supposed to be).’

4.21b. *Na e=vi=r=ere!* **Na e=via=r=ere*.
 IS this=CT=COP=this.CR
 ‘I’m right over here! (disclosing my whereabouts as I speak)’

4.21c. *Na okia e=via* *dimb-arena*. **Na okia e=vi* *dimb-arena*.
 IS pot this=CT dip.up-F.IS.FN
 ‘I will serve up this pot.’

When the comparative postposition {*go*} occurs with predicate complements, its basic form [*go*] obligatorily marks them. In verbal clauses, the allomorphic variant [*ga*] often

replaces [go], marking NPs that have pragmatic focus function. Example 4.23 is repeated from 3.88b.

4.22a. *Luke=da kau=mo mave=g_o=ri?*

Luke=GEN type=T/F who=CPAR=COP.AQ

‘What is Luke really like? (lit. Regarding Luke’s type, like who is (he))?’

4.22b. **Luke=da kau=mo mave=g_a=ri?*

Luke=GEN type=T/F who=CPAR=COP.AQ

4.23 *Geka mave=g_a si-se se-teri?*

talk who=CPAR say.II-SIM.SS say.I-TP.3PL.AQ

‘What was the tenor of the discussion they had? (lit. Talk like who did they speaking say?)’

The personal pronoun stems must occur with the topic-focus marker *mo* in predicate complement position, as in examples 4.24a and b. Objects in verbal clauses freely occur unmarked and *mo*-marked.

4.24a. *Ā gitofu mave vive eko gove-tira a=mo, Satan*

and enemy who weeds bad plant.I-TP.3S.FN that=T/F Satan

nu=mo=ri.

3S=T/F=COP.AQ

‘And the enemy who planted the noxious weeds is Satan himself.’ (Matthew 13:39)

4.24b. **Ā gitofu mave vive eko gove-tira a=mo, Satan*

and enemy who weeds bad plant.I-TP.3S.FN that=T/F Satan

nu=ri.

3S=T/F=COP.AQ

In predicate complement position, the interrogative-indefinite pronouns: *ave/mave* ‘who’ and *re* ‘what’ obligatorily occur with *jo*: *avejo/mavejo* and *rejo*.

4.25 *Susu=mo re=jo=ri? *Susu=mo re=ri?*

source=T/F what=SPEC=COP.AQ source=T/F what=COP.AQ

‘What’s the reason for that? (I want to know the specifics involved in this issue under discussion.)’

The distinction between stative non-verbal and stative verbal clauses is often neutralised when they are negated. The negative deverbal form of *iri* ‘remain, be’ obligatorily occurs. This deverbal is followed by the copula in topic–comment clauses, as example 4.26a illustrates. Example 4.26b is ungrammatical, because it omits *irae*.

4.26a. *Nunda jimbi jo ghousa beká ir-ae=ri.*

3S.GEN tail NEG long true remain-not.do=COP.AQ

‘Its tail is not very long.’

4.26b. **Nunda jimbi jo ghousa beká=ri.*

3S.GEN tail NEG long true=COP.AQ

When stative verbal clauses such as example 4.27a are negated, the negative deverbal form of *iri* ‘remain, be’ can be followed either by the copula (4.27b) or by a form of the verb *e* ‘do’ (4.27c), if a specific temporal span is assigned to the clause.

4.27a. *Noaro=ghae ir-ira.*

3S.wife=COM.D remain-PRES.3S.FN

‘He is with his wife.’

4.27b. *Jo noaro=ghae ir-ae=ri.*

NEG 3S.wife=COM.D remain-not.do=COP.AQ

‘He is not with his wife.’

4.27c. *Jo noaro=ghae ir-ae arira.*

NEG 3S.wife=COM.D remain-not.do do.F.3S.FN

‘He will not remain with his wife.’

4.2.2 EXISTENCE AND TEMPORARY STATE PREDICATIONS: STATIVE VERBAL CLAUSES

The stative verb *iri* ‘be, remain, live’ indicates the existence of an entity, as shown in example 4.28.

4.28 *A=mo, usu sirore-do ir-ira, reighi=da.*

that=T/F coconut be.born.I-SEQ.SS remain-PRES.3S.FN place=LOC

‘That (is how) the coconut came to exist and remains in (our) land.’

This verb is also used to express temporary states of affairs, such as the temporary attributes of the subject-topic (4.29), its location in time and/or space (4.30), or temporary possession (4.31).

TEMPORARY ATTRIBUTE:

4.29 *Nimamo jebuga ir-ira, āi?*

2S.father life remain-PRES.3S.FN yes

‘Your father is alive, right?’

LOCATION:

4.30 *Nengae sekara joká=da ir-ise...*

3.D coral.head inside.LOC remain-SIM.SS

‘The two of them were living inside the coral head...’

LOCATION, TEMPORARY POSSESSION:

4.31 *Nin=da rooro na=mo=kena irira.*

2S-GEN bowl 1S-T/F=ALOC remain-PRES.3S.FN

‘I have your bowl. (lit. Your bowl is in my possession.)’

As a verbal predicate, *iri* shares properties with active verbal predicates that distinguish it from comment predicates in topic–comment clauses. It is cross-referenced for person and number of subject and marked for status and tense. The enduring past tense, realis status form of *iri* ‘remain’ is used in 4.32a, the present tense, realis status in 4.32b, and the future tense, irrealis status in 4.32c.

- 4.32a. *Ogha vereto=ghae baji-do ir-ia-ri.*
 crow vereto=COM.D grow.I-SEQ.SS remain-EP.3PL.AQ
 'A crow and a vereto bird had grown up and were living (at Tufi for a long time).'
- 4.32b. ...*oroko=é ogha=mo Kofure ir-ira.*
 today=this crow=T/F Kofure remain-PRES.3S.FN
 '...nowadays, the crow is living at Kofure.'
- 4.32c. *Ne God=da dombu a=va, ne=ne gosu-se ir-arera.*
 3PL God=GEN face that=CT 3PL=ACT see.II-SIM.SS remain-F.3PL.FN
 'They themselves will remain seeing God's face. (lit. They God's face, they themselves will remain seeing.)'

All three pragmatic information postpositions, *mo*, *va* and *imi*, can mark the subject of *iri*, as shown in 4.33.

- 4.33a. ...*jingabu a=mo voto=da ir-iri...*
 snake that-T/F net=LOC remain-SIM.R.3S.DS
 '...while that snake was remaining in the net...'
- 4.33b. *Viti f-ira buvurutu-sira, a=va jo*
 ascend come.DUR-SEQ.PAST.3S.FN arrive.II-DP.3S.FN that=CT NEG
matoro ir-ae-ri.
 trevally remain-not.do-COP.AQ
 'The one that came up and approached, that one was not a trevally.'
- 4.33c. *Bijo+gharube a=in=da jóká=da ade-jamena*
 banana+gharube that=CEFF=LOC inside=LOC girl-group
a=i=mi ir-ia+ghe-teri.
 that=CEFF=T/F.CEFF remain-SIM.R.3S.DS+do.again.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 'Inside that *gharube* banana tree, those girls were living.'

Focused elements in stative verbal clauses can occur with the [ga] comparative form; they do not require the [go] form.

- 4.34 *Ni mave=ga ir-eso, isoro+u-seri?*
 2S who=CPAR remain-SIM.R.2S.DS war+do.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 'How old were you (lit. who were you like (in size)) when they were fighting (WW II)?'

Personal pronouns can occur as focused elements in stative verbal clauses without the marker *mo*, as example 4.35 demonstrates.

- 4.35 *Nin=da koro na ir-ena!*
 2S=GEN older.brother IS remain-PRES.IS.FN
 'I'm still your older brother you can depend on! (lit. Your older brother I am remaining!).'

4.3 ACTIVE ONE-PLACE PREDICATIONS

Active predications corresponding to intransitive clauses include: (1) predications with experiencer or patient semantic roles and (2) predications with agent or force semantic roles. A range of circumstantial arguments (e.g. temporal, locative, manner) may occur with active one-place predications as well.

These intransitive clauses potentially consist of a subject NP, a verbal predicate and oblique arguments. Constant one-place verbal predicates which cannot host more than one core argument contrast with ambitransitive verbal predicates, which can host either one or two core arguments.

4.3.1 ONE-PLACE PREDICATES WITH SUBJECT HAVING EXPERIENCER OR PATIENT ROLE

A number of nominal (particularly qualifier nominals) + *e* ‘do’ combinations are lexical verbal units that function as one-place predicates. When *e* ‘do’ occurs with an imperfective marker, it encodes a process; otherwise it encodes a result. One-place active predicates (other than *e* combinations) with patient subject arguments that also encode processes or results include: (*ata*, *ungo*) *sirorove* ‘(leg or hand) becomes numb’, *baji* ‘grow’, *gasumbe* ‘(stream) dry up’, *raughe* ‘become soft and pliable’. The subject in clauses with these predicates has experiencer or patient role. Even though *siroredo* ‘be born’, *baji* ‘grow’ and *mindafu useni* ‘I became big’ all occur with an experiencer subject in example 4.36, the overt NP occurs only in the initial clause with *siroredo*; it is co-referenced by the nominal + verb combination, *mindafu useni*.

- 4.36 *Na sirore-do baji mindafu+u-seni.*
 1S be.born.I-SEQ.SS grow.I big+do.II-DP.IS.AQ
 ‘I was born, grew up and became big.’

The subject NP, *nunda tamo*, has the patient role in example 4.37.

- 4.37 ...*o vasa ingago=kena y-arira, nun=da tamo ingago+arira.*
 or place black=ALOC go.DUR-F.3S.FN 3S=GEN body black+do.F.3S.FN
 ‘...or if it (the squid) goes to a black place, its body becomes black.’

Unlike one-place predicates with agentive role, one-place predicates with experiencer or patient roles cannot have imperative forms. Thus, the following commands are ill-formed: **Baji!* ‘Grow!’ or **Tamo ingago e!* ‘Body, become black!’

Korafe has numerous one-place predicates with experiencer or patient subject arguments that conflate existence with manner, manner with motion, and motion with figure. Among the one-place predicates that conflate manner with existence are: *desega e* ‘be leaning against’, *tarighe* ‘flash (suddenly)’, *tiritaraghe* ‘sparkle (like a diamond)’, *firirifararaghe* ‘spatter sideways, explode outwards because of being heated’, *ofe* ‘stink’, and *feeghe* ‘be afloat, be buoyant’. Some that conflate manner with motion are: *rose* ‘sink’, *sive* ‘float away’, *tirotrato e* ‘ripple, slosh’, *osege* ‘to be forcibly snapped off leaving a jagged edge’, *seririghe* ‘(objects) slide or slip through (a medium, an entity’s grasp)’, *jerighe* ‘go aground, get beached’ and *jeririghe* ‘slide on slippery surface’. Some predicates conflating motion with figure are: *gofe* ‘(tree, upright figure) topple over’, *boboku(babaka)mbe* ‘(tide)

crest covering reef and high water mark on land’, *boinghe* (figure suspended from one point) swing’, and *buinghe* (figure suspended from two points) swing. In example 4.38, the *bendoro* ‘kwila tree’ is the patient subject of the verb *gofe*.

- 4.38 ...*bendoro gofe-do ir-ira...*
 kwila.trees topple.I-SEQ.SS remain-PRES.3S.FN
 ‘...kwila trees have toppled over and are remaining (lying in that state)...’

Some one-place predicates encode the production of sounds: *jinjaŋghe* ‘chirp (as crickets do)’, *boku(boku/baku)ghe*⁶ ‘make a swishing or gurgling sound’, *kinkanghe* ‘tinkle’, *bonbonghe* ‘make loud cracking sound’.

One-place motion with manner or direction predicates having either an agentive subject or a patient/experiencer subject are discussed below in §4.3.2.

As mentioned in §4.1.2, one-place predicates with experiencer or patient subjects are evidenced by a number of ambi-transitive verbs. For instance, in example 4.39a, the verbs *du* ‘fall’, *de* ‘hit ground’ and *beje* ‘break in pieces’ all have an intransitive reading. But in 4.39b, the verb *beje* ‘break in pieces’ is transitive, having both an object *ainda sena ava* ‘its shell’ and a subject, which is the first person plural subject co-referenced on the verb *vegeoro* ‘sand down’.

INTRANSITIVE-PATIENT SUBJECT (one-place):

- 4.39a. *Usu agha du de beje-tira.*
 coconut half.shell fall.I hit(ground).I break.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘The coconut half-shell cup fell, hit (the ground) and broke.’

TRANSITIVE-PATIENT OBJECT (two-place):

- 4.39b. ...*bangu bu-do mindi-do, a=in=da sena a=va beje*
 shellfish get.I-SEQ.SS eat.I-SEQ.SS that-CEFF=GEN shell that-CT break.I
simbuge-do, ghamana=da veg-eoro y-ama
 prepare.I-SEQ.SS rock=GEN sand-SEQ.CUST.1PL.DS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
bogagarago+ari...
 white+do.SEQ.IR.3S.DS
 ‘...we get shellfish, eat them, break that shell and prepare it, sand it on a rock until it goes and becomes white...’

6

Many examples of manner + existence/motion, sound + existence/motion verbs in Korafe have a single stem form that gives one occurrence of the event, a reduplicated form that encodes several occurrences of the same event performed by entities moving in the same direction, and a rhyming reduplicated form gives several occurrences of the same event performed by entities moving helter skelter. An example is: *bokughe* ‘(fish, etc.) make a swishing or gurgling noise in water’, *bokubokughe* ‘(water) make a swishing or gurgling sound repeatedly as it goes down a pipe’, and *bokubakaghe* ‘(waves) make a crashing sound’.

4.3.2 ONE-PLACE PREDICATES WITH SUBJECT HAVING AGENT OR FORCE ROLE

Some intransitive active one-place predicates encode activities performed by an agent: *jangute* 'relax' and *tumbe* 'refuse to speak, be silent'. The posture verbs *fete* 'stand up, wait', *ere* 'arise', *fasa e* 'lie down' and *anumbe* 'sit down' occur with agentive subjects.

AGENT:

- 4.40 *Veka, nangae buvu fete jangut-aore!*
 seedling 1.COM.D go.out.I stand.I relax-H.1PL.CR
 'Friend, let's get out (of the dancing line) and stand and relax!'

Most verbs encoding motion or conflating manner with motion and direction with motion are also one-place predicates. A few of those that encode manner with motion occur only with an agentive subject. These include: *jorughe* 'hop, leap horizontally', *jaunghe* 'jump vertically', and *deinghe* 'walk, travel around'. The agent of *jorujorughedo* 'it hopped and hopped' in example 4.41 is *egi amo* 'that wallaby'.

- 4.41 ...*egi amo jorujoru=ghe-do ghu-r-urari*
 wallaby that.T/F hop.DUP=continue.I-SEQ.SS continue.II-EPEN-SIM.IR.3S.DS
genembo gi-do...
 man see.I-SEQ.SS
 '...while that wallaby continues hopping along, the man will see it...'

Most one-place predicates encoding motion with either manner or direction may occur with two distinct one-place role frames: (1) an agentive or force subject or (2) a patient or experiencer subject. These include: *vose* 'descend', *viti* 'ascend', *tere* 'enter, move inside', *sumbu* 'run' and *buvu* 'come out, exit, seep out, arrive'. In example 4.42a, *ororo* 'blood' is the patient subject being relocated, but in 4.42b, *sasingu noide* 'the children with their mother' are the agentive subject that are co-referenced on the verb *buveri* 'they arrived'.

PATIENT SUBJECT:

- 4.42a. ...*nanda ata iseri+e-vu, ororo buv-ari*
 1S.GEN foot slit+do.I-IMP.2PL.AQ blood come.out-SEQ.IR.3S.DS
jebug-aone!
 recover-H.1S.CR
 'Cut a slit in my foot, so that the blood can come out, and I can get well!'

AGENT SUBJECT:

- 4.42b. *Sasingu noi=de a-era nati=da*
 children 3S.mother=COM.PL go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3PL.SS village=LOC
buv-eri.
 arrive.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 'The children and their mother went and arrived at (their) village.'

Predicates encoding motion occur quite frequently with a locative oblique component, such as the location *natida* 'at the village' in 4.42b. The motion verb *i* 'go' is semantically oriented either to a goal or to the addressee. The motion verb *fu* 'come' is oriented toward

the speaker. These orientations are evident in the following formulaic greeting (4.43) and response (4.44).

SPEAKER starting to move away from addressee says:

4.43 *Na re-f-ena.*

1S IPF-come.DUR-PRES.1S.FN

‘I’m on my way. (lit. I’m coming.)’

CHILD responding to mother’s call says:

4.44 *Na er-en=are.*

1S IPF-go.PRES.1S.FN=that.CR

‘I’m right at this present moment moving that (your) way.

(lit. I’m going there right now.)’

As mentioned in §4.1.2, one-place predicates with agentive subject are exhibited by a number of ambitransitive verbs. In example (4.45a), the verb *junge* ‘hide’ is used as a one-place predicate with an agent subject and in (4.45b) as a two-place predicate with an agent subject and a patient object.

4.45a. *Nangae taima+beka eminda junge-do g-arera.*

1D bush+edge this.CEFF.LOC hide.I-SEQ.SS see.I-F.1PL.FN

‘We two will hide here at the edge of the bush and see.’

4.45b. ...*genembo eni... dogh-ari=á sekago bu vasa daba aminda*

man a wrap-DVB=that again get.I place one that.CEFF.LOC

junge-tira.

hide.I-TP.3S.FN

‘...a man...got that package again and hid it in that very same place.’

(Matthew 13:44)

4.4 ACTIVE TWO-PLACE PREDICATIONS

A number of verbal predicates require two core or participatory semantic arguments in their core role frame. By core role frame is meant the set of participatory roles mother-tongue speakers automatically associate with the verbal predicate. However, the set of such roles for a given verb is not immediately accessible to the non-mother-tongue speaking analyst. Not only are there ambitransitive verbs with two distinct role frames, but the Korafe often promote a benefactive or locative argument to locus role, an operation which potentially yields three unmarked participatory arguments overtly occurring with the predicate. The difficulties in identifying the underlying set of participatory roles for a predicate are increased by the Korafe preference for ellipsing NP arguments that are recoverable. NP arguments in sentences that mirror the iconic order of events are often ellipsed when their referents are identifiable anaphorically, deictically from the social context of the utterance, or culturally from the language group’s prototypical conception of the event encoded by the predicate.

Nevertheless, it is clear that there are four types of two-place predication: predication encoding change of position or state, perceptions, impersonal experiential predication, and

transfer predication. Predications realising these semantic notions are described in the following sections along with shifts in valency that occur. Other than the impersonal predication, two-place predication manifest SOV order as their default syntactic configuration.

4.4.1 PREDICATIONS ENCODING CHANGE OF POSITION OR STATE

The prototypical transitive predication is one in which an “an activity is ‘carried-over’ or ‘transferred’ from an agent to a patient” (Hopper and Thompson 1980:251). The semantic notions CHANGE and CAUSE are both present in the two-place predication that have agent or force arguments that change the state and/or the location of patient or experiencer arguments.

Korafe has three role frames involving two participants in change-encoding predication: (1) resultative two-place predication [+agent, +locus], (2) mutation predication [+agent/ experiencer/patient, +object-theme], and (3) prototypical transitive predication [+agent, +experiencer/patient].

In marked instances of motion verbs that have as their default arguments an agent and an oblique locative argument which represents the surface over or around which they pass, the locative argument is promoted to a locus argument. These predication include: *ovenembe* ‘move around point, hugging the coast’, *sembu* ‘cross’ and *darige* ‘bypass, surpass’.

- 4.46 ...*Tainabuna mendo ovenembe-do Fui sav+i-seri.*
Tainabuna point round.point.I-SEQ.SS Fui go.in+go.DUR-DP.IPL.AQ
‘...we rounded Tainabuna point, hugging the coastline, and went in the fiord to Fui.’

A few verbs (e.g. *e* ‘do’ and *jine* ‘turn into’) have a patient, experiencer or agent argument that undergoes a process of change which results in an entity with object-theme role. In example 4.47, the verb *e* ‘do’ occurs with a patient, *enda* ‘ground’.

- 4.47 ...*borija teria di-do, enda usoro beká ava e-tiri...*
rain great rain.I-SEQ.SS ground mud true that.CT do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
‘...a great amount of rain poured down, and the ground became truly mud...’

In example 4.48, the spirit girl is an agent who volitionally turns into the foaming spray from the sea.

- 4.48 ...*sukaru+gagara nu foro jine-tira.*
spirit+girl 3S sea.spray turn.into.I-TP.3S.FN
‘...the spirit girl turned into sea spray.’

Examples of predication that always have underlying two-place predication: *safe* ‘squeeze’, *seghe* ‘wash’, *gafe* ‘cut’, *fose* ‘process sago’, *fuge* ‘throw’, *bunde* ‘bind’, *gove* ‘plant’, *dunge* ‘burn’, *iti* ‘build, cook’, *mind* ‘eat’, *jighi* ‘hold’, *sandi* ‘grab, catch’, *fati* ‘press’, *bambu* ‘get with effort’, *gambu* ‘bite’, *imbu* ‘knock down (coconuts)’, *timbu* ‘remove skin’. In example 4.49, the trap is an instrumental inanimate force that effects a change of state in the pig.

- 4.49 *Vagho=i vose fuka fat-iari ambu-raira.*
 trap=CEFF descend.I pig press.I-SEQ.IR.CUST.3S.DS die.I-CUST.3S.FN
 'The trap comes down and crushes the pig, and it dies.'

Reflexive and reciprocal notions are encoded in two-place predications encoding change in which agent and experiencer roles have the same referent. The experiencer having syntactic object function is realised by a nominal form *tofo* 'self, possession', its partially reduplicated form *totofo* and its duplicated form *tofo tofo*.

- 4.50a. *Nu tofo de-tira.* (REFLEXIVE SINGULAR)
 3S self hit.I-TP.3S.FN
 'He hit himself.'
- 4.50b. *Ne totofo de-teri.* (REFLEXIVE PLURAL)
 3PL self.RED hit.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 'Each of them hit himself.'
- 4.50c. *Ne tofo+tofo de-teri.* (RECIPROCAL)
 3PL self+self hit.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 'They hit each other.'

Example 4.51 is from a narrative relating a personal experience.

- 4.51 ...*Sokeya nu orobu jijigh-iri, Reri nu bayau*
Sokeya 3S secondary.weed.growth hold.I-SIM.R.3S.DS *Reri* 3S food
itutu-sira.
 cook.II-DP.3S.FN
 '...while Sokeya was ridding the garden of its secondary weed growth,
 Reri cooked the food.'

Although the agent and patient NP arguments are overtly realised in both clauses in the above example, it is more common in narratives to ellipsis NP arguments and to spread the overt NPs over separate clauses. This can be seen in example 4.52. Three of its six clauses have two-place predicates (i.e. *seteno*, *budo*, and *jumbiri*, but only *budo* has an overt NP argument, the object *oka gua da fiyogha* 'the remedy for stonefish (bites)'. Only one other clause has an overt NP: *Alphonse ira* 'Alphonse went'. The ellipsed arguments given in the free translation are all understood within the discourse and cultural context. What was said (clause 1) is found in the previous sentence. The remedy referenced by the overt NP in clause 3 is understood to be the object of *jumbiri* in clause 5, which encodes the medical procedure the Korafe use to treat stonefish bites. The subject of *tukughusira* 'it ended' is also ellipsed. However, from the context, we may assume that *mema* 'pain' is the understood subject. The NP *mema* has subject function in a sentence which precedes example 4.52 in the text.

- 4.52 (1) *Se-teno,* (2) *Alphonse ira*
 say.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS Alphonse go.DUR.SEQ.PAST.3S.SS
- (3) *oka+gua=da fiyogha bu-do*
 fish+stonefish=GEN remedy get.I-SEQ.SS

- (4) *fira* come.DUR-SEQ.PAST.3S.SS
(5) *jumb-iri* pull.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS

(6) *tukughu-sira*.

cease.II-DP.3S.FN 1S

‘(1) I spoke, and (2) Alphonses went and (3) got the remedy for stonefish (bites), (4) came, (5) applied (it to my leg), and (6) (the pain) ceased.’

4.4.2 PERCEPTION AND FEELING PREDICATIONS

Perceptions are expressed by a small group of two-place predicates which occur with either agent or experiencer semantic roles as subject and object-theme as object. Verbs predicating perception clauses include: *gi* ‘see, look at’, *ningi* ‘hear, listen to, obey’, *kasame e* ‘know, learn’, *bune* ‘not know’, *itatame* ‘feel, touch’, *tambu* ‘meet up with, look for’, *kote* ‘think’, *tumonde* ‘believe, trust’, *dubo bu* ‘love’, *uju e* ‘want’, *oju e* ‘fear, be afraid of’. In example 4.53, the syntactic subject is an agent [+volition, +control] overtly present as an NP in the initial clause and co-referenced on the verb of perception, *gosudo* (*aira*) ‘he went along looking at’.

- 4.53 ...*kora=da* *ata+kotu* *aminda* *gosu-do* *a-ira*
beach=LOC foot+print that.T/F.CEFF.LOC see.II-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN

noaro=kena *buvu-do...*

3S.wife=ALOC arrive.I-SEQ.SS

‘...he went along the beach looking at the footprints and approached his wife...’

The subject of example 4.54 is an experiencer [-control, -volition], one who merely receives the information.

- 4.54 *Na bino* *ningi-do* *dudukughe-do* *ghamo* *keinghu-sira*.
1S news hear.I-SEQ.SS be.surprised.I-SEQ.SS lungs constrict.I-DP.3S.FN
‘I heard the news and was surprised and was startled out of my wits.’

The object of perception verbs is sometimes a sentential complement. The complement is underlined in example 4.55. As the comma indicates, the pause between the two bases in this sentence follows *ava* ‘that (contrastive)’.

- 4.55 ...*ghaka* *reda* *dotutu-sena* *ava*, *na jo*
canoe what.LOC leave.II-DP.IS.FN that.CT 1S NEG

kasama+ae=ri.

knowledge+not.do=COP.AQ

‘...I didn’t know where I left the canoe.’

With the verbal lexeme *oju e* ‘fear, be afraid of’ and occasionally with *uju e* ‘want’, the object is marked by the benefactive-purpose postposition *dae* ‘on account of’.

- 4.56 *Namane* *evetu+genembo* *vuvuji=dae* *oju+e-raera*.
1PL.EXC woman+man centipede=BEN fear+do.I-CUST.1PL.FN
‘We people are afraid of centipedes.’

Purpose and negative purpose or apprehension constructions marked by the complementiser *dae* ‘on account of’ are often sentential complements of *uju e* ‘want’ and *oju e* ‘fear’ respectively. These constructions are more fully discussed in §7.2.2.

- 4.57 ...*ni tege g-aso=dae uju+er-era.*
 2S read.I see.I-SEQ.IR.2S.DS=PUR want+IPF-PRES.1PL.FN
 ‘...we want you to see and read (it) (lit. you will count and see).’

4.4.3 IMPERSONAL EXPERIENTIAL PREDICATIONS

Korafe has a set of impersonal experiential predications that encode involuntary physiological and emotional responses. ‘Impersonal constructions’ are so-called because any entity that could be construed as controlling or motivating the response is non-volitional and non-personal. These impersonal predications have the following characteristics:

- (1) up to three entities may be indicated by overt NPs. They are: (a) an animate entity, usually human, who experiences the affecting stimulus and responds, (b) the body part affected, and (c) the emotion or bodily response.⁷
- (2) the animate entity making the response is not cross-referenced on the verb as subject, and is not in control of its response. Its syntactic status is discussed in detail below.
- (3) the verbal predicate invariably cross-references a third person singular subject, regardless of the person and number of the overt NPs.

Physiological responses have three common components: (1) an animate entity (often represented by a personal pronoun), (2) an optional body part (represented by an NP such as *jiro* ‘head’) and (3) a body response which has a verbal component (i.e. *mema resira* ‘it is hurting (lit. it is saying pain)’).

physiological response: (1) animate entity (2) (body part) (3) body response+V

Emotional responses have two basic components: (1) an animate entity and (2) an emotion usually expressed in a nominal+verb combination (i.e. *dubo mema erira* ‘he or she is sad (lit. he or she/it is doing neck pain)’).

emotional response: (1) animate entity (2) emotion+V

Examples 4.58, 4.59, and 4.60 typify physiological responses. In each of these cases, a human entity (*na* ‘I’ or *namane* ‘we’) is the initial element labelled (1) in the predication. The second element labelled (2) is the body part involved: *jiro* ‘head’ or *ata* ‘leg’. The third element labelled (3) is the bodily response.

- 4.58 (1) *Na* (2) *jiro* (3) *sarig-er-ira.*
 IS head split-IPF-PRES.3S.FN
 ‘I have a splitting headache. (lit. I/me head is splitting)’

⁷

Korafe does not mark the body part or the emotion as inalienably possessed, as some languages do. Roberts (1988a:100) documents both for Amele, a Papuan language from the Madang Province.

Example 4.58 has two overt NP arguments *na* 'I' and *jiro* 'head', the response is registered by the verb *sarigerira* 'it is splitting'. Example 4.59a has the same two overt arguments as 4.58, but a verbal lexeme (nominal + verb: *mema resira* 'it hurts (lit. says pain)') indicates the bodily response.

- 4.59a. (1) *Na* (2) *jiro* (3) *mema+re-s-ira*.
 IS head pain+IPF-say-PRES.3S.FN
 'I have a headache. (lit. I/me head is saying pain.)'

It is possible to use a possessive pronoun with some body parts in a sentence like 4.59a. The word *ungo* 'arm/hand' shown in 4.59b illustrates this.

- 4.59b. (1) *Nanda* (2) *ungo* (3) *mema+re-s-ira*.
 IS.GEN arm pain+IPF-say-PRES.3S.FN
 'My arm is hurting (lit. saying pain).'

In some cases, there is no body part included, just the bodily response, *ighoi etiri* 'it did hunger' or 'hunger did' in (4.60).

- 4.60 ...*vare+begata=da semb+i-se*,
 garden+path=LOC cross.I+go.DUR-SIM.SS
 (1) *namane* (3) *ighoi+e-tiri...*
 I.PL.EXC hunger+do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 '...as (we) were crossing on the garden path, we got hungry and...'

Predications indicating emotional responses pattern like example 4.61 have two basic elements: (1) the animate entity and (3) the emotion.

- 4.61a. (1) *Na* (3) *dubo+mema+er-ira*.
 IS neck+pain+IPF-do.PRES.3S.FN
 'I am overcome with grief.'

Unlike the physiological examples given above, the body part and the bodily response are not separate entities.⁸ Instead, they form a compound nominal unit in Korafe, i.e. *dubo mema* 'worry, grief, problem (lit. neck pain)'. Example 4.61b is ungrammatical.

- 4.61b. *(1) *Nanda dubo mema er-ira*.
 IS.GEN neck pain IPF-do.PRES.3S.FN
 'I am overcome with grief.'

⁸ There are contexts where it is acceptable to encode physiological responses by an animate entity possessing the body part. For example, *Na jiro mema resira* 'I have a headache' can be changed to:

Nanda jiro mema re-s-ira, nanange atimb-aoni?
 IS.GEN head pain IPF-say-PRES.3S.FN do.how.I carry.slung.on.head-H.IS.AQ
 'My head is aching, how ever will I carry that stringbag slung on my head?'

Most Korafe lexemes conveying emotions are metaphors composed of a body part (e.g. *dubo* 'neck') that co-lexicalises with a qualifier or a body response. After combination, these lexemes are inseparable. *Na dubo mema erira* 'I am sad (lit. I/me neck pain it is doing)' cannot be changed to **Nanda dubo mema erira* 'my neck is doing pain', nor is it possible to insert a negative focus marker, **Nanda dubo jo mema aeri*. But *dubo mema* 'worry, sadness' can be used as a nominal compound:

Nanda dubo+mema=mo evi=ri.
 IS.GEN neck+pain=T/F this.CT=COP.AG
 'My problem, (well, it) is this.'

This nominal compound can either be regarded as a complement incorporated into the stem of a verbal lexeme (nominal + verb) or a separate NP argument if expanded into a full NP with modifiers, e.g. *dubo mema teria beká* ‘very great grief’.

It should be noted that the animate entity experiencing the emotion is sometimes cross-referenced as the verb.

- 4.62 (1) *Na* (3) *dubo+mema+er-ena*.
 IS neck+pain+IPF-do.PRES.IS.FN

‘I am upset over this(lit. I am doing neck pain).’ (And I’m going to stay that way.)

The semantic difference between examples 4.61a and 4.62 is one of control. The impersonal rendering in 4.61a registers an involuntary emotion, something that overwhelms the animate experiencer. In example 4.62, the animate entity controls the emotion, choosing to nurse it over a period of time or even to generate it in his mind.

The syntactic function of the animate entity experiencing the bodily process or emotion cannot be conclusively established in Korafe. It could quite possibly have object function, because it is an unmarked non-subject argument.⁹ If that were the case, the clause in the impersonal experiential construction would have OSV as its normal order. It should be noted that unlike other clauses manifesting OSV order, in this construction, the putative S constituent is never marked with the effector of change marker *imi*.

In fact, there are no clear grammatical criteria for identifying the subject of the impersonal experiential construction, beyond the third person singular subject agreement marker on the verb. There are at least three possibilities regarding the identification of a subject.¹⁰

- (1) The body part affected or the bodily response NP when they are not incorporated in the verb are the subject.
- (2) Some unspecified (in most cases) stimulus triggering the response is the subject.
- (3) There is no subject. If this solution is adopted, it could apply globally to all cases.

Assigning semantic roles to arguments in these predications is also problematic. The most plausible role designation for the animate entity is experiencer, and for the body part

⁹ In those Papuan languages that do mark the verb for object agreement, it is clear that the animate entity is cross-referenced as the object. (See Roberts 1988a:97, Reesink 1983:232-233, and Olson 1981:296-298.)

¹⁰ Stirling (1993:242-243) gives a fourth explanation for impersonal constructions in Amele, involving a ‘dummy subject’. Rejecting Roberts’ (forthcoming:77) solution that “incorporated nominals” encoding emotions are co-referenced as subject, she (1993:242-243) cites the occurrence of the ‘pseudo-passive’ in Amele as support for setting up a third person singular ‘dummy subject’.

However, one cannot claim precedence for a dummy subject from the pseudo-passive set in Korafe, because Korafe uses a third person plural, not singular, form for the pseudo-passive, as *fitoro* ‘they put’ below shows.

...‘telephone exchange’ *nanange-do* *fit-oro* *Popondetta* *ghe-do*
 telephone exchange do.how.I-SEQ.SS put.I-SEQ.IR.3PL.DS Popondetta continue.I-SEQ.SS

sembu+f-oa...

cross.I+come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS

‘...how a telephone exchange would be put in (lit. they would put in a telephone exchange) and it would come across from Popondetta...’

is patient. However, when such a designation is made, it turns out that a patient argument rather than an experiencer has subject function in impersonal predications encoding physiological responses. This reverses the subject-accessibility hierarchy, referred to in §3.2.2.1, in which experiencer is selected as subject before patient. The fact is, though, that the animate entity never has subject function in impersonal predications. It does, however, have the genitive circumstantial role in some predications expressing physiological responses (see example 4.59b).

The question before us is what the third person subject marking on the verb is agreeing with. Let us briefly consider each of the syntactic alternatives along with some semantic alternatives.

1. In physiological responses, the most likely candidate for syntactic subject is the body part experiencing the response. In examples 4.58 and 4.59a, this NP is a body part, *jiro* 'head', and in 4.59b *ungo* 'hand'. It agrees in person with the third person subject agreement marking on the verb. However, as plural marking never occurs in such constructions this fact is not diagnostic. In terms of the semantic relations between constituents, this body part NP encodes the most likely entity experiencing the response.¹¹

Physiological or emotional responses (e.g. *ighoi etiri* 'got hungry' in example 4.60 and *dubo mema erira* 'felt grief') can be considered to be incorporated into the verb. However, when the nominal is modified as in *ighoi ambarako etiri* 'got extremely hungry' and *dubo mema teria beká erira* 'is totally overwhelmed by grief', it is certainly a third person singular form with which the verb could agree.

2. Viewing an unspecified external stimulus as the subject would scarcely be feasible if there were no cases where a stimulus is specified. However, in example 4.63, a stimulus is specified. The flounder's biting the narrator is the external stimulus provoking the vexation Cedric Moghara reported in the story from which 4.63 is taken.

4.63a. [*Gamb-iri*]_{STIMULUS} [*dubo+eko+e-tiri*]_{RESPONSE} *gi-do*, *kaiya*
 bite.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS neck+bad+do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS see.I-SEQ.SS knife
bu-do voto gae je tatafuse-gu-seni.
 get.I-SEQ.SS net spear.I chop.I snap.loose.RED.I-do.FOC.II-DP.IS.AQ
 '(The flounder) bit (me), and it greatly upset (me), and I got a knife, poked,
 slashed, and generally severed the (mesh connections of my) fish net.'

In this case the stimulus would be treated similarly to the way the initial event in clause sequences encoding completive aspect is treated. In example 4.63b the subject of *dadabetiri* 'it finished' is the event, *furú dighero* 'they lashed the fence'.

4.63b. ...*furú digh-ero* *dadabe-tiri*...
 fence tie.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS finish.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 they lashed the fence and it finished
 '...they finished lashing (together) the fence...'

¹¹ Roberts (1988a:100) treats body parts as subjects in Amele impersonal experiential constructions where they occur.

In the same way, it is possible that the subject of *dubo eko etiri* '(I) got angry (lit. it did anger)' is the event *gambiri* 'it bit (me)'.

If this option were chosen,¹² one could posit the following two revised sets of participatory arguments for impersonal experiential predications. This solution would allow the physiological response to be an object, either incorporated in the verb or a separate constituent from the verb, having the same syntactic role in the cases illustrated in examples 4.61a and 4.62.¹³ Physiological response predications would have the following semantic roles: locus, patient and/or force, and object-theme (where the nominal is a separate NP). Emotional response predications would have these arguments: experiencer, force, and object-theme (where the nominal is a separate NP).

3. If the final option were adopted, it could apply globally to all cases, including the ones where only an animate entity and a nominal+verb combination exist, e.g. 4.60 and 4.61a, in which there is no NP overtly present in the clause that would trigger subject agreement. However, this option is controversial. Subject is considered by many to be an indispensable element in a complete sentence.¹⁴

To sum up, the evidence is divided. Where a body part is present in physiological responses, it is a reasonable candidate for subject. Option (2) is attractive, but there are too few instances where a stimulus is specified to provide conclusive evidence.

These impersonal experiential predications are somewhat unusual in that subject and topic are maintained as distinct entities. The animate entity is the topic constituent in this construction, corresponding to P1 in the formula P1 SOV (Dik 1978:20-21). Since it never has subject function, this animate entity cannot be realised by the focal actor pronoun, as illustrated in 4.64a. Example 4.64b likewise demonstrates that it cannot be emphasised by *tofo* 'self' which marks an actor taking credit for an accomplishment.

4.64a. **Nane* *ighoi+er-ira*.
 1S.ACT hunger+IPF-do.PRES.3S.FN
 'It's I who am making myself hungry.'

4.64b. **Na tofo* *ighoi+er-ira*.
 1S self hunger+IPF-do.PRES.3S.FN
 'I myself am making myself hungry.'

Since the animate entity has topic function, it obligatorily precedes the negative focus marker *jo*.

4.65a. *Na jo* *ighoi+ae=ri*.
 1S NEG hunger+not.do=COP.AQ
 'I'm not hungry.' or 'Nothing is making me hungry.'

¹² Reesink (1983:233), suggests that the "afflicting entity" in Usan (Madang Province) is the co-referenced subject in cases like the following where 'exhaustion' would be considered the subject in the clause: 'Him exhaustion hit'.

¹³ Andrews (pers. comm.) points out that the clauses in 4.61a and 4.62 are not the same construction type. There is no reason that they must be consistent with each other.

¹⁴ From his conclusions made about impersonal expressions in Icelandic, Andrews (pers. comm.) favours this option. For impersonal expressions in Kalam, Pawley (pers. comm.) favours option (1).

- 4.65b. **Jo na ighoi+ae=ri.*
 NEG IS hunger+not.do=COP.AQ
 'It wasn't I that made myself hungry.'

Only the topical animate entity can be relativised on in impersonal constructions, not the subject or any other NP.

In switch-reference constructions, normally it is the relationship between subjects (co-reference or discontinuity) that is indicated for adjacent marking and reference clauses. However, when an impersonal experiential predication is encoded by the reference clause, it appears to be the topic rather than the subject that is monitored for co-referentiality with the subject of the marking clause. In example 4.66, the subject of the clause that has as its predicate *gido* 'you will see' is *ni* 'you'. Although *gido* indicates that the subsequent reference clause has the same subject, the verb *janje eko arira* 'it will produce anger' indicates that a third person singular referent is its subject.

- 4.66 *Ni a=va gi-do janje+ekoko+arira.*
 2S that=CT see.I-SEQ.SS esophagus+bad+do.F.3S.FN
 'You will see that, and it will make you angry.'

Chapter 7 details more fully the usage of unexpected SS markings when the subjects of marking clauses and reference clauses are not co-referential.

4.4.4 TRANSFER AND SPEECH-ACT PREDICATIONS

The concept of transfer inherently involves three entities: an agent making the transferral, a patient, experiencer or an object-theme being transferred, and a goal to which the entity is transferred. The agent is almost always human. Inanimate entities being physically transferred are patients, animate entities transferred are experiencers, and speech acts are object-themes. The goal must be mobile and often is an animate recipient.

Although these three arguments potentially occur as core arguments, there is a strong Korafe preference in iconically-ordered discourse to limit clauses to two overt core arguments or less. When the agent and patient are realised as overt NPs, the goal is often expressed as an oblique argument, marked by the benefactive postposition *dae* (permanent recipient), the approximate locative postposition *kena* (temporary recipient), or the locative postposition *da* (inanimate location). When the goal is going to be functioning as a core argument in the subsequent clause, it is not expressed as an oblique argument but as a core argument with locus semantic function.

Common transfer predicates are *mutu* 'give', *se* 'say' and *ijuge* 'teach'. In example 4.67, only the agent and patient are present in the transfer clause. The goal of the transfer, which in this case is an animate recipient, is not realised as an overt NP in the transfer clause, but instead as the subject of the subsequent clause by marking on the verb.

- 4.67 *O [AGENT: tamo+foyago OBJECT-THEME: nen=da ir-ari*
 or skin+white 3PL=GEN remain-DVB

eveva a=va ijuge-tero]CLAUSe 1 [*ere-gos-era.*]CLAUSe 2
 good that=CT teach-SEQ.R.3PL.DS IPF-see.II-PRES.1PL.FN

‘Or the white skins showed their good lifestyle to us, and we are seeing (it).’

In example 4.68, the focus is placed on *mandi* ‘the boy’, not as the goal of the transfer, but as the agentive recipient. Thus, the NP *mandi* is overtly present as the syntactic subject and the semantic agent in the clause following the clause encoding transfer.

4.68 [AGENT: *Michael* OBJECT: *ghaka mut-iri*]CLAUSe 1 [AGENT: *mandi*
 Michael canoe give.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS boy

b-ira.]CLAUSe 2

get.I-TP.3S.FN

‘Michael gave the canoe and his son got it.’

All three arguments occur in the clause that encodes transfer in examples 4.69 and 4.70. The goal of the transfer, *mandi* ‘boy’, is marked with *kena* and *dae* respectively, as an oblique argument, with *kena* signalling a temporary loan and *dae* a more permanent exchange.

4.69 AGENT: *Na* PATIENT: *oto* ALOC: *mandi=kena mut-eni.*
 IS axe boy=ALOC give.I-TP.1S.AQ

‘I loaned the axe to my son.’

4.70 AGENT: *Michael* PATIENT: *ghaka* BENEFACTIVE: *mandi=dae*
 Michael canoe boy=BEN

mut-ira.

give.I-TP.3S.FN

‘Michael gave the canoe to his son.’

Speech-act verbs are transfer verbs with three basic arguments: the agentive speaker, the object-theme utterance, and the addressee. Like other transfer predications, very rarely are more than two NP arguments overtly present in a clause. In example 4.71, only one NP occurs. The addressee is referenced by a benefactive postpositional phrase in a tail construction, following the clause with the speech act verb. The utterance actually follows the clause with the speech act as a projection (see the introductory paragraph of §8.9). Note that the initial speech-act verb¹⁵ is actually a nominal+verb combination, *ategi+etira* ‘ask (lit. question+she did)”; the speech act verb following the quotation is a form of the verb *se* ‘say’, which is commonly used to indicate speech acts.

4.71 SPEECH ACT VERB: ...*noaro ategi+e-tira,*
 3S.wife question+do.I-TP.3PL.AQ

ADDRESSEE/BENEFACTIVE: *nuvu=dae,*
 3S.husband=BEN

¹⁵ In addition to the verb *se* ‘say, speak’ which is used in over 90% of direct quotes, the following verbs are also used as speech act verbs preceding or following utterances in Korafe: *divu* ‘sing’, *kote* ‘think’ and *ategi e* ‘greet, question’ (used in example 4.71).

QUOTE: "Ninambo=mo?"

2S.brother.in.law=T/F

SPEECH ACT VERB: *se-tiri*...

say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS

'...his wife asked her husband, "Where is your brother-in-law?" she said...'

The goal NP is given core argument function in transfer clauses in SRCs where its referent is a salient participant realised as a core argument in subsequent clauses. When it is assigned core status, it functions as a locus participatory argument and must precede the patient or object-theme argument in the clause encoding transfer. In example 4.72, the initial transfer clause has three unmarked arguments. The subject *na* 'I' having agent function occurs initially. The locus argument, *ni* 'you', precedes the patient argument, *guri asighae* 'shell jewelry on a string'. This locus argument has subject function in the subsequent clause.

4.72 [AGENT: *Na* LOCUS: *ni* PATIENT: *guri asi=ghae*
IS 2S shell.jewelry string=COM.D

mut-ono]CLAUSE 1 [*ghauro b-aresa*.]CLAUSE 2

give.I-SEQ.IR.IS.DS bamboo get.I-F.2S.FN

'I will give you shell jewelry on a string and you will get the bamboo (in which you put the girl's (hair)).'

Another example is given in 4.73. In 4.73a, the locus argument is realised by a postpositional phrase marked the postposition *kena* 'to, toward (ALOC)' and given oblique syntactic function. However, in 4.73b, because the locus argument is a core argument with subject function in the subsequent clause, the NP realising it is placed in the initial P1 position and not marked by the ALOC postposition, i.e. treated as having core function in the clause where it is overtly present.

4.73a. ALOC: *Genembo eni=kena* PATIENT: *asi mutu-raera*.
man one=ALOC cable give.I-CUST.1PL.FN

'We give the cable to one man.'

4.73b. LOCUS: [*Genembo eni* PATIENT: *asi mut-eoro*]CLAUSE 1
man one cable give.I-SEQ.CUST.1PL.DS

[*bu-do*]CLAUSE 2 [*vose-do*]CLAUSE 3 [*fet-iari*]CLAUSE 4

get.I-SEQ.SS descend.I-SEQ.SS stand.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS

'We give one man the main cable (threaded through the net), and he gets it, goes down into the water and stands...'

In sentences that contain a dependent clause or base in hypotactic relationship with an independent clause or base, core arguments realised by overt NPs in the initial dependent base may be ellipsed in the subsequent base. The initial clause encoding transfer in example 4.74a has three overt NPs as core constituents. *Randall*, the goal, and *jaká* 'betelnut', the patient, are participants in both clauses. Therefore, they precede the agent *nane* 'I (focal actor)', which only is an argument in the initial clause. In example 4.74a, *Randall* plays a

participatory locus role in both clauses. But in example 4.74b, *Randall* is marked by the benefactive postposition *dae* as a circumstantial argument.

- 4.74a. [LOCUS: *Randall* PATIENT: *jaká* AGENT: *nane mut-ena*
 Randall betelnut IS.ACT give.I-TP.IS.FN
 a=va]CLAUSe 1 [*eto=da=go mut-esi*]CLAUSe 2
 that=CT top=LOC=CPAR give.I-TP.2S.AQ
 ‘Randall I’d already given betelnut to, but you gave him (more) on top of (his due).’
- 4.74b. AGENT: *Na* BENEFACTIVE: *Randall=dae* PATIENT: *jaká*
 IS Randall=BEN betelnut
 mut-eni.
 give.I-TP.IS.AQ
 ‘I gave betelnut to Randall.’

In example 4.75, the initial speech act predication is part of a dependent sentence base. It contains a locus argument and an agent argument; the speech act is not represented by an independent nominal. The locus in the first base has the agentive participatory role in the second independent sentence base. The second base also contains an object-theme which references an utterance.

- 4.75 [O, LOCUS: *na* AGENT: *afa se-do ghu-sira a=mo*]BASE 1
 Oh IS father say.I-SEQ.SS continue.II-DP.3S.FN that=T/F
 ‘Oh, when Dad repeatedly spoke to me,’
 [AGENT: *na* OBJECT-THEME: *reju s-ari=va se-do*
 IS what.SPEC say-DVB=CT say.I-SEQ.SS
 ghu-seni]BASE 2
 continue.II-DP.IS.AQ
 ‘I repeatedly said what in the world is he talking about?’

In the next two examples, the locus argument references an inanimate location. The *ghaka* ‘canoe’ in example 4.76 is the location receiving the equipment in the initial clause. It is ellipsed in the second clause where it is understood to be object of *davuseri* ‘they paddled’, having participatory patient role. Locus arguments promoted from locative arguments obligatorily occur before patient or object-theme arguments that do not have a role in subsequent clauses. In example 4.76a the locative argument, *ghakada* ‘in the canoe’, is the final overt NP in its clause. The locus argument, *ghaka etoto* ‘two canoes’ in 4.76b, participates as a core argument in both clauses. It precedes the patient argument, which does not play a role in the second clause.

- 4.76a. *Tevari goroba oto=ghae ghaka=da vevendu-seri*.
 Tevari spear axe=COM.D canoe=LOC put.in.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 ‘The clan leader of Tevari put a spear and an axe in the canoe.’

- 4.76b. *Tevari ghaka etoto goroba oto=ghae vendi-do davu-seri.*
 Tevari canoe two spear axe=COM.D put.in.I-SEQ.SS paddle.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 ‘The clan leader of Tevari put a spear and an axe in the two canoes and paddled (off).’

The unmarked locus, *dengoro* ‘ear’ in example 4.77 is the topical site into which the *tataru* ‘tortoise shell earrings’ are inserted. The expression *dengoro tataru farido* ‘insert tortoise shell earrings in ear’ refers to one step in the routine the Korafe engage in when preparing for dancing. Like the previous example, the locus precedes the patient in the clause where it occurs.

- 4.77 *Giti dengoro tataru fari-do, sifa asuge-do*
 first ear earring insert.in.I-SEQ.SS coconut.armband put.on.I-SEQ.SS
ifu=da ghara ata=da ghara asuge-do...
 waist=LOC plaited.cane leg=LOC plaited.cane put.on.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘First we stick earrings in our ears, then we slip on coconut armbands, we pull plaited cane belts (over our heads and wiggle them down to) around our waists and we slip plaited cane legbands on our legs...’

4.5 ARGUMENT ORDERS IN FULL PREDICATIONS

The distribution and ordering of oblique arguments in full predications is based primarily on pragmatic, rather than semantic or syntactic, criteria. That is why it appears, at first glance, that any ordering of NPs is acceptable. Oblique arguments expressing temporal, purpose (including benefactee-recipient), locative, approximate locative (including temporary recipient), instrument, and manner notions¹⁶ are interspersed with agent, patient, and object-theme. Up to five arguments have been found in a clause.

- | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|---------------|---------------|
| | SUBJECT/AGENT | TEMPORAL | LOCATIVE | INSTRUMENT | |
| 4.78 | <i>Nu</i> | <i>giti</i> | <i>dengoro=da</i> | <i>nun=da</i> | <i>beka=i</i> |
| | 3S | first | ear=LOC | 3S=GEN | mouth=CEFF |
| | OBJECT-THEME | VERB | | | |
| | <i>ghuin-ghuin</i> | <i>se-raira.</i> | | | |
| | <i>ghuin-ghuin</i> | say.I-CUST.3S.FN | | | |
| | ‘It first says “ghuin-ghuin” with its mouth into your ear.’ | | | | |

Below are some other orderings that occur.

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|--------------|
| | SUBJECT/AGENT | OBJECT/EXPERIENCER | INSTRUMENT | |
| 4.79 | <i>Ribere</i> | <i>genembo=a</i> | <i>bovotu</i> | <i>a=imi</i> |
| | flying.fox | man=that | tapacloth | that-CEFF |

¹⁶ As mentioned in §1.6, most adverbial expressions are nominally based, either nominals, such as *tefo* ‘in vain, for nothing (lit. nothing)’, or postpositional phrases such as *bibita=ghae* ‘quickly (lit. speed=COM.D)’.

VERB VERB
doghe bu-do...

wrap.I get.I-SEQ.SS

'The flying fox wrapped that man with that tapa cloth and got (him)...'

- 4.80 LOCATIVE SUBJECT/PATIENT VERB
...gagara a=in=da gomo=da usu a=va sirore-tira...
 girl that=CEFF=GEN grave=LOC coconut that=CT be.born.I-TP.3S.FN
 '...in that girl's gravesite that coconut came into being...'

- 4.81 OBJECT/PATIENT TEMPORAL NEGATIVE DEVERBAL
Auri e=mo oroko e-min=da jo b-ae
 spear this-T/F today this-CEFF.T/F=LOC NEG get.I-not.do

VERB VERB
e-do gh-er-era.
 do.I-SEQ.SS do.again-IPF-PRES.1PL.FN
 'Nowadays we do not use this type of spear.'

- 4.82 SUBJECT/AGENT OBJECT/PATIENT MANNER VERB
A=va=ta ni ata jo totoi bu
 that=CT=FRUS 2S foot NEG quickly get.I

NEGATIVE DEVERBAL VERB
erasagh-ae aresa.
 lift.up-not.do do.F.2S.FN
 'But you will (should) not lift up (your) foot quickly.'

Semantic criteria occasionally are used to determine the distribution of oblique arguments in full predications. In example 4.83, the locative closest to the verb corresponds to the 'inner' locative, that gives "the location of a participant rather than of the event or state as a whole" (Andrews 1985:70). The initial locative is an 'outer' locative: "the place where something is done".

- 4.83 S-AGENT OUTER LOCATIVE INNER LOCATIVE
Nu sovju javo+Uramana a=min=da ghaka=da
 3S estuary name+Uramana that=CEFF=LOC canoe=LOC
 VERB
sav+i-sira.
 go.inland+go.DUR-DP.3S.FN
 'He went in that fiord named Uramana in (his) canoe.'

When two temporal arguments occur, most often they precede the clause, separated from it by a pause in the thematic position or P2 (Dik 1978:20-21). As example 4.84 illustrates, the initial temporal NP is more general than the subsequent temporal.

- 4.84 OUTER TEMPORAL INNER TEMPORAL S-AGENT O-OBJECT
Sifo eni a=mo, Saturday tumba=ghae, nu voto
 day one that=T/F Saturday night=COM.D 3S fishnet

VERB:

bu-do...

get.I-SEQ.SS

‘One day, it was a Saturday evening, he took (his) fishnet...’

4.6 NEGATION OF PREDICATIONS

Negation of predications in Korafe is usually signalled by the combination of the negative focus marker *jo* ‘not’ and the stem I form of the terminal verb with the negative deverbal *ae* ‘not doing’ at its terminus. The copula *ri* follows the negative deverbal, indicating an event that has occurred prior to the speech-act moment, but it does not specify any time frame (e.g. today’s past, near past, etc.).

4.85 *Na jo ning-ae=ri.*

IS NEG hear.I-not.do=COP.AQ

‘I didn’t hear (what was said).’

If it is important to link the non-occurrence of an event to a specific time frame, the negative deverbal precedes an appropriately inflected form of the verb *e* ‘do’, functioning like a nominal complement to the verb *e* ‘do’. Example 4.86 with a today’s past tense form and 4.87 with a present tense form are commonly used.

4.86 *Na jo ning-ae+e-teni.*

IS NEG hear.I-not.do+do.I-TP.IS.AQ

‘I didn’t hear (what was said just now).’

4.87 *Na jo ning-ae+er-ena.*

IS NEG hear.I-not.do+IPF-do.PRES.IS.FN

‘I do not hear (what is being said).’

If the non-occurrence of an event is projected, a future form of *e* ‘do’ must follow the deverbal.

4.88 *Na jo ning-ae+arena. Ning-ari imboe+er-ira.*

IS NEG hear.I-not.do+do.F.IS.FN hear.I-DVB dislike+IPF-do.PRES.3S.FN

‘I will not listen. I don’t want to listen (to what I believe will be said).’

If the speaker wants to focus on the negation of a constituent other than the verb, he or she may place *jo* before that constituent. In example 4.89, it precedes the instrumental argument.

4.89 *Ghaka=mo, jo asi tefo+tefo aimi digh-ae*
canoe=T/F NEG vine nothing+nothing that.CEFF.T/F tie.I-not.do
e-raera.

do.I-CUST.IPL.FN

‘Outrigger canoes, we don’t lash together with just any old vine.’

It is also possible to focus on both a non-verbal constituent and the verbal constituent as being negated, by positioning a *jo* before each of the constituents. In example 4.90, the

speaker emphasises his main point that not everyone will get into heaven by marking both *isasambu* ‘each and everyone’ and the verb.

- 4.90 *Namonde jo isasambu utu=da jo y-ae+arera.*
 1PL.EXC NEG all.RED heaven=LOC NEG go.DUR-not.do+do.F.1PL.FN
 ‘Not each and everyone of us will go to heaven.’

In negated topic–comment clauses, the copula *ri* must occur with a deverbal form of *iri* ‘remain’: *irae* ‘not remain’. Examples 4.26a and b, 4.27b and 4.27c in §4.2.1 illustrate this.

The verb *iri* ‘remain’ can replace the verb *e* ‘do’ to indicate that non-accomplishment of an event is or was or will be a continuing state of affairs.

- 4.91 *Ni nange bayau jo it-ae+ir-esi?*
 2S do.how food NEG cook.I-not.do+remain-PRES.2S.AQ
 ‘How come you’re just lazing around here without cooking the food?’

The scope of negation may cover either a single predication or a sequence of predications within SRCs. Examples illustrating the scope of negation in SRCs can be found in §6.2.3. The scope of negation cannot extend beyond a final verb, however. Therefore all bases in co-ranking sentences must be individually negated. In example 4.92, the verb *aira* ‘he went’ terminates the predication in the positive sentence base, and the predication in the subsequent antithetical base is negated.

- 4.92 *Nu nu kambo=da a-ira, avata vikoko jo*
 3S SPEC house=LOC go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN that.CT.FRUS knife NEG
b-ae=ri.
 get.I-not.do=COP.AQ
 ‘It is true that he went to the house, but he didn’t get the knife.’

As illustrated in the previous examples, predications that are statements (4.90) and questions (4.91) are negated by *jo* ‘not’ at the onset and *ae* ‘not do’ at the terminus. Commands are negated by using the negative hortative form of the final verb. The scope of negation in a command can be optionally marked by placing {*erá*} ‘don’t’ before the initial constituent to be negated. Examples 4.93a and b illustrate negative prohibitions without and with {*erá*}.

- 4.93a. *Usu duru=da anumb-eose! Oroko usu=i du-do*
 coconut under=LOC sit-NEG.H.2S.CR today coconut=CEFF fall.I-SEQ.SS
d-arira.
 hit.I-F.3S.FN
 ‘Don’t sit underneath the coconut tree. (If you do,) a coconut will fall down and hit you now.’
- 4.93b. *Usu duru=da erá anumb-eose!*
 coconut under=LOC NEG sit-NEG.H.2S.CR
 ‘Don’t sit underneath the coconut tree.’

Other examples involving negative hortative forms may be found in §2.4.2.11, §2.5.2.6, and §7.2.2.2.

4.7 SIMPLE SENTENCES

Korafe simple sentences are minimally composed of one base with accompanying prosodies.¹⁷ Sentence bases correspond syntactically to the clauses and semantically to the predications outlined in this chapter, and have either P1 SOV or P1:TOPIC-COMMENT constituent structure.

In simple sentences with P1 SOV constituent structure, the verb must be an independent final verb, and those with P1:TOPIC-COMMENT structure must terminate with the copula (*ri*). The maximal constituent structure of Korafe simple sentences can be represented by one of the following two structures:

Periphery P2:THEME, P1 SOV, P3:TAIL or
Periphery P2:THEME, P1:TOPIC COMMENT, P3:TAIL,

where P1 and P3 are NPs or PPs, not clauses.

Modal particles that attach to the verb or the copula at the terminus of the base encode epistemic and evaluative modalities. Epistemic particles include: *asi* ‘that was said (quoted speech or strongly asserted by the speaker)’, *tano* ‘possibly’, and *tanojo* ‘perhaps, maybe so, maybe not’. Evaluative particles are: *ta* ‘I, the speaker, am frustrated or annoyed’, *vae* ‘I, the speaker, am extremely annoyed to the point of anger’, {*ere*} ‘this material is immediately relevant to our present situation’. Example 4.94 illustrates the use of the epistemic modal particle, *asi* ‘that was said’.

- 4.94 *Nundae si-seni, “Fu, nanda dengesi=da*
3S.BEN say.II-DP.1S.AQ come.DUR.IMP.2S.AQ 1S.GEN side=LOC
ifarata+as=asi!”
dock.lengthwise+do.H.2S=that.say.II
‘I said to him, “Come, and dock next to me,” that was said.

The epistemic particles *tano* ‘possibly’ and *tanojo* ‘perhaps’ convey two grades of doubt about the situation, the former expressing more of a possibility. They are often used in sentences in conjunction with *avose* ‘perhaps, I just don’t know (lit. that.CT.say.II)’, which occurs as an initial peripheral segment or follows the thematic entity, as example 4.95 illustrates.

¹⁷ The term ‘sentence’ is not easily defined. Three types differentiated by Lyons (1977:622-635) are: system-sentences, text-sentences, and utterance-units. System-sentences can be generated from the formal grammatical rules without reference to any deictic or endophoric context. Text-sentences are “context-dependent utterance-signals (or parts of utterance-signals)” (Lyons 1977:622). Utterance-units are a subset of utterances which Harris (1951:14) defines as “any stretch of talk by one person, before and after which there is silence on the part of that person”. Simple utterance units “contain one and only one simple proposition” and “are the basic units of language behaviour” (Lyons 1977:633).

The term ‘simple sentences’ used here approximates the abstract grammatical construct termed ‘system-sentences’, allowing, as Lyons (1977:626) suggests, that at least some part of their prosodic structure, including their intonation contour, be accounted for. Declarative, interrogative and imperative sentences are system-sentences with a particular grammatical structure. When system-sentences are contextualised by language speakers, they can be regarded as “utterance-units—to which such terms as ‘statement’, ‘question’, and ‘command’ are applicable (1977:633).”

- 4.95 *Nu, avose, kae+tamb-ira=tano.*
 3S that.CT.say.II poison+find.I-TP.3S.FN=perhaps
 'He, well I'm just not sure, perhaps he's gotten sick.'

In example 4.96, the speaker uses *ta* to express his annoyance with the addressee and with the current state of affairs.

- 4.96 *Ghaka beje-tira, e gi=ta!*
 canoe break.I-TP.3S.FN this see.I.IMP.2S.AQ=FRUS
 'Now look at this (that you've done), the canoe's busted!'

In addition to the base, Korafe simple sentences may have initial peripheral segments, one or more themes (P2), and a tail (P3). Initial peripheral segments usually occur sentence-initially, but sometimes they follow the theme, as shown in example 4.95. The initial peripheral constituents include evaluative/pause words and vocatives. Examples of evaluative (or pause) words are *avori* 'all right', *avose* 'perhaps', *mm* 'yes' and others. Vocatives may follow evaluative words or be the initial segment in a sentence. They are either a person's name or kin relationship optionally followed by *ko* 'dear (honorific)' or *o* 'that (distal-2 used in declamations)'. Example 4.97 illustrates an evaluative peripheral word followed by a vocative kin expression. The base is simply a predicate filled by a verb in the hortative form.

- 4.97 *Avori, nanda mandi, yaore!*
 all.right IS.GEN boy, go.NDUR-IR.H.IPL.CR
 'All right, my boy, let's go!'

Like initial peripheral segments, themes are separated off by a pause from the rest of the sentence. In simple sentences, themes may either be NPs or PPs which may be additionally marked by a topic marker (*mo* or *va*). Section 3.2.3.1 provides fuller details and examples of themes.

Tails (P3) follow the sentence base. The tag words, *aĩ* 'yes', *ai tefo* 'yes or no' often mark polar questions and are used along with prosodic features to distinguish them from other sentence types. Examples are given in §4.7.2.3. Other examples of tail constituents can be found in §3.2.3.1.

4.7.1 SENTENCE PROSODIES

Heavy stress or accent marks the thematic, topical and focal constituents in Korafe utterances. Physiologically, accent is produced by the expulsion of an increased amount of air from the lungs. In terms of how it is perceived, accent in Korafe coincides with increases or major changes in one or more of three prosodic parameters: duration, intensity or loudness, and pitch.

Length in Korafe is associated not only with word stress; increased length is also associated with accented syllables of utterances (see §1.5 and §3.1.1). Inherently stressed syllables may be reduced in length when they are not the accented syllables in utterances. Because of the tendency in Korafe to space stresses uniformly throughout the utterance, some syllables get reduced to the point of being omitted.

Loudness is indicated by amplitude curves in graphs, which were produced for this study using the CECIL (Computerised Extraction of Components of Intonation in Language) program: (Hunt 1990). Amplitude curves display the average heights of the sound wave from crest to trough correlated with utterances measured over a small fraction of a second. (The graphs used in this book are calibrated at one tenth of a second.) Two figures are given for each sound at the measured point in time, the positive number of decibels (dB) measured from the centre of the frame up and the negative measured from the centre of the frame down.

The pattern of pitch changes associated with an utterance or a part of an utterance is registered by frequency curves (or 'intonation contours'). These contours display the number of vibrations or hertz (Hz) the sound wave produces in a fraction of a second. Total intonation contours consist of a precontour and a primary contour that are pronounced together (Pike 1945:25-26). The precontour has unstressed syllables, which either rise or fall in pitch. The primary contour begins with an inherently stressed syllable, termed a 'tonic syllable' by Ladefoged (1975:99).¹⁸ This tonic syllable carries a major pitch change, either an increase or a decrease in the frequency of the sound wave. A tonic syllable that occurs with the highest pitch in the intonation contour is called the 'peak'. Korafe contour patterns associated with the primary contour, incorporating and continuing the changes that begin on the tonic syllable, include: falling, falling-slight rise, rising-falling, slight rise-slight fall-slight rise, and slight fall-slight rise-slight fall. One or more intonation contours constitute a rhythm unit. A rhythm unit consists of an utterance or part of an utterance that is bordered by pauses or silence.

Although the amplitude and frequency curves sometimes vary in harmony with each other in Korafe, more frequently they fluctuate independently. Thus, the speaker can indicate thematic, topical and focal constituents with increased length, increased loudness, a significant fluctuation in pitch or any combination of the three. Prosodic amalgamations differ in their constituents from utterance to utterance and from speaker to speaker. For instance, Bensted Kephana (BK) and Kingsley Seko (KS) assigned distinct frequency curves (or intonation contours) and amplitude curves to the clause in example 4.98. These are shown on the following page.

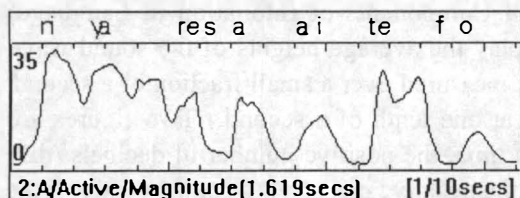
4.98 *Ni y-aresa, ai tefo?*
 2S go.DUR-F.2S.FN yes no
 'Will you go, yes or no?'

Kephana's utterance is one rhythm group with four intonation contours: (1) *Ni ya re* (2) *sa*, (3) *ai* (4) *te-fo*?¹⁹ Seko breaks the rhythm unit constituting his utterance into five intonation contours: (1) *Ni* (2) *ya-re* (3) *sa*, (4) *ai* (5) *te-fo*?

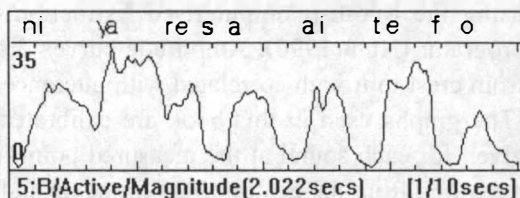
¹⁸ Unlike innate word stress, a pitch is not necessarily connected with one syllable, but may extend over several syllables. However, there are minor pitch fluctuations on every syllable.

¹⁹ The fluctuation before *fo* seems too slight to warrant assigning it its own intonation contour.

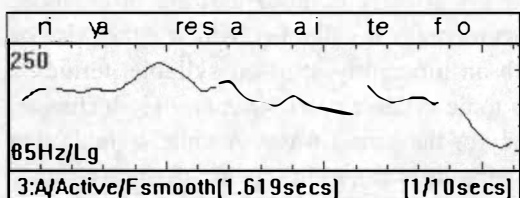
BK Amplitude contour of 4.98



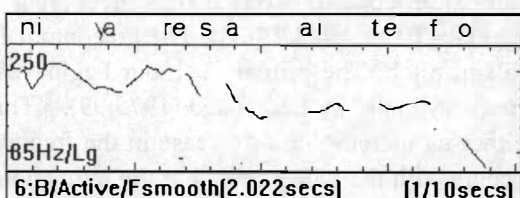
KS Amplitude contour of 4.98



BK Frequency or intonation contour for 4.98



KS Frequency or intonation contour for 4.98



Keghana assigns the greatest positive amplitude to the topical component, *ni* 'you' (which is 33.1 (-9.6dB) as compared with the amplitude of the focal constituents, *yaresa* 'you will go' with *ya* at 29.4 (-10.6dB) and *tefo* 'no' with *te* at 27.2 (-11.3dB)). He assigns the highest pitch to *ya* in *yaresa* (212.2 Hz as compared with *ni* which registers 171.8 Hz at its highest pitch level). The longest syllable is *ya* in *yaresa* at 251 milliseconds; the focal element, *ai* 'yes', is second longest at 242 milliseconds. Thus, the focal constituent *yaresa* is the most accented element in the utterance, ranking first in pitch and in length and a close second in loudness.

Seko assigns the highest pitch to the topical component, *ni* 'you' (213.0 Hz as compared to *ya* in *yaresa* 'you will go' which registers 204.6 Hz). The *ya* in *yaresa* has the greatest amplitude in the utterance (32.9 (-9.7dB) as compared to the *te* in *tefo* 'no' at 24.8 (-12.1dB)). The longest syllable is *ai* 'yes', at 284 milliseconds, *ni* is second at 274 milliseconds, and the *ya* in *yaresa* is third at 261 milliseconds. In the initial auditory evaluation of this utterance, the focal constituent *yaresa* appeared to be the most accented element to all of us listening to the tape. However, the instrument measurements indicate that *yaresa* and *ni* are pretty much on a par. The focal *yaresa* ranks first in loudness and is second in pitch and third in length, while the topical *ni* has the highest pitch and is second in length and third in loudness.

Because the focused constituent is the centre of the message the speaker intends to communicate, it tends to be the most accented element. But, as demonstrated above, the topic also may be strongly accented. Focal constituents that frequently draw the strongest accent to them are: (1) the final lexical verb in a verbal predicate or the stressed word before the copula in copular predicates, (2) the negative deverbal *ae* 'not do' in negated clauses, (3) focus words, such as the focal actor pronouns, the negative specifier *jo* and the

proposition specifier *nu*, and (4) the interrogative pro-word in content questions. The Korafe can indicate two significant focal constituents by signalling one with increased amplitude and the other with higher pitch. In the sample taken, the greatest amplitude is consistently associated with a syllable of a focal constituent. In over 80% of the cases, the syllable with the highest pitch also belongs to a focal constituent, but only 18.3% of the examples assign both high pitch and loudness to the same syllable. A syllable belonging to the topical constituent registers the highest pitch in 25% of the examples and the greatest length in 50% of the examples.

The examples illustrating sentence types in the following sections were recorded by Kingsley Seko (KS: age 65) and Bensted Kegnana (BK: age 51) in February 1995 at Baga village in the Tufi district of the Oro Province. At that point, an auditory analysis using four relative pitches²⁰ was made both by the men and this writer. Although accent was originally perceived as high pitch in the auditory analysis, the instrumental analysis by computer revealed it was only in a little more than half the sentences that high or very high pitch was the predominant feature associated with syllables perceived to have the greatest accent. For the others, increased loudness and, occasionally, length played a more significant role. The computer-produced graphs of amplitude curves and intonation contours convey a more accurate and complete picture than the 4-pitch auditory analysis, so they are presented with the examples in the following sections.

The examples illustrate some trends in the use of intonation contours, loudness, and length in Korafe sentences. However, the speaker's attitudes at utterance time and motives in making the utterance also influence the shape of intonation contours, the assignment of loudness and length, and the positioning of pauses, overlaying and modifying any general patterns there are.²¹ A complete study of the prosodic combinations that are associated with attitudes such as doubt, relief, joy, grief and anger is beyond the scope of this book.

4.7.2 SENTENCE TYPES

4.7.2.1 STATEMENTS

Statements or declarative sentences are manifested by clauses that are unmarked by distinguishing grammatical particles or constructions. Clauses terminating with either the copula or final independent verb forms in the past tenses (other than third person singular forms) are marked as definitely asserted by the speech act value marker {-i}. Clauses terminating with present, future, and third person singular verb forms occur with the neutral speech-act value marker {-a}. Declarative sentences occur with all the modal particles. The speech-act value marker is apocopated when sentences terminate with the current relevancy marker (*ere/are/ore*) and/or the reported speech evidential (*asi*).

²⁰ Four relative pitch levels, used to explain intonation contours in English, are helpful in the auditory analysis of intonation contours in other languages (Pike 1945:25-26). These can be labelled extra-high, high, mid, and low respectively and can be numbered ¹/ for low pitch, ²/ for mid-pitch, ³/ for high pitch, and ⁴/ for extra-high pitch, following Trager (1972:84).

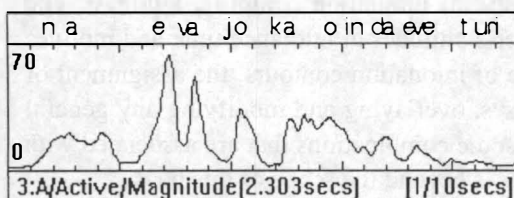
²¹ Pike (1945:24) discovered that "there are many more contours than one for question and one for statement". Because of his findings, he abandoned a grammatical or lexical definition of intonation contours in English, preferring to define them "in terms of attitudes of the speakers".

Korafe statements manifest a variety of intonation contours. The only predictable intonation contour is the final one, which is a (3-1) or (2-1) downglide that frequently terminates with devoicing of the final vowel or syllable(s). For all but example 4.102, the fundamental frequency range in declarative examples is 80-180/190 Hz. All of the examples terminate at 100 Hz or below. Example 4.99 is a declarative sentence filled by a topic comment clause.

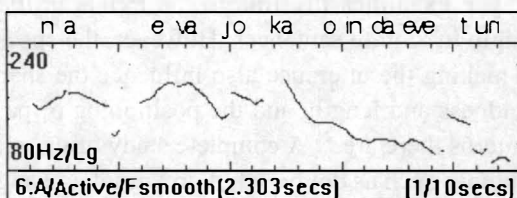
- 4.99 *Na eva joká o=in=da evetu=ri.*
 1S ocean inside that.D2=CEFF=GEN woman=COP.AQ
 'I am a sea-dwelling woman, belonging there.'

The amplitude and frequency curves below reflect Bensted Kegnana's interpretation of example 4.99. The utterance is 2.946 seconds long. The topic *na* 'I' is the longest syllable (391 milliseconds). The loudest syllable at 63.9 (-39dB) is *e* in *eva* 'sea'. The syllable *ka* in *joká* has the highest pitch (173.1 Hz). The most accented syllable is *e* in *eva*, with the greatest amplitude and the second highest pitch (171.8Hz). This correlates with the purpose of this sentence: to emphasise that the addressee's brother was responsible for removing the speaker from her home environment, the ocean (*eva*). The final syllable *ri* is very low in pitch (87.7 Hz) and amplitude (2.6 (-31.7dB)).

BK Amplitude contour for 4.99



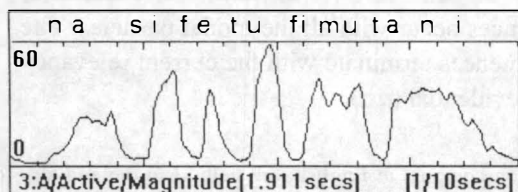
Frequency contour for 4.99



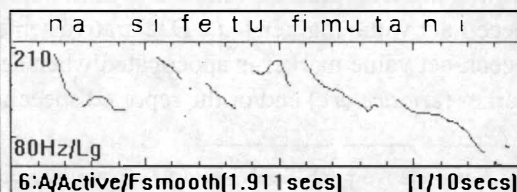
In the following sentence, Kingsley Seko emphasises both *sife* 'yesterday' and *Tufi* as significant focal arguments.

- 4.100 *Na sife Tufi i-mutani.*
 1S yesterday Tufi go.DUR-YP.1S.AQ
 'I went to Tufi yesterday.'

KS Amplitude contour for 4.100



Frequency contour for 4.100



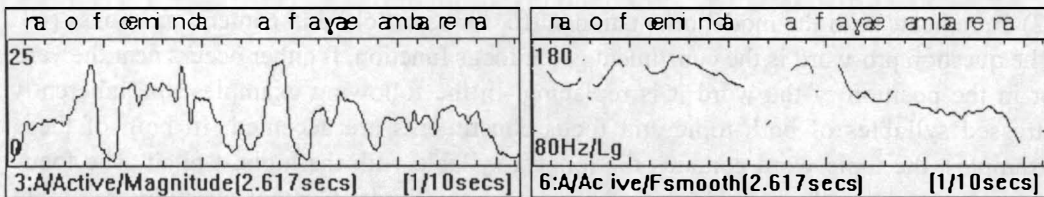
Although the topic *na* 'I' has the least amplitude (5.8 (-24.9dB)), it is the longest syllable, persisting for 262 milliseconds out of a total 1.585 second utterance). It also is just about equal with *si* in *sife* in frequency; *na* registers 194.9 Hz and *si* 194.4 Hz. The *Tu* in *Tufi* has the greatest amplitude (53.3(-4.6dB). It also occurs with the third highest pitch (182.7 Hz) and is the third longest syllable at 215 milliseconds. In the auditory and instrumental analyses, it was perceived and graphed as the most accented syllable in the utterance. As part of the primary focal word, it displays a greater concurrence of salient prosodic features than *si* in *sife*, which is the secondary focus in the utterance. The *ni* at the terminus is the second-longest syllable, persisting for 237 milliseconds, but it registers the lowest pitch (89.1Hz).

As in the previous example, example 4.101 has two peaks, *min* in *eminda* 'here' and *a* in *afaghae* 'with Dad'.

4.101 *Na ofo e=min=da afa=ghae amb-aréna.*
 1S veranda this=CEFF.T/F=LOC father=D.COM die.I-F.1S.FN
 'I will die here on the verandah with Dad.'

KS Amplitude contour for 4.101

Frequency contour for 4.101



The greatest amplitude is assigned to *a* in *afaghae* (20.9(-14.0dB)), and the highest pitch to *min* in *eminda* (164.3 Hz). But *a* has the second highest pitch (154.6Hz), and *min* is the third-loudest syllable (19.8(-14.1dB)) following *o* in *ofo* (20.0(-14.0dB)). The *min* is the second longest syllable (233 milliseconds) following the topic *na* (245 milliseconds). In spite of the fact that *min* appears to be the most accented syllable in the instrumental analysis, *a* was perceived as the accented syllable in the auditory analysis, perhaps because of the fall in pitch before it and the 215 millisecond pause before it. The *re* of the verb *ambaréna* 'I will die' is the longest or stressed syllable (153 milliseconds) in the verb, indicating that the focal constituent is not the verb. If the verb were the focal constituent of the utterance, the *ba* (121 milliseconds) would be stressed. Again, the lowest pitch (84.8 Hz) and the lowest amplitude (1.7(-13.4dB)) occur at the utterance terminus.

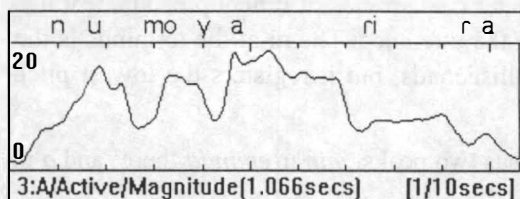
In example 4.102, the verb again has a future tense form. The stressed *ya* signals that the verb *yarira* 'he will go' is the focal constituent of the utterance.

4.102 *Nu=mo y-árita.*
 3S=T/F go.DUR-F.3S.FN
 'He must go.'

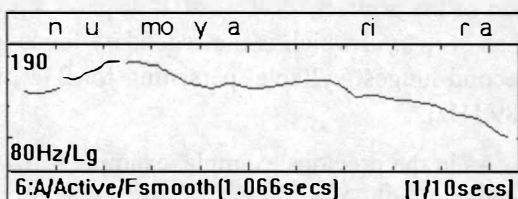
There is only one focal constituent in this sentence, *yarira*. The *ya* in *yarira* is the longest (342 milliseconds out of .999 seconds for the total utterance) and the loudest (18.6

(-14.5dB)) syllable. The topic constituent *nu* 'he' is given the highest pitch, 171.7 Hz, in contrast to *ya* at 150.2 Hz. Korafe speakers use the topic marker *mo* in this context to signal that this event must occur. This sentence also terminates at the lowest pitch (100.7 Hz) and amplitude (.9(-14.6dB)).

BK Amplitude contour for 4.102



Frequency contour for 4.102



4.7.2.2 CONTENT QUESTIONS

Content or information-seeking questions always manifest two components: (1) a content question pro-word (e.g. *mave* 'who?', *rejo* 'what?', *nange* 'what event?, how?') and (2) a predicate with the modal orientation suffix for assertions and content questions, {-i}. The question pro-word is the constituent given focus function. It either occurs near the verb or in the position of the word it is replacing. In the following examples, the inherently stressed syllables of both topic and focus constituents are accented. In both of these examples, the topic word contains the longest syllable with the highest pitch. The focus pro-word contains the syllable with the greatest amplitude. Content questions resemble declarative sentences in having a variety of intonation contour patterns and terminating with a downglide.

The content question in example 4.104 is realised by a topic-comment question.

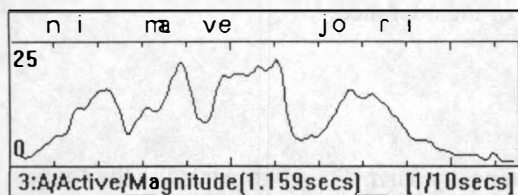
4.103 *Ni mave-jo=ri?*

2S who-SPEC=COP.AQ

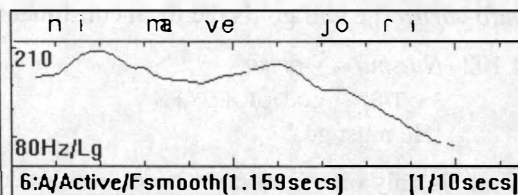
'Who are you?'

The topic *ni* 'you' is 269 milliseconds long and has the highest pitch (196.7 Hz). The syllable *ve* of the focal constituent *mavejo* has the greatest amplitude (21.5(-13.4dB)). The lowest pitch (94.0 Hz) and the lowest amplitude (2.8(-31.1dB)) occur at utterance terminus. The graphs of the two men's utterances closely resemble each other.

KS Amplitude contour for 4.103



Frequency contour for 4.103

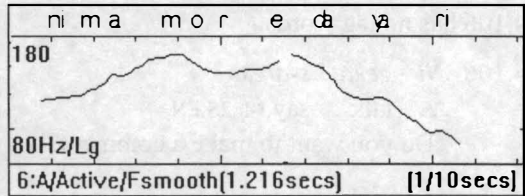
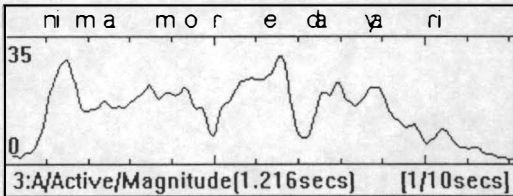


The content question in example 4.104 has a verbal predicate.

- 4.104 *Nimamo re=da y-ari?*
 2S.father what=LOC go.DUR-F.3S.AQ
 'Where did your father go?'

KS Amplitude contour for 4.104

Frequency contour for 4.104



The topical constituent, *nimamo* 'your father', contains the longest syllable, *ma* (194 milliseconds, over 20% of the utterance total: .975 seconds) and the highest pitch (161.8 Hz). The focal constituent, *reda* 'where' has the syllable with the greatest amplitude: *re* (29.7 (-10.6dB)). Although *ri* is perceived as receiving word stress as expected with future forms of verbs, the instrumental reading does not indicate it. The syllable *ya* is longer (141 milliseconds to 47 milliseconds), higher in pitch (122.3 Hz to 98.9 Hz) and greater in amplitude (21.0(-13.6dB) to 9.3(-20.6dB)). The last syllable *ri* terminates abruptly with a slight rise and fall in pitch (97.2 Hz→98.9 Hz→92.4 Hz) and amplitude (6.6 (-23.6dB)→9.3(-20.6dB)→7.4(-22.6dB)), but those differences do not seem to be significant enough to mark it as the stressed syllable.

Rhetorical questions occur with the same features as content or information questions, but the pro-word is usually marked by *aimi* 'by means of that' or the intensifier *kato*, as in *nangatiraimi*? 'how in the world?' and *rekato*? 'what in the world?'.

- 4.105 *Ni re-kato sasingu=da kaugo=ri?*
 2S what-much.doer children=GEN like.CPAR=COP.AQ
 'You, why in the world are you behaving like a child?'

No rhetorical questions have been processed using the CECIL program. But auditory analysis suggests a higher frequency range for rhetorical questions than content questions have and a greater fluctuation in amplitude occurring with the focal constituent than its counterpart in content questions manifests.

4.7.2.3 POLAR QUESTIONS

Polar interrogative sentences often terminate with one or two tag words: *ai*? 'yes?' or *ai tefo*? 'yes or no?'. In declarative sentences, the copula in topic-comment clauses and the final syllable of the verb in verbal clauses are pronounced with a falling pitch and may even be devoiced. However, in polar questions, this syllable is often lengthened and distinctively terminates the intonation contour to which it belongs. In many of the cases, it is assigned its own intonation contour. The contour begins with a falling pitch, then manifests a slight

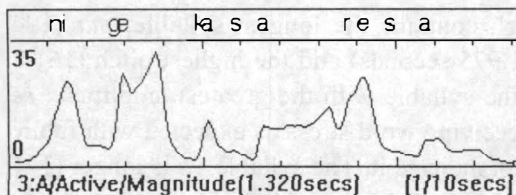
rising pitch and an optional falling pitch. The tag question words may also manifest rising–falling(–rising) or falling–rising(–falling) contours. The frequency range for the following examples lies between 80 and 220 hertz, slightly higher than the range for declarative sentences and content questions. Polar questions terminate at a much higher pitch than do declarative sentences, except when the tag question word *tefo* occurs. Sentence accent in polar questions slightly modifies the stress patterns for individual words, especially that of future tense verbs. This is illustrated in the examples below. Example 4.106 has no tag words.

4.106 *Ni geka s-aresa?*

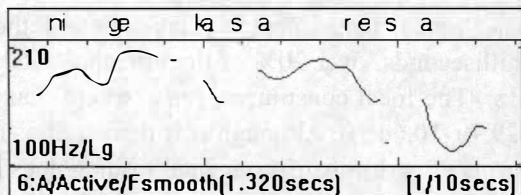
2S talk say.I-F.2S.FN

‘Do you want to make a comment?’

KS Amplitude contour for 4.106



Frequency contour for 4.106



The syllable *ge* has the highest pitch (197.8 Hz) and the greatest amplitude (31.8(-10.0 dB)). The initial *sa* in the verb is the longest syllable at 289 milliseconds out of 1.155 seconds for the total utterance. One would expect *re* to be stressed if *geka* is the focal element, but it is second only in amplitude at 24.7(-12.2 dB). The final syllable *sa* is the second-longest syllable in the utterance at 239 milliseconds. It has its own separate intonation contour, which probably contributes to its length. The pitch at its onset is 149.1 Hz, it falls to 109.5 Hz, rises to 126.1 Hz and terminates at 125.1 Hz. There appear to be four intonation contours in the rhythm group which constitutes this utterance: (1) *ni* (2) *ge-ka* (3) *sa-re* which has three direction change points (pitches at 176.0 Hz (onset), 167.3 Hz, 188.3 Hz, 146.3 Hz and 147.8 Hz (terminus)), and (4) *sa*.

The clause in the following polar question is a topic–comment clause. It is followed by the tag question, *at?* ‘yes?’.²²

4.107 *Ari o=mo eveva=ri, at?*

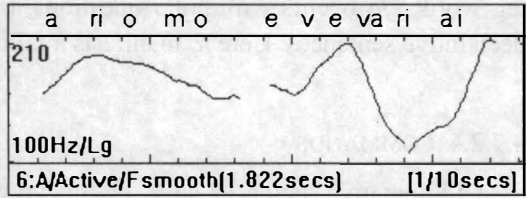
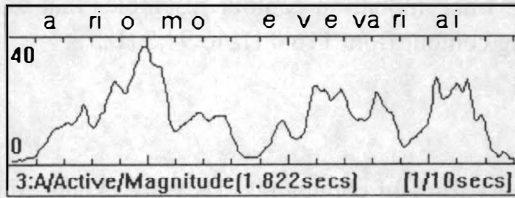
do.DVB that.D2=T/F good=COP.AQ yes

‘Are those deeds good, yes?’

²² Some speakers, particularly the Yariyari clan from Kofure, nasalise this tag word: *at?* ‘yes?’.

KS Amplitude contour for 4.107

Frequency contour for 4.107



Like the previous example, the frequency range for this example is 100 Hz–210 Hz. The topic *ari omo* ‘that deed’ terminates with *mo*, the longest syllable in the utterance (222 milliseconds). This *mo* manifests the following pitch changes: 162.1 Hz (onset) →145 Hz→168.8 Hz→148.8 Hz (terminus). The syllable *o* ‘that’ has the greatest amplitude in the utterance: 37.4 (–8.6 dB). The word *ari* has the third highest pitch at 188.8 Hz. Between the topic and the comment is a slight pause of 106 milliseconds. The highest pitch is on *ai* at 205.8 Hz, which then falls to 200.2 Hz at the terminus. It also has the second-greatest amplitude: 26.2 (–11.5 dB). The second-highest pitch is on *ve* (202.2 Hz) in the focus word *eveva* ‘good’. It has the third greatest amplitude: 24.3 (–12.3 dB). The copula manifests a falling then rising intonation contour: 114.3 Hz→108.9 Hz→124.9 Hz.

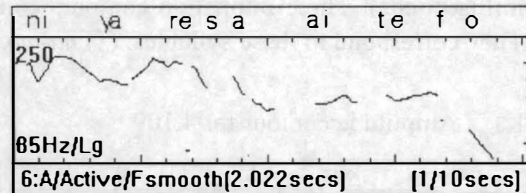
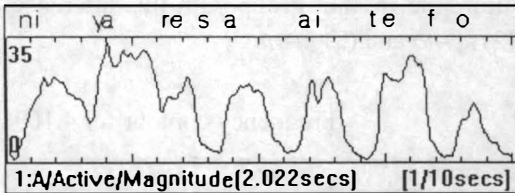
Example 4.108 has two tag question words, *aĩ tefo* ‘yes or no?’.

4.108 *Ni y-aresa, aĩ tefo?*
 2S go.DUR-F.2S.FN yes no
 ‘Will you go, yes or no?’

This utterance contains two short pauses: one after *yaresa* ‘will you go’ (140 milliseconds) and the other after *ai* ‘yes’ (84 milliseconds). The topic *ni* is the longest syllable (281 milliseconds, about 15% of the 1.807 second utterance total), and it has the highest pitch (214.2 Hz). The syllable *ya* in the focal word *yaresa* has the greatest amplitude: 32.9 (–9.7dB).

KS Amplitude contour for 4.108

Frequency contour for 4.108



The intonation contour that accompanies it has two direction-change points: one at 172.0 Hz and the other at 214.2 Hz. The *ya-re* is associated with the second intonation contour, and the third intonation contour is on *sa*, which is the third-longest syllable (260 milliseconds). The *sa* begins at 168.7 Hz, drops to 132.8 Hz and then rises to 139.8 Hz. The tag words *aĩ* and *te* in *tefo* also manifest direction-change points in the intonation contours associated with them; *aĩ* has the following pattern: 142.2 Hz→143.9 Hz→141.5 Hz→151.7

Hz→143.1 Hz→143.4 Hz, and *te*: 158.3 Hz→146.8 Hz→155.1 Hz→152.0 Hz. When the tag word *tefo* occurs with polar questions, the final intonation contour resembles that of declarative sentences. Here *fo* manifests a falling contour from 116.0 Hz to 94.5 Hz.

4.7.2.4 COMMANDS

All imperative sentences have the illocutionary force of commands. They are expressed in order to get the addressee to modify his or her behaviour in some way. Commands are manifested by independent clauses that terminate with an imperative (having the *-u* speech-act-value marker when plural or imperfective) or a hortative form of the verb. Korafe hortative and imperative final-verb paradigms are detailed in §§2.4.10, 2.4.11 and 2.4.12. The Korafe commands are uttered at a higher frequency range than any other sentence type, between 105 and 260 Hz.

Commands generally differ from other sentences in that they do not have topical constituents, unless an addressee is mentioned. The peak of the intonation contour with the highest frequency is consistently above 200 Hz, higher than peaks of intonation contours found in most other sentence (except in some instances of polar questions). They also tend to terminate higher than any sentence type other than polar questions having the tag question, *aĩ* ‘yes’.

Example 4.109 was uttered when the speaker and addressees were in close proximity. Therefore, it begins at a fairly low frequency for commands (150.7 Hz) and terminates at a low frequency for commands (112.8 Hz).

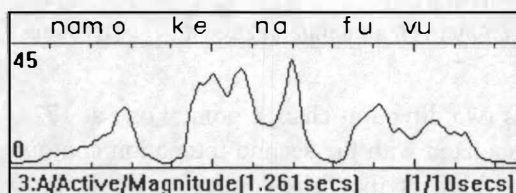
4.109 *Namo=kena fu-vu!*

IS.T/F=ALOC come.DUR-2PL.IMP

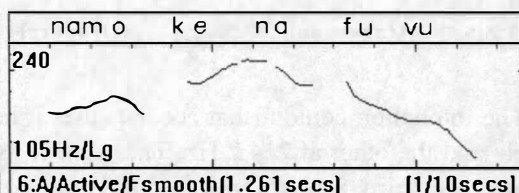
‘Come to me!’

The focal word is *namokena* ‘to me’, and the accent falls on *ke*, which is the longest syllable (253 milliseconds) and has the highest pitch (216.1 Hz). The syllable with the greatest amplitude is *na* (39.5 (-8.1dB)). The onset *na* has the least amplitude (4.6 (-21.8dB)). The second-longest syllable is the inherently stressed syllable *fu* of the verb (189 milliseconds). Three intonation contours constitute the rhythm group with this utterance. They correspond to these syllables: (1) *na-mo*, (2) *ke-na* and (3) *fu-vu*.

KS Amplitude contour for 4.109



Frequency contour for 4.109



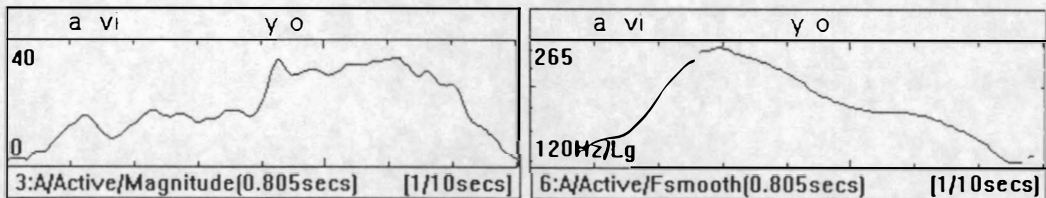
The command in example 4.110 is the typical farewell in the evening. The Korafe add *o* to commands that are called out. With singular commands, *o*-addition is accompanied by *y*-insertion. This utterance only has one intonation contour constituting the rhythm group which accompanies it.

4.110 *Avi-y-o!*
 sleep.IMP.2S-EPEN-STEN
 'Sleep!'

Even though the inherently stressed syllable in *aviyo* 'sleep!' is *vi*, it only has the highest pitch: 255.3 Hz. The *longest* syllable is *yo* uttered for 351 milliseconds, over half of the utterance, which is 659 milliseconds. The *yo* also has the greatest amplitude at 34.1 (-9.2dB), but it terminates at the least amplitude (8.7 (-21.2dB)).

KS Amplitude contour for 4.110

Frequency contour for 4.110

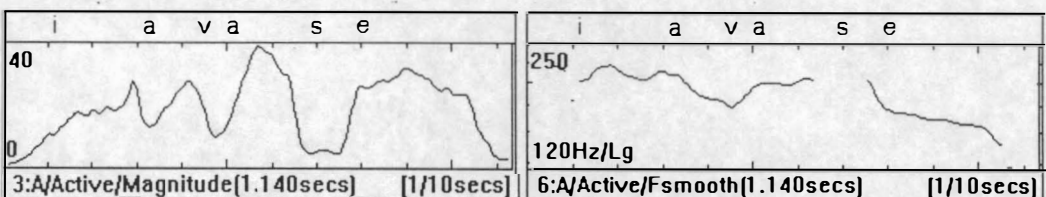


Example 4.111 is a combination of an abrupt imperative form and a hortative form. Although it is not a simple sentence, it is spoken as one rhythm group and illustrates a very common command construction.

4.111 *I av-ase!*
 go.DUR.IMP.2S sleep-H.2S.CR
 'Go and sleep!'

KS Amplitude contour for 4.111

Frequency contour for 4.111



This utterance begins with the imperative verb form at a very high pitch: 199.6 Hz rising to 221.1 Hz at its peak, which is the highest pitch in the entire utterance. Like the previous example, the longest syllable is the final syllable, *se* (256 milliseconds). The inherently stressed syllable *va* of *avase* has the greatest amplitude at 39.2 (-8.1dB) and the third-highest pitch at 205.6 Hz following *a* at 213.5 Hz. The utterance begins with the least

amplitude: 10.6 (-19.5dB) and terminates at the lowest pitch: 140.0Hz. The rhythm group with this utterance contains four intonation contours, each corresponding to one of the syllables: (1) *i*, (2) *a*, (3) *va* and (4) *se*.

CHAPTER 5

SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS (SVCs)

Whereas the previous chapter concentrated on sentences with one predicate, this chapter and Chapters 6, 7 and 8 describe sentences which contain multiple predicates. There are two types of multipredicate constructions: chaining and co-ranking. Chaining constructions combine verbal predicates with different levels of finiteness. Co-ranking sentences combine structures that terminate with verbal predicates having the same level of finiteness and/or non-verbal predicates.

This chapter details the properties and functions of serial verb chaining constructions (SVCs). SVCs have been described (Longacre 1985:239) as a “derivative type” chaining structure, in which all the non-terminal verbs are “stripped down” to stem forms, the terminal verb being the only inflected verb in the series. Examples 5.1 and 5.2 illustrate some Korafe SVCs. In example 5.1, the terminal verb *yasi* ‘go’ has an imperative final form. The other two verbs *sumbu* ‘run’ and *vosi* ‘descend’ are bare stem forms. The subject for all three verbs is understood to be the addressee.

- 5.1 *Sumbu vosi+y-asi!*
 run.I descend.I+go.DUR.IMP-that.say.II
 ‘Go down on the double! (lit. Running, descending, go!)’

Example 5.2 contains two SVCs. The first SVC, in the first line, terminates with a medial verb form, *buvudo* ‘it arrived and’. The second SVC on the third line terminates with a sequence of four verbs which encode a complex event, namely the demolition of a house. It terminates with a final verb.

- 5.2 [*Ambo=da, usegha=i beje buvu-do*]_{SVC 1} [*osinimbe-tiri,*]_{MEDIAL VERB}
 back=LOC flood=CEFF break.I arrive.I-SEQ.SSpull.up.at.roots.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 [*kambo=á du de hunununghe fase-tira.*]_{SVC 2}
 house=that fall.I hit.I disintegrate.I lie.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘Afterwards, a flood broke loose, arrived (at a house site), tore away (the foundations) and that house fell, hit the ground, and disintegrated (into the wreckage that) lay (there).’

The following properties are common to all Korafe SVCs:

- (1) They contain a series of two or more verbs.
- (2) The verbs are ordered iconically, reflecting the order of the events they refer to, or, at least, the speaker’s perception of the order of events.

- (3) The temporal relationships (i.e. sequencing and overlap relationships) between the verbs are not overtly expressed by their structure, as they are by the medial verbs in switch-reference constructions (SRCs).
- (4) Only the terminal verb is inflected, but the scope of its inflection (which includes tense, aspect, mood, subject marking and speech-act value) extends over all the verbs in the series.
- (5) All verbal constituents encode events in which at least one of the referents, usually the one realised as subject, is 'shared'. (The default value for subject referent for the series is assumed to be the one marked on the terminal verb.) In addition to its direct coding on the verb, the subject NP is sometimes referenced by an overt NP.
- (6) Nominal + verb combinations (see §2.6) are regarded as a verbal unit, distributionally equivalent to single verb constituents of the SVC.
- (7) Verbal constituents cannot be embedded by demonstratives and/or postpositions as a complement of another verb in the series.
- (8) Modal particles (e.g. *are, asi, ta, tano, aî*), indicating the speaker's outlook on an event, cannot follow bare verb stems.
- (9) SVCs encode events. The term 'event' is used without a modifier to refer to 'conceptual event' throughout the rest of this work. According to Pawley (1987:335-336), conceptual events are "the meaning of a clause, containing...a kind of action, conceptually simple or complex."¹ It has been noted (Lord 1974:196-197; Bradshaw 1982:28; Foley and Olson 1985:18-22; Sebba 1987:212; Givón 1990b:23,48; Durie 1992:2) that each verb in an SVC can often be considered to express a subpart or aspect of a single overall event, which correlates closely with a complex or episodic event, as defined by Pawley.²

Two basic structural types of SVCs can be distinguished in Korafe:³ (1) **contiguous SVCs** and (2) **non-contiguous SVCs**. **Contiguous SVCs** minimally consist of an uninterrupted sequence of two or more verbs. This contiguous set of verbs follows any nominals and

¹ In his taxonomy of conceptual events, Pawley lists: (1) simple single actions, (2) episodic "sequences of more or less separate acts", or (3) complex events, which lie "between simple and episodic events occupying various points on a scale of complexity". Examples of simple events given by Pawley are: *Bill released the rope; John winked; Mary gave me a slap in the face*. The following sentences exemplify episodic events: *Mary painted a landscape; Bill built his own house*. These examples from Pawley typify complex events: *Bill hit a ball through the window; Fido is fetching his stick; Mary's words made me angry*.

Pawley also lists generic events and events specified for temporal and spatial settings in his taxonomy.

² Pawley (personal communication) notes that an event does not necessarily have an objective unity outside of the speaker's decision to depict it as such.

³ Foley and Olson (1985:57) and Lane and Pawley (1992:4) have also documented a binary split between more closely-knit and more loosely-knit SVCs. Foley and Olson define (1) nuclear and (2) core serialisation of predicates in SVCs, based on a layered conceptualisation of clause structure. Predicates joined at the nuclear layer are juxtaposed. They share all arguments as well as tense, polarity, modality, mood, and illocutionary force and must be under one intonational contour. Predicates joined at the core level also share all peripheral arguments, tense, polarity, modality, mood, and illocutionary force, but they share only one core argument, which may intervene between verbal constituents.

Pawley and Lane differentiate two SVC types for Kalam: *simple SVCs* and *multiscene SVCs*.

modifiers present in the construction. **Non-contiguous SVCs** allow nominals and modifiers to intervene between any two verbs in an SVC.

The term ‘serial verb sequence’ (SVS) is also used to refer to the sequence of verbs, whether contiguous or not, as opposed to the entire SVC.

The main questions that attach to the analysis of SVCs in Korafe (and other languages) are: (1) are some or all SVCs analysed as a single clause, as a reduced clause sequence, or something different from the notions, clause or clause sequence? (2) Are SVSs not only single predicates (if the single clause analysis is chosen), but single lexemes? (3) If entered in the dictionary, how do we describe the role assignment of SVCs? These questions will be taken up in detail in a later section.

5.1 CONTIGUOUS SVCs

Most Korafe SVCs are contiguous SVCs.

5.1.1 PROPERTIES OF CONTIGUOUS SVCs

In addition to the properties of SVCs listed above, contiguous SVCs have the following properties:

- (1) They consist minimally of a series of two verbs, but may contain up to four verbs.
- (2) It is common for the transitive verbs in contiguous SVCs to share the same object referent. The referent of oblique arguments may also be shared.
- (3) NPs and modifiers obligatorily precede the series of verbs.
- (4) The scope of negation obligatorily extends over all verbs in the sequence. The onset of negation is obligatorily marked by *jo* ‘not’ and the terminus by a negated verb form (negative deverbal marked by *ae*).
- (5) Verbal constituents cannot be linked by conjunctions. (The list of conjunctions can be found in Table 8.1.)
- (6) The entire construction is uttered without any perceptible pauses (0.1 second or longer) under a single intonational contour.

5.1.2 EXAMPLES OF CONTIGUOUS SVCs

There are no recorded instances of contiguous SVCs containing more than four verbs. The majority consist of two verbs. Whether this limitation is due to a grammatical rule or to pragmatic constraints is not clearly established. Example 5.3 has a total of nine clauses, each represented by a line identified by a letter. Each clause terminates with a medial verb, except for the terminal one (i), which has a final verb. Five of the clauses (a, b, e, f, g) are SVCs, each with two verbs that are underlined. The verbs in (a), *vose* + *aira* → *vosaira* ‘she went down’ form a compound lexeme.

- 5.3 a. *evetako ai vos+a-ira*
old.woman that.CEFF descend.I+go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS
- b. *munda kosina+voru kosughe-do*
3S.GEN false.skin+sheath take.off.I-SEQ.SS
- c. *fiti vose-do*
put.down descend.I-SEQ.S
- d. *uvu ere-gut-ara*
water IPF-bathe-SEQ.NP.3S.SS
- e. *e-do*
do.I-SEQ.SS
- f. *viti fete-do*
ascend.I stand.I-SEQ.SS
- g. *kosina+voru bu fuge-tiri*
false.skin+sheath get.I throw.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
- h. *uvu=da vose sive-do*
water=LOC descend.I float.away.I-SEQ.SS
- i. *a-ira.*
go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN
'...that old woman went down, she took off her false skin, put it down and went down and washed for a long while in the water and she came up and stood, got the false skin and threw it and it went down into the water and floated and went away.'

In almost every SVC in example 5.3 the verbs jointly share the same set of subject, object and oblique referents that are present. The one exception occurs in clause (c) where the intransitive verb *vose-do* 'descend', by definition, does not share with *fiti* 'put down' its object referent (understood to be *kosina voru* 'false skin'. The subject NP *evetako ai* 'that old woman' is overtly present in (a) only, but its referent persists as subject until the marked switch in reference at the terminus of (g). The object *kosina voru* of (g) is understood to be the referent of the subject of both (h) and (i). The NP *kosina voru* 'false skin' is the object of both verbs in (g). The locative argument, *uvuda* 'in the water', is shared by both verbs in (h).

In 5.4 the initial verb *mind*i 'eat' is transitive with its own object, which the terminal compound verb *ambududuruseri* 'they died' does not share. The scope of the inflection *-seri* (distant past tense, third person plural subject, assertion speech act marker) marked on *ambududuruseri* extends over *mind*i as well.

- 5.4 ...*karaje mindi ambu+dudur-useri.*
salt.water eat.I die.I+fall.II-DP.3PL.AQ
'...they drowned in the ocean. (lit. ...they ate salt water and died).'

In example 5.5 which has three clauses identified by letters and represented by separate lines, the SVC in line (a) has two intransitive verbs, *anumbe* 'sit' and *iriri* 'while she was remaining', which share as subject the NP *gagara* 'girl'. The four verbs in the SVC in line

(c) share the same subject, a third person singular subject marked on the verb *gosiri* ‘while he was seeing’. The first three verbs are intransitive, but *gosiri* is transitive having as its understood object the girl referenced as subject in line (a).

- 5.5 a. *gagara anumb+ir-iri*
girl sit+remain-SIM.R.3S.DS
- b. *nu oju+e-do*
3S fear+do.I-SEQ.SS
- c. *tere junde fete gos-iri...*
enter.I hide.I stand.I see.II-SIM.R.3S.DS
‘...while the girl was sitting, he became afraid, entered, hid, stood,
and while he was looking at (her)...’

Clause c in 5.6 is a two-verb SVC. The scope of the customary tense and the third person singular subject marking extends over both verbs. (It is not obligatory to reference birds with a plural subject marker.)

- 5.6 *Nun=da mamandi,* a. *munju a=va fumb-iari*
3S=GEN offspring egg that=CT lay.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS
- b. *iri-se,* c. *gate sirore-raira.*
remain-SIM.SS peck.I hatch.I-CUST.3S.FN
‘(Regarding the King Parrot) its offspring, it lays eggs, and while they are remaining, they hatch.’

All the verbs in the SVC *de fose jighi borae* in 5.7a share the negative polarity of *borae* ‘not roast (or singe)’. Example 5.7b is ungrammatical, because the negative specifier *jo* does not precede the verbs *de fose* ‘hit and knead’, which are also part of the SVC.

- 5.7 a. *Ne jo ambe de fose jighi bor-ae=ri;*
3PL NEG sago hit.I knead.sago.I hold.I singe.I-not.do=COP.AQ
ne fuka a=va bore-teri.
3PL pig that=CT singe.I-TP.3PL.AQ
‘They didn’t hit, process, hold and roast the processed sago; it was the pig that they singed (he hair off of).’
- 5.7 b. **Ne ambe de fose jo jighi bor-ae=ri;*
3PL sago hit.I knead.sago.I NEG hold.I singe.I-not.do=COP.AQ
*‘They hit, processed, didn’t hold and roast the sago.’

Any verb position (e.g. V_1 , V_2 , V_3) in an SVC may be filled by a nominal + V unit. Thus in example 5.8, the nominal + verbal unit, *kaifa + erenere* ‘care + I am performing at this very moment’, function as the terminal verbal constituent of a contiguous SVC that has *bu* ‘get’ as its other constituent. The particle *ere* ‘here and now’ can only follow final verbs in SVCs terminating sentences.

- 5.8 ...*ã amb-ari+embo=da vasa a=in=da guro=da boraga*
and die.I-INF+people=GEN place that=CEFF=GEN door=GEN bolt

a=va, nane bu kaifa+er-en=ere.
 that=CT 1S.ACT get.I care+IPF-do.PRES.1S=this.CR
 ‘...and it is I that have gotten and am guarding the bolt to the door of
 the place of the dead.’

In example 5.9, the nominal *iji* ‘sun’ functions as an adjunct of *avi* ‘dry’. This nominal + verb unit expresses a routine activity, ‘dry in the sun’. The second verbal unit *feghako arira* ‘it became lightweight’ is a nominal qualifier + verb combination that functions here as a resultative predicate. The *bagoya* ‘mangrove shoot’ is the entity referenced as subject for the combined series of verbal units.

5.9 ...*bagoya a=va... iji+avi feghako+arira.*
 mangrove.shoot that=CT sun+dry.I lightweight.DIM+do.F.3S.FN
 ‘...that mangrove shoot...dries in the sun and becomes lightweight.’

The nominal qualifier + verb (*teria* ‘large’ + *e* ‘do’) behave as a verbal unit in example 5.10 marking the terminus of the negated segment which begins at *jo* ‘not’.

5.10 *Gagara=e jo baji teria ae arira.*
 girl=this NEG grow.I large not.do do.F.3S.FN
 ‘This girl will not grow (and become) big.’

In example 5.11, the action of the waves on the canoe is characterised by four verbs referring to four acts whose temporal relationships are left unspecified. The waves, marked as the effector of change, are almost personified in their actions.

5.11 *Nan=da ghaka eva=i bu feunghe jighi bunununghu-sira.*
 1S=GEN canoe sea.wave=CEFF get.I swell.I hold.I disintegrate.II-DP.3S.FN
 ‘My canoe the sea waves took hold of, swelled over, held fast, and dashed to pieces.’

The default assumption is that the speaker is depicting the events involved in the wreck of the canoe in iconic order. However, the lack of temporal specification allows for the encoding of events that totally overlap as well as events in sequence. Each pair of adjacent verbs in this SVC encodes objective events that could conceivably overlap totally with each other. That means, for instance, that *feunghe* ‘(waves) swell over into the canoe’ could have been positioned before *bu* ‘acquire control over’. However, the speaker assigned the order given above to the four events. (In many serial verb sequences, the speaker does not need to assign the order; it is standardised and available for his or her use.) The lack of explicit temporal marking on verbs in SVCs allows discrepancies between objective order and the speaker’s depiction of events. Because event junctures in SVCs are indistinctly defined, the speaker can weld the entire sequence of events represented by the SVC into an integrated unit.⁴

⁴ In the early 1970s when my husband and I first encountered these Korafe constructions, we called the verb stems *integral action* verb forms to indicate the unspecified, but integrated nature of the bond holding the verbs together in the construction.

5.2 NON-CONTIGUOUS SVCs

Non-contiguous SVCs exhibit material that intervenes between verbal predicates.

5.2.1 PROPERTIES OF NON-CONTIGUOUS SVCs

Non-contiguous SVCs differ from contiguous SVCs in the following ways:

1. They may occur with more than four verbs.
2. Both core and oblique arguments may intervene between verbs.
3. Arguments that follow verbs cannot be considered part of their predicate role frame.
4. Paratactic conjunctions may intervene between verbs.
5. Negative deverbal forms may intervene between verbs when the negative specifier *jo* is not present.
6. Pauses and pause words may occur SVC-internally.

5.2.2 INTERVENTION OF ARGUMENTS BETWEEN VERBS

Core object arguments often intervene between verbs. In example 5.12a, the NP *fuka* 'pig' follows the intransitive verb *vose* 'descend' in the SVC, preceding only the transitive verb *fat-iari*, of which it is the syntactic object.

- 5.12a. a) *Vagho=i vose fuka fat-iari*
 trap=CEFF descend.I pig press.I-SEQ.IR.CUST.3S.DS
- b) *ambu-raira.*
 die.I-CUST.3S.FN
 'The trap comes down and crushes the pig, and it dies.'

Example 5.12b is ungrammatical, because *fuka* is not phonologically separated from the SVC, but it precedes *vose* 'descend', even though it cannot be the object of this one-place predicate.⁵

- 5.12b. a) **Vagho=i fuka vose fat-iari*
 trap=CEFF pig descend.I press.I-SEQ.IR.CUST.3S.DS
- b) *ambu-raira.*
 die.I-CUST.3S.FN
 *'The trap comes down and crushes the pig, and it dies.'

⁵ However, if the argument *fuka* is topicalised, it may precede the verb *vose*. In the example below, it is left-dislocated and marked by *mo*.

Fuka=mo, vagho=i vose fat-iari ambu-raira.
 pig=T/F trap=CEFF descend.I press.I-SEQ.IR.CUST.3S.DS die.I-CUST.3S.FN
 'About the pig, the trap comes down, crushes it, and it dies.'

It would also be possible to have the order *Vaghoi fuka mo* 'Regarding the trap, regarding the pig', as long as there is a phonological juncture between the topicalised segment and the main sentence beginning with *vose* 'descend'.

Some SVCs contain verbal predicates that each have their own object argument. The verbs in example 5.13 are singly underlined, and the objects doubly underlined. The first verb *fati* has as its object *oka* ‘fish’; the second verb *jumbu* has as its object the quantifier *eni* ‘one’, a headless NP, which refers to just one of the previously mentioned fish.

- 5.13 ...*badamu=da oka fati eni jumbu*
 deep.water=LOC fish press.I one pull.I

viti+fo-a...

ascend.I+come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS

‘...let’s strike some fish out in the deep water, pull one in and come (back) up...’

Oblique arguments also intervene between verbs in non-contiguous SVCs. In 5.14, the locative argument *kanda jokáda* ‘in a palm leaf basket’ occurs between *bambu* ‘gather’ and *vendido* ‘put inside’. It is not an argument of *bambu* ‘gather’.

- 5.14 ...*karafe=da bangu bambu kanda joká=da*
 mangrove.swamp=LOC shellfish gather.I palm.leaf.basket inside=LOC

vendi=do...

put.in.I-SEQ.SS

‘...(you) will gather shellfish in the mangrove swamp and put them inside (your) palm leaf basket...’

In 5.15, an instrumental argument, *ghaitoimi* ‘with a pandanus mat’, intervenes between *fiti* ‘put (down)’ and *afurugetero* ‘cover over’ and is an oblique argument of *afurugetero* only. The NP *sasingu* is a direct object of both verbs in the SVC, but *ghaito faforoda* is a locative argument of *fiti* ‘put (down)’ only.

- 5.15 ...*sasingu ghaito faforo=da fiti ghaito=imi afuruge-tero...*
 children mat canoe.platform=LOC put.I mat=CEFF cover.I-SEQ.R.1PL.DS
 ‘...we put the children on the pandanus mat on the canoe platform and covered them with (another) pandanus mat...’

In 5.16 the oblique temporal argument, *amboda* ‘afterwards’, intervenes between two of the predicates in a non-contiguous SVC with five verbs in its chain. The first two verbs *unumbe bu* ‘escort and get’ precede the temporal argument and are not within its scope.

- 5.16 a. *Stephen+Tago noaro=ghae vos-ero*
 Stephen+Tago 3S.wife=COM.D descend.I-SIM.R.3PL.DS
 ‘...while Stephen Tago and his wife were descending,
- b. *unumbe bu ambo=da sumbu viti+f-era...*
 escort.I get.I back=LOC run.I ascend.I+come.DUR-SEQ.PAST.3PL.SS
 the (Alotau welcoming delegation) acted as welcoming partners, received them, and afterwards they ran and came up...’

More than one argument may intervene between verbs in non-contiguous SVCs. In the following example, an object and an instrument intervene between the verbs *vege* ‘grind down’ and *basedo* ‘bore’.

- 5.17 *Keri* *vege* *toka* *kaitaboro=i* *base=do...*
 keribivalve grind.I hole drill=CEFF bore.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘We grind down a keribivalve shell and bore a hole in it with a drill and...’

In 5.18 an object and a locative intervene between the verbs *vose* ‘descend’ and *sandi* ‘catch’. Neither *fuka* ‘pig’ nor *jughuda* ‘underneath the house’ are arguments of *vose* ‘descend’.

- 5.18 ...*gegenembo* *vose* *fuka* *jughu=da* *sandi*
 men.RED descend.I pig underneath.house=LOC catch.I
de *oje-do...*
 hit.I butcher.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘...the men descended, caught the pig under the house, hit and butchered (it)...’

Larger segments such as purpose constructions and relative constructions sometimes intervene between verbal constituents of non-contiguous SVCs. A purpose construction intervenes between *ovenembe* ‘hug the coastline’ and *sembise* ‘go across’ in example 5.19.

- 5.19 ...*nengae* *ovenembe* *Gavide* *fafo=da* *dar-ari=dae*
 3D hug.coastline.I Gavide beach=LOC moor.I=DVB=PUR
semb+i-se...
 cross.I+go.DUR-SIM.SS
 ‘...the two of them hugged the coastline and crossed over in order to moor (the canoe) at Gavide beach...’

A relative clause *bayau mindena* ‘the food that I had been eating’ is embedded as the object of *babarigedo* ‘threw away’ following the verb stem *bune* ‘not know’ in example 5.20.

- 5.20a. *Buv-iri*,
 arrive.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
- b. *bune* [*bayau* *mind-ena*]_{RELATIVE CLAUSE} *aminda*
 not.know.I food eat.I-TP.IS.FN that.T/FCEFF.LOC
babari+ge-do...
 throw.away.RED.I+do.FOC.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘It (the helicopter) arrived, and I not knowing (about it), threw away the food that I had been eating there and...’

Non-contiguous SVCs are not limited to four predicating verbs. Six verbs occur in example 5.21. The NP *bayau* ‘food’ is the object of *vendi* ‘put in’, and the NP *avaraka* ‘fire’ is the object of *use* ‘fan or blow up (the fire)’.

- 5.21 *Fegha* *viti* *kambo* *joká=da* *bayau* *okia=da* *vendi*
 Fegha ascend.I house inside=LOC food claypot=LOC put.in.I
bu *vose* *avaraka* *use* *it-iri...*
 get.I descend.I fire fan/blow.up.I cook.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 ‘Fegha went up into the house and put food into a claypot, got it and went down, got the fire going and cooked it...’

The examples in this section have illustrated a general principle that holds for Korafe chaining constructions. An NP or PP cannot be an argument of any verb that precedes it.⁶

5.2.3 INTERVENTION OF CONJUNCTIONS

Although none of the conjunctions for conjoining clauses may intervene, or follow verb stems in prototypical SVCs, there are a few instances in which a paratactic conjunction links a verb stem with a following verb.

In the SVC labelled (b) in 5.22, the conjunction *ā* ‘and’ joins two segments predicated by *bu simbuge* ‘got and prepared’ and *bambu* ‘gathered’. The object of the first two verbs is *roera* ‘things’, and the object of *bambu* ‘gathered’ is the headless NP *mendeni* ‘some’ which refers anaphorically to the internal head *oka bayau* ‘food’ of the bracketed relative clause which precedes it. The two segments are part of the larger non-contiguous SVC that terminates with the intransitive verbs *jovereghe fera* ‘they turned around and came’.

- 5.22 a. *Namane amingu-se,*
1PL.EXC that.CEFF.T/F.do.II-SIM.SS
- b. *roera bu simbuge, ā [oka+bayau seka u-sira,]*
things get.I prepare.I and fish+food uncooked do.II-DP.3S.FN
mendeni bambu jovereghe fera,
some gather.I turn.around.I come.DUR-SEQ.PAST.1PL.SS
- c. *namane=da kambo=da buvu-do*
1PL.EXC=GEN house=LOC arrive.I-SEQ.SS
- d. *iti inge-do ghe ri-seri.*
cook.I bake.I-SEQ.SS do.again.I eat.II-DP.1PL.AQ
‘While we were doing that, each of us got and packed up our things, and each of us collected some of the food and meat that was uncooked, turned around, came and arrived at our houses, and each of us cooked and baked (the food) again and ate (it).’

In example 5.23, the conjunction *kotugo* ‘and also (lit. like a footprint)’ is doubly underlined. It occurs twice, at the beginning of the SVC and following the initial verb *bu* ‘get’.

- 5.23 ...*kotugo* *sekago etoto bu* *kotugo* *dabade fiti-raera.*
and.also again two get.I and.also together put.I-CUST.1PL.FN
‘...and also we again get two (strands), and also we put (them) together.’

Both uses of the conjunction *kotugo* correlate with fairly long pauses the speaker took while framing what she wanted to say next.

⁶ After final verbs in sentences, NPs or PPs may be tails.

5.2.4 PAUSES

A pause-free intonation contour or rhythm group is associated with contiguous SVCs. By contrast, non-contiguous SVCs that contain conjunctions can occur with pauses, as in examples 5.22 and 5.23. The Korafe editors of the New Testament thought that a comma should be placed between *vose* ‘descend’ and *eva étoda* to signal a pause in example 5.24, taken from Matthew 14:29.

- 5.24 *Peter ghaka=da ghe vose, eva étoda fete*
 Peter canoe=LOC continue.from.I descend.I sea top=LOC stand.I

Iesu=kena i=sira.

Jesus=ALOC go.DUR-DP.3S.FN

‘Peter got down from the boat, stood on top of the sea and went to Jesus.’

The quotation that is itself two sentences long in example 5.25 intervenes between two verbal constituents *sosofe* ‘lick’ and *setiri* ‘she said’ of an SVC. Punctuation marks indicating pauses are positioned after *sosofe*, the vocative *Fono Gimasa*, the command *gi* ‘see (about)’, and the statement *ravira* ‘it is burning’ and the terminal verb of the SVC, *setiri* ‘she said and’.

- 5.25a. *isonga jaká feghe ghaghose oká gae sosofe,*
 midday betelnut husk.I chew.I lime spear.I lick.I

- b. “*Fono+Gimasa, fika gi!*
 Pig.Tusk+Lad mustard.leaf see.I

- c. *Na beka r-av-ira!”*]_{QUOTE} a) *se-tiri...*
 1S mouth IPF-burn-PRES.3S.FN say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 ‘...(a) at midday, she husked a betelnut, chewed it, got some lime (with a
 limestick), licked it, (b) “Fono Gimasa, see about some mustard pepper leaves!
 (c) As for me, (my) mouth is burning!” (terminus of a) she said...’⁷

Pause words enabling the speaker to regroup his or her thoughts, such as *avori* ‘all right’, also intervene between verbal constituents in non-contiguous SVCs. In example 5.26, the speaker uses *avori* ‘all right’ in (b) to signal that he has mentioned all the events required to precede the final activity ‘eating’.

- 5.26a. *faragho eto=da bambu esike fiti-do,*
 firewood top=LOC collect.I move.aside.I put.I-SEQ.SS

- b. *kauva+igi bambu esike fiti, avori bayau dabade*
 banana+leaf collect.I move.aside.I put.I all.right food together

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The segment in this example is part of a legend titled *Guri Fono da Kiki* ‘The Story of Shell Jewelry and Pig Tusk Jewelry’, recorded by Sextus Kainafara in December 1979 in a Village Writers’ Workshop. When Kingsley Seko edited it in February 1992, he changed the verb stem *ghaghose* ‘she chewed’ to the medial form *ghaghosedo* ‘she chewed and’. He dropped the *oká gae sosofe* ‘(she) put her limestick into the lime and licked it’. In its place he put a final verb as the quote formula before the quote: *setira* ‘she said’, removing the quote from being embedded in an SVC.

mind-eri.

eat.I-TP.IPL.AQ

‘... (a) we collected and put to the side the firewood on top (of the mumu), and (b) we collected and put aside the banana leaves, all right, and then we ate the food together.’

5.3 NEGATIVE DEVERBALS IN SVCs

Like final verbs, deverbals, both positive and negative, may be the final verb in chaining structures, as example 5.7) above illustrates. (For an explanation of deverbals, refer to §2.1 and its subsections and §4.6.) In these cases, the negative deverbal links the SVC it terminates to the main clause. In example 5.27, the deverbal joins with the copula *ri*.

- 5.27 *Nunda asug-ari eveva=go eni jo asuge*
3S.GEN clothe-DVB good=CPAR a NEG clothe

fu-r-ae=ri.

come.DUR-EPEN-not.do=COP.AQ

‘He didn’t put on any good clothing and come.’

The whole SVC functions as a very complex nominal expression in combination with *iri* ‘remain’ or *e* ‘do’, as shown in example 5.28.

- 5.28 *Nengae ambo=da jo okia=da bayau iti mind-ae+areva.*
2S.D.COM back=LOC NEG clay.pot=LOC food cook.I eat.I-not.do+do.F.2PL.FN
‘After (this) the two of you will not cook food in a clay pot and eat it.’

When the negative deverbal precedes the verb stems in an SVC, it sometimes functions as an adverbial form expressing manner. The deverbal forms *kotae* ‘not thinking’, *kotae kotae* ‘haphazardly’ and *sembae* ‘mistakenly (lit. not crossing)’ have lexicalised and standardly function like adverbs in Korafe. They can occur without the negative specifier *jo* clause internally.

- 5.29 *Jumbu! Kot-ae fati jumbu!*
pull.I.IMP think.I-not.do press.I pull.I.IMP

‘Haul (it in)! Heedless (of all else), put your weight into it and haul (it in)!’

The main verb is negated in 5.30; the lexicalised manner expression *kotae kotae* ‘haphazardly (lit. not thinking not thinking)’ does not influence it.

- 5.30 *Ghaka digh-ari=da asi ã sagho ava, jo kot-ae+kot-ae*
canoe tie.I-DVB=LOC vine and poles that.CT NEG think-not.do+DUP
bamb-ae+e-raera.
gather.I-not.do+do.I-CUST.IPL.FN

‘Those vines and poles for constructing a canoe (platform), we don’t just gather haphazardly from anywhere.’

In some cases, the negative deverbal preceding verb stems in an SVC functions similarly to a participle. In 5.31, the nominal object and the deverbal, *bayau itae* ‘not having cooked

food', function as an incorporated unit modifying the ellipsed subject referenced on the verb as second person singular.

- 5.31 *Nange-tira-i bayau it-ae fas+e r-av-esi?*
 do.what.I-TP.3S.FN-CEFF food cook.I-not.do lie+do.I IPF-sleep-PRES.2S.AQ?
 'How come you, not having cooked the food, are lying down and sleeping?'

Occasionally, however, the negative deverbal, occurring without *jo*, intervenes in a string of verb stems. The role played by the deverbal in these cases is unclear. Does it form a nominal+verb combination with the verb stem *e* 'do', which is not phonologically distinguishable, and function as a constituent of the SVC? If it does not, is it marking the terminus of an SVC that functions as an oblique manner argument of the following verb or as a participial modifier of the subject? A good example is 5.32, taken from the translation of Luke 13:7.

- 5.32 *Tava+e g-ae, bune jare-do...*
 look.for+do see.I-not.do not.know.I despair.I-SEQ.SS
 'We looked for (it), and not seeing it, we were flummoxed...'

The Korafe men questioned disagreed on how this construction should be viewed, although all of them insisted that a phonological juncture (marked by a comma) occurs at the interface of *gae* 'not seeing' and *bune* 'not know'. The two younger men said that *gae* 'not seeing' should be written *gae e* 'do the act of not seeing'. If the younger men's option is correct, the combination *gae+e* 'not seeing+do' should be a constituent of a contiguous SVC. Why, then, do they assert that a comma is necessary, as if it were a non-contiguous SVC?

The older man adamantly insisted that only *gae* 'not seeing' should be written. With this option, it is necessary to posit two SVCs, the first one being *tava e gae* 'having looked for and not seeing'. Since it is phonologically distinct from *bune Jaredo* 'not know and give up hope', *tava e gae* 'having looked for and not seeing' cannot be a manner argument of *bune* 'not know'. However, it can be an SVC acting as a participial expression that modifies the subject. This option provides a more satisfactory explanation of the construction.

5.4 BONDING AND THE CLAUSAL STATUS OF SVCs

The relationship of the clause to the SVC has long been a matter of debate⁸ among linguists. There is no simple answer to the question. Are they lexemes, predicates, clauses, or something more than a clause? The degree of integration or bonding between verb stems in SVCs can be measured by several variables: (1) the distance between verbal predicates,

⁸ West African language scholars Williamson (1965), Boadi (1968) and Stahlke (1970) posited that some SVCs are derived from multisentence underlying structures, but Schachter (1974:262) proposed that "a verb phrase concatenation" rather than a multisentence underlying structure is all that is necessary. Li and Thompson (1973) saw the possibility of both multiclausal and multiclausal SVCs in Mandarin. Baker's (1989) object-sharing analysis, Schiller's (1989) autolexical semantic syntactic analysis, and Durie's (1992) fused conceptual structure (that follows Jackendoff's linking theory to assign more than one semantic role to an NP) are all attempts to explain a multiclausal analysis, especially of those cases where "each transitive verb in the series has its own object (Schiller 1989:405)."

(2) how many and which argument referents are shared by the predicates, (3) the scope of inflectional categories (such as negation, tense, aspect, mood) in relationship to the sequence of verbs, (4) the lexicalisation status of the verbal sequence, and (5) phonological criteria. On a continuum registering degree of bonding, SVSs that have undergone phonological reduction and are lexical compounds would be at one end and non-contiguous SVCs separated by pauses and/or conjunctions at the other end.

Only a few conventional SVSs have fused phonologically, becoming tightly integrated lexical compounds. These include posture + *iri* 'remain' combinations 5.33a and direction verb + motion verb sequences 5.33b.

5.33a.	<i>fasa+e</i>	+	<i>irira</i>	→	<i>fas+ir-ira (fasirira)</i>
	recline+do	+	remain-PRES.3S.F	→	recline.do+remain-PRES.3S.FN
	'recline'		'she is remaining'		'she is lying down'
5.33b.	<i>vose</i>	+	<i>a-ira</i>	→	<i>vos+a-ira (vosairira)</i>
	descend.I	+	go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN	→	descend.I+go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN
	'descend'		'he went'		'he descended'

Quite a number of conventional SVSs recur in Korafe and are utilised as standard expressions for regularly associated events, e.g. *se ningi* 'discuss (lit. speak hear)' and *kote do* 'forgive (lit. think leave off)'. They can be considered compound lexemes. Mostly combinations of two verbs, some of these compound lexemes encode semantic notions, such as (1) postural states, (2) directional movements, (3) manner+motion, (4) perception-communication, and (5) cultural routines. Other compound lexemes have developed a syntactic relationship in which the final stem has become an auxiliary verb to the initial lexical one. These convey superlative performance of an action, comprehensive-completive events, and the conative mood. These lexically and grammatically fixed expressions having an SVC format are more fully explicated in §9.1.

The prototypical SVC that Lane and Pawley (1992:6) posit, building on earlier work by Bradshaw (1982:28) and Crowley (1987:38, 1990:60-61) does not manifest any clause-internal boundaries. Their list of characteristics includes the following points:

- (1) the two or more verbs that are constituents of SVCs do not contrast in their inflections,
- (2) overt morphemes such as coordinators, subordinators or switch-reference markers do not occur,
- (3) there is no intonational evidence of clause boundary,
- (4) core arguments (actor and undergoer) are either identical or the undergoer of the first verb becomes the actor of the next,
- (5) in some instances, the scope of negation and adverbs extends over the entire sequence of verbs.

Foley and Olson (1985:56-57) specify the nature of argument relationships in SVCs in more detail. In nuclear layer serialisation, the sequence of verbs is joined in a complex predicate with one set of arguments. Core layer serialisation joins verbs together that have in common the set of oblique arguments and one of the core arguments. Their definition of the

clause as “a grammatical structure consisting of one and only one non-composite periphery” encompasses SVCs joined at both nuclear and core layers.

Non-contiguous SVCs do not qualify as prototypical SVCs, because they do occur with coordinators, and because pauses and pause words intervene between verbal constituents. Some of them do not meet Foley’s and Olson’s criteria; they have independent peripheries. For instance, in example 5.34, two locations are involved. One is stated in the previous clause as *ofo ofo* ‘the verandas’ where the addressees are situated when they get (*bu*) the firebrand.

- 5.34 *Sifo eni,* a. *avaraka bu* b. *vose*
 day one fire get.I descend.I
 c. *dendegu* *ominda* *use-vu!*
 village.courtyard that.CEFF.T/F.LOC blow.up.I-IPM.2PL.AQ
 ‘One day, get a firebrand (from the fire), get down (from your verandas) and
 get the fire going there in the courtyard.’

The second is encoded by *dendegu ominda* ‘there in the courtyard’, the place the addressees are instructed to move to.

Contiguous SVCs by and large do qualify as prototypical SVCs, some being joined at the nuclear layer, illustrated by example 5.35, and others at the core layer, as in example 5.36.

- 5.35 ...*na fuka=imi gambu fiti do=do...*
 1S pig=CEFF.T/F bite.I put.I leave.I=SEQ.SS
 ‘...a pig bit me, put (me) down and left (me)...’

In example 5.36, *sirige* ‘launch’ is transitive and has *ghaka* ‘canoe’ as its object, but *sembojighera* ‘they came across’ is intransitive and shares its subject referent only with *sirige*.

- 5.36 ...*ne ghaka sirige semb+oji+gh-era...*
 3PL canoe launch.I cross.I+come.NDUR+position-SEQ.PAST.3PL.FN
 ‘...they launched the canoe and came across...’

In both of the above examples, each verb contributes its full lexical meaning to the construction; the intransitive combination *sembojighera* does not gain an object, but just is meshed with the transitive predicate in a series of events whose borders are left indistinct. It is possible to convert the verb stem *sirige* to a medial verb *sirigedo*, distinguishing more clearly the temporal relationship between the transitive predicate and the intransitive compound lexeme without changing the basic meaning of the sequence.

Some contiguous SVCs terminate with a verb expressing an aspect. For example, the verb *dadabe* ‘finish’ contributes a comprehensive completive meaning when it combines in a serial construction such as *mind dadabe* ‘utterly consume (lit. eat finish)’.

- 5.37a. *Na bayau mindi dadabe-teni.*
 1S food eat.I finish.I-TP.1S.AQ
 ‘I totally consumed the portion of food I was given.’

The Korafe cannot change the sequence to 5.37b.

- 5.37b. **Na bayau mindi-do dadabe-teni.*
 1S food eat.I-SEQ.SS finish.I-TP.1S.AQ

The Korafe response to 5.37b is laughter. The closest meaning that could be assigned to it is: *I ate food and I terminated*. However, animate entities die (*ambu*); they do not terminate (*dadabe*). The lexical verb sequence is acceptable in example 5.37c which contains a different subject medial verb + verb and encodes the perfective aspect.

- 5.37c. *Na bayau mind-eno dadabe-tira.*
 1S food eat.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS finish.I-TP.3S.FN
 'I have finished eating.'

In example 5.37a, the verb stem + *dadabe* has fused to the point where its meaning as a unit, 'I totally consumed my allotted portion of food' differs from the meaning of its parts, 'I eat' and 'I finish'. However, the SVC combinations in example 5.35 and 5.36 do not evidence this level of fusion; the meaning of the unit does not differ from the meaning of its parts. Syntactically, the verbs in 5.37a belong to one clause, but in 5.37c, they belong to two clauses. The semantic difference between casting the verbs in an SVC or in an SRC (switch-reference construction) is that the SRC makes explicit the temporal relationship between the events encoded by the verbs. Whereas in the SVC (5.37a) the focus is on the fact that the food portion was totally consumed, the focus in the SRC (5.37c) is on finishing the act of eating.

What is the clausal status of constructions manifesting core serialisation in which each of the verbal predicates has its own object? Do they operate as fused units like the aspectual SVC in 5.37a? In 5.38, the axe (*oto*) is the object of *bu* 'get', but the ellipsed object, *jambura* 'dugong', is the understood object of *je basiseri* 'they gashed and bored'.

- 5.38 ...*oto bu je basi-seri.*
 axe get.I gash.I bore.II-DP.1PL.AQ
 '...we got an axe and bashed (the dugong) breaking its skin.'

Foley and Olson (1985:44) cite a similar example in Barai, which is given as example 5.39.

- 5.39 *Fu burede ije sime abe ufu.*
 3S bread DEF knife take cut
 'He cut the bread with a knife.'

They suggest (p.44) that the use of *abe* 'take' in this Barai example is "basically a valence-increasing device; it introduces an instrumental argument into the core frame". They posit two role frames for the lexical entry assigned to *abe*: [A,U] and [A,U,I]/V_t. They note that predicates in SVCs bond together forming a complex nucleus to which the entire set of arguments must relate as a unit.

It is not clear in Korafe that the use of *bu* 'get' in these cases is basically a valence-increasing device, introducing an instrumental argument into the core frame. It is often juxtaposed with transitive verbs in Korafe when the resultant combination does not involve an instrumental reading. Examples like *nu oto bu mutira* 'he got the axe and gave it', or *nu ghamana bu gira* 'he got the rock and looked at it', or *nu oto bu vegetira* 'he got the axe and sharpened it' are all possibilities.

The verb *bu* appears to contribute its full lexical value to the SVC sequence in the same way as its corresponding medial form *budo* does to the SRC medial verb sequence, which is multiclausal and preserves separate role frames for the verbs. Instruments can be marked by *i* or *imi* without occurring with the verb *bu*. And the verb *bu* can have as its syntactic object an instrument marked by *imi*. Examples 5.40a and b use the same lexical sequence as 5.38.

5.40a. ...*genembo gi-do,* *goroba a=imi* *afe gae-do,*
 man see.I-SEQ.SS spear that=CEFF.T/F throw.I spear.I-SEQ.SS

ã ghamana a-imi *bu-do* *je bas-ari*
 and rock that=CEFF.T/F get.I-SEQ.SS gash bore.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS

amb-ari...

die.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS

‘...the man sees (the wallabies hopping) and he throws spears and impales them and gets rocks and gashes and punctures (the wallabies with them) and they die...’

The version given in 5.40b is a revision of 5.40a, made by a Korafe editor. It uses customary medial forms, a shortened version of the effector of change marker *i* and the verb stem *bu* in place of the medial form *budo*.

5.40b. ...*gi-do,* *goroba=i* *afe gae-do,* *ã ghamana=i bu*
 see.I-SEQ.SS spear=CEFF throw.I spear.I-SEQ.SS and rock=CEFF get.I

je bas-e-ari *amb-e-ari...*
 gash.I bore.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS die.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS

‘...the man sees (the wallabies hopping) and he throws spears and impales them and gets rocks and gashes and punctures (the wallabies with them) and they die...’

The verb sequences used in 5.40 represent the standard event schema the Korafe use to describe hunting and killing wallabies. In example 5.40a, the object *ghamana* ‘rocks’ is marked by *aimi* ‘with that’ and serves as the object of the medial form, *budo* ‘get’ and the understood instrument of *je basari* ‘he will gash and puncture’. The use of the fuller marking *aimi* places extra focus on the instrument. In 5.40b, the use of the short form of the effector of change marker *i* without a demonstrative places less emphasis on the instrumental argument. When the instrument is unmarked and merely functions as the object of *bu* ‘get’, as in example 5.38, the verb it occurs with represents an event that is slightly more individuated and less integrated with the following events than its marked counterpart. The verb sequence *bu je basiseri* ‘they got, gashed, and bored’ terminates example 5.38, but the sentence that follows it in the narrative begins with the sequence, *Je basetero*, without *bu*. The omission of *bu* in the recapitulated segment suggests that it may not be bound as tightly to *je basiseri* as the latter two verbs are bound to each other.

Durie (1992:48-51) also notes that some SVCs appear to allow for multiple thematic role assignments. Like Foley and Olson, he prefers a solution using semantic notation in the lexicon to just “permitting multiple role assignments and saying nothing more”. His solution preserves the integrity of the original role frame for the instrumental verb. He assumes that an argument can bear different semantic roles simultaneously and employs

Jackendoff's⁹ notational system to illustrate the conceptual structures available to TAKE. Durie initially assigns TAKE (*bu* in Korafe) the PATIENT role it has with *oto* 'axe'. He then argues that this structure assumes an INSTRUMENTAL role in the overall configuration of the conceptual structure of the SVC (*oto bu je basiseri* in Korafe). Thus, he argues for a fusion of "the argument structures, allowing for an integrated set of semantic roles".

Applying Durie's solution to Korafe would greatly increase and complicate the entries in the lexicon. One would have to apply this instrumental analysis to quite a number of verbs, e.g. *afe* 'throw', *bambu* 'gather', *keve* 'carve', *dighi* 'tie', *tendi* 'lash' as well as *bu* 'get', which themselves occur with many different verbs in SVCs.¹⁰ However, if we allow that the lexicon can be as large as the lexicographer chooses, what are the criteria determining entries? Do we want discontinuous verb sequences to count as lexemes? The alternate strategy Durie mentions—"permitting multiple role assignments"—seems preferable for Korafe.

Fusion of predicate frames seems impossible in cases where Korafe non-contiguous SVCs exhibit switches in subjects as well as the switches in objects. Switches in subject reference that are not overtly coded by the verbal morphology may occur in: (1) cases of referential overlap, (2) constructions expressing physiological and psychological responses, (3) changes of temporal, spatial, and circumstantial settings, and (4) cases where distinct verbal predicates encode perception and the perceived entity. Referential overlap is exhibited in example (5.41). The subject shifts from *na* 'I' to *nangae* 'we two' between *vose* 'I descend' and *mindorasi* 'let's us two eat, that was said!'

- 5.41 a. *na* *viti* b. *jegha=ó* *bu* c. *vose* *nangae*
 1S ascend.I pandanus=that get.I descend.I 1DU.COM

mind-or-asi!

eat.I-H.1PL-that.say.II

'I will climb up and get the pandanus fruits, climb down and let's eat them the two of us (repeated quotation)!'

Although no shift in subject reference is indicated at *fange* 'open' in example 5.42, the subject *Ghebu Mose* is not the subject of *ateira* 'it dawned', *sifo* 'day' is. In fact in this change of temporal setting, the two verbal predicates do not share any argument referents.

- 5.42a. *Ghebu+Mose* *diti* *fange*
 ghebu.tree+young.lady eye open.I

⁹ Jackendoff (1990) restricts role-doubling by determining which θ -role is dominant in the bound complex of θ -roles (the entire set available to the SVC). The fused set of θ -roles for an individual verb (also termed its fused conceptual structure) arises from the role structures it evidences in its lexical entries.

¹⁰ Schiller (1989:415) notes that "so many verbs can take instrumental oblique objects that it would seem that most transitive verbs should be treated as triadic". He suggests freely permitting instrumental complements for transitive verbs and requiring lexical licensing for directional and goal complements. Durie (1992:46) himself notes that Kalam also manifests proliferation of "instrumental verbs".

- b. *sifo ate-tira.*
 day dawn.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘Ghebu Young Lady opened her eyes (and) day dawned.’

In example 5.43, the girl is understood to be the subject of *ere* ‘she arose’, but she has no role in the event encoded by the following predicate, *sandi aviri* ‘they grabbed and slept’ (a euphemism for having sexual relations). She just sees it.

- 5.43 ...(*gagara*) a. *ere*,
 girl arise.I
 b. *noi sandi av-iri*]SVC *gi-do...*
 3S.mother grab.I sleep-SIM.R.3S.DS see.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘...the girl arose and saw he was sleeping with her mother...’

Such subject shifts mirror the apparent anomalies that the switch-reference system exhibits and are more fully discussed in Chapter 7. These examples with their distinct sets of arguments appear to be multiclausal like the switch-reference examples they mirror.

Thus, Korafe data appear to “permit multiple role assignments” in some SVCs. These SVCs are defined by having one or more of the following characteristics:

- (1) embedded clauses and quotations (examples 5.20 and 5.25) intervene between verb stems,
- (2) pauses, pause words, and conjunctions occur,¹¹
- (3) the verbal constituents themselves indicate shifts in location and temporality or have separate role frames that characterise peripheral or clausal junctures (Foley and Olson 1985:56-57). (For Korafe examples, see examples 5.16 and 5.34.)

When the entire set of Korafe SVCs, both contiguous and non-contiguous is accounted for, the continuum registering the degree of bonding of verb sequences extends from fused lexical verb compounds to clauses and complex constructions that appear to be more than one clause. As Lane and Pawley (1992:19) suggest, “there is no natural break between multiclausal and single-clause constructions, only a continuum of types”. Most SVCs fit Foley and Olson’s typology which extends the single-predicate clause to accommodate a multilayered clausal approach, in which the SVC has only one role frame. However, not all Korafe SVCs fit within these single clausal limits. Some, like the switch-reference constructions, are joined at the peripheral layer. The deviations from prototypical SVCs that non-contiguous serial verb constructions manifest are indicative of their ambiguous position between monoclausal SVCs and multiclausal SRCs. They have the morphology of SVCs, but syntactically and phonologically, they often manifest multiclausal features.

¹¹ The occurrence of pauses and pause words tends to correlate with clause boundaries in Korafe, although not all Korafe clauses are bordered by pauses and thematic NPs and PPs can be bordered by pauses. Givón (1990b:44-46) suggests similar findings for Tok Pisin, Tairora, and Kalam. The latter two are Papuan languages in the Eastern Highlands and Madang Provinces respectively.

5.5 SOME NOTES ON GRAMMATICISATION IN KORAFE SVCs

It is possible that some of the SS medial verbs have arisen in a grammaticisation process involving serial verbs that have been reanalysed as grammatical functors. (Refer to §2.2.) The verb stems *do* 'leave off' and *se* 'say' are either homophonous with the markers of sequencing and overlap relations indicated on terminal verbs in marking clauses or they have grammaticised as the markers of these relationships. Given that the entire Binandere family uses the same lexical verb stems to encode these relationships, grammaticisation is feasible. (Refer to footnotes 13 and 15 in Chapter 2.) SS sequencing medial forms appear to be combinations of stem I or stem II forms of verbs with *do* 'leave off', e.g. *sedo* 'say and', *gembudo* 'weave and', *avido* 'dry and', *sido* (*yarena*) '(I will go along) repeatedly saying and'. The verb stem *se* 'say' apparently combines with stem II forms of the verb, yielding SS simultaneous medial verb forms, such as *sise* 'while saying', *gefuse* 'while weaving', and *avise* 'while drying'.

Unlike African languages which have reanalysed verb stems as markers of object and case roles and as complementisers (Lord 1993:9-213), verb stems in Korafe, for the most part, have not grammaticised as case role markers. As was discussed in the previous section, the verb stem *bu* 'get' has not grammaticised, becoming solely an instrument marker. It still contributes its full lexical value to SVCs in which it is a constituent.

However, the verb *ghe* has several senses, some of which are ‘grammatical’. The verb *ghe* can mean ‘move from’ or ‘continue doing’. Its aspectual use in encoding iteration at irregular intervals and/or sequences of events performed as a habitual routine is discussed in §9.2.4.1.2. Together with the locative postposition *da* or placenames, it also encodes the notion of source, occurring in both SVCs (as *ghe*) and SRCs (as *ghedo*). This is illustrated by the combination *sekarada ghe* ‘(move) from the coral head’ in example 5.44. The postpositional phrase, *sekara dengesida* ‘beside the coral head’, illustrates the inessive locative use of *da*.

- 5.44 ...*evetako-i* *sekara=da* *ghe* *buvu-do*
 old.woman-CEFF coral.head=LOC move.from.I arrive.I-SEQ.SS
 sekara *dengesi=da* *anumb+ir-iri...*
 coral.head side=LOC sit+remain-SIM.R.3S.DS
 ‘...the old woman emerged from the coral head reef rock and while she
 was sitting next to it...’

Although Korafe does not have any verb stems that have grammaticised as the indicator of cause, iconically ordered verb sequences have the potential for encoding cause-and-effect relationships. Example 5.45 illustrates one of the instances where an SVC manifests this relationship. The stones used as the house's foundation are both the object put in place (*fiti*) and the subject of the verb *vitira* 'it ascended'.

- 5.45 *Dobo=da tutumbi=mo, ghamana=i fiti vit-ira.*
 shelter=LOC post=T/F rock=CEFF put.I ascend.I-TP.3S.FN
 'As the foundation (posts) of the house, the stones (that) he put in position
 piled up (on top of each other).'

However, switch-reference constructions (SRCs) are normally used to encode this relationship in Korafe, because cause and effect situations commonly involve a switch in subject in which the object referent of the initial predicate becomes the referent of the subject in the following predicate. In 5.46 an SRC with the predicates *jighiri ambesi* ‘(who) performed (sorcery on you) and you died?’ expresses cause and effect.

- 5.46 *Ni ave jigh-iri amb-esi?*
 2S who hold.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS die.I-TP.2S.AQ
 ‘Who worked sorcery on you and you died?’

This question is addressed to a dead spirit at an inquest into the circumstances of his death.

5.6 WHY DOES KORAFE HAVE TWO CHAINING CONSTRUCTIONS?

The Korafe utilise chaining constructions (SVCs and SRCs) to streamline their accounts of events. Members of the Korafe community share in many common cultural routines, which they represent in event schemata with standard sequences of lexical verbs. These sequences may be compressed into SVCs under certain conditions. Under other conditions, each verb in the sequence may predicate a clause in an SRC. The use of these familiar sequences provides an automatically retrievable unit which frees both speaker and addressee to focus on the novel aspects of the particular discourse. NPs and inflections can be stripped from these structures because of syntactic cooccurrence restrictions. Demonstrative-based conjunctions are by and large not needed, because chaining sequences *ipso facto* are temporally conjoined, following the iconic ordering of the events represented.¹²

But why have two chaining systems, SVCs and SRCs?¹³ Bruce (1986:26) answers that question by noting that Alamblak restricts SVCs to “those [event sequences] which express culturally determined commonly associated events”. He adds, “any sequence of events may be talked about in juxtaposed clauses [which he illustrates with an SRC], but not every sequence of events may be described by a serial construction.” Reesink (1987:144-147) concludes from his study of Usan verb sequences that “stripped-down” SVCs merely “tie two verbs mentally closer together than would be the case when these events were expressed by full medial verbs”.

The answer for Korafe lies somewhere in between Bruce’s and Reesink’s perspectives. Korafe SVCs and SRCs certainly can be constructed using the same verbal lexemes. The recurrent verb sequence *buje base* ‘get, gash and puncture’ with medial verb and verb stem variations was discussed above in examples 5.38 and 5.40. The verbal sequence in 5.47a and b also contains close to the same sequence of verbs: (1) processing the raw material (be it flooring or wall boards) [*keve* ‘shave off’ or *je* ‘chop’], (2) getting it [*bu*], (3) coming [*fu*]

¹² Even so-called ‘simultaneous’ medial verbs are positioned within the sequence according to the iconic ordering of the events they represent. Overlap is rarely total in Korafe, so these events too have their niche on the time-line before they overlap with another event. For further discussion, see §11.2.3.

¹³ Part of the answer is, of course, built into the grammar. One must use an SRC to encode a change of subject (excepting the apparently anomalous cases, detailed in Chapter 7). However, the use of SS SRCs vs. SVCs does involve the kind of choices we are treating in this section.

and (4) lashing it [*tendi*]. However, the packaging of 5.47a differs from 5.47b. In 5.47a, two SVCs occur with the following verbal components: *keve bu fera* ‘they shaved (off the bark) and brought it (lit. get-they came)’ and *fuge tenduduseri* ‘they threw (it down) and lashed (it in place)’.¹⁴

- 5.47a. ...*taima=da ofo keve bu f-era*
 bush=LOC flooring shave.I get.I come.DUR-PAST.SEQ.IR.3PL
fuge tendud-useri.
 throw.I lash.II-DP.3PL.T
 ‘...in the bush they shaved off the bark of the flooring, brought it, threw it
 (onto the joists) and lashed it securely.’

Only the standardised expression *bu foama* ‘they brought (it)’ is an SVC in example 5.47b; all the other verbs have medial or final forms. Nevertheless, the sequence involving processing of materials and using them in housebuilding is common to both examples.

- 5.47b. ...*ne yavarara je-do bu fo-ama bauva*
 3PL yavarara.wood chop.I-SS.SEQ get.I come.DUR-SS.SEQ.IR wall
tendi-do ghu-seri.
 lash.I-SS.SEQ continue.II-DP.3PL.T
 ‘...they repeatedly chopped down yavarara wood for boards, brought it, and
 lashed it as the walls.’

The use of a medial verb or a verb stem is primarily a matter of staging. However, staging decisions must reflect the realities of the situation. The switch-reference system, using the inflected medial verbs introduced in Chapter 2, allows the speaker to specify the temporal relationships between verbs (either overlap or sequence). SVCs do the opposite. Because the verbal constituents of SVCs do not specify temporal borders or overlap relationships, the events they represent can blend into a unit taking the focus off the stems as individual events and presenting the SVC as a complex, but integrated event.¹⁵ The SRC example in 5.48b does not reflect the same level of event integration as the SVC in example 5.48a.

- 5.48a. *Nan=da ghaka eva=i bu feunghe jighi*
 1S=GEN canoe sea.wave=CEFF get.I swell.I hold.I

¹⁴ The motion-orientation verbs, *iri* ‘remain, stay, live, exist’, *fu* ‘come, be in motion’ and *i* ‘go’ have unique status in Korafe. They obligatorily occur as medial verbs, so they can never occur SVC-internally. Thus, the structure of Korafe generally does not permit the speaker to encode a minimal discourse as an SVC with the components Pawley (1993:112-114) documents for Kalam. Kalam hunting and gathering verb sequences regularly include the following components: *move* → carry out activity (e.g. killing game, cutting pandanus nuts, breaking fire wood) → *move* → carry out activity (i.e. cook and eat game or nuts, make fire), unlike ‘go’ and ‘come’ in Kalam. Because Korafe uses medial verbs to encode motion events, it does not usually encode mini-discourse schemas in SVCs.

¹⁵ Li and Thompson (1973:99) note the integrated unspecified nature of the Mandarin Chinese serial verb chaining structures, stating that the addressee must infer the nature of the temporal link (e.g. overlapping or consecutive) between verbs from his or her knowledge of the world and the speech-act context.

bunununghu-sira.

disintegrate.II-DP.3S.FN

'My canoe the sea waves took hold of, swelled over, held, and made it come apart.'

- b. *Nan=da ghaka eva=i bu feunghe jigh-iri*
 1S=GEN canoe sea.wave=CEFF get.I swell.I hold.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS

bunununghu-sira.

disintegrate.II-DP.3S.FN

'My canoe the sea waves took hold of, swelled over, and held, and (afterwards) it disintegrated.'

I would rather have been in the canoe mentioned in 5.48b than the one in 5.48a. In 5.48a, the disintegration of the canoe is inextricably tied up with the destructive activity of the waves; the canoe never makes it home. Because the action of the waves is distinguished by the DS medial verb *jighiri* 'it held and' from the destructive effect on the canoe, example 5.48b can be interpreted to mean that the canoe made it back to shore before it disintegrated.

Staging decisions reflect the cultural groupings of events. Example 5.49a is taken from a culture book. The medial verbs single out events that are considered individually significant by the author, such as the commencement of the feast preparation and the building of the trellis. Food preparation activities, making sago cakes and securing the pig are grouped together.

- 5.49a. *Kirumo tuturo+e-do isia+bondo dari-do fafara*
 feast begin+do.I-SEQ.SS taro+display.trellis secure.I-SEQ.SS sago.cake

fofonghe fuka sandi ningoningo+e-do...

fashion.I pig grab tether+do-SEQ.SS

'We begin feast (preparations) and put up securely a taro display trellis, and then we fashion sago cakes, catch and tether the pig...'

In many cases, the staging is a matter of the personal preference of the speaker. When asked, Bensted Kephana affirmed that the verb stem form *fofonghe* 'work sago' could be changed to the medial verb form *fofonghedo* in the above example. But he suggested that if the one change were made, it would be better to change the medial verb *darido* 'moor' to the stem form *dari*. This change would group the building of the food display trellis with the production of sago cakes.

- 5.49b. *Kirumo tuturo+e-do isia+bondo dari fafara*
 feast begin+do.I-SEQ.SS taro+display.trellis secure.I sago.cake

fofonghe-do fuka sandi ningoningo+e-do...

fashion.I-SEQ.SS pig grab.I tether+do-SEQ.SS

'We begin feast (preparations), and we put up securely a taro fashion sago cakes, and then display trellis and we catch and tether the pig...'

Thus, routine, commonplace complex events whose constituents do not need to be separately focused on are compressed together in SVCs. The speaker highlights noteworthy

events or ones that deviate from the norm by coding them in medial verb form. Most Korafe SVCs consist of familiar collocations that signal event sequences that are routinely linked to each other in the Korafe cultural *Weltanschauung*. It seems that the speaker retrieves these collocations from his memory store¹⁶ at will and plugs them in his discourse in much the same way as he does single medial verbs.

¹⁶ The question then arises: are all SVCs lexemes? Or is there more to being a lexeme than being a unit in the memory? As §5.4 points out, not all SVCs have the full set of characteristics of lexemes, in spite of the fact that they may be memorised units. We'll return to this question in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 6

SWITCH-REFERENCE CONSTRUCTIONS (SRCs)

This chapter describes switch-reference constructions (SRCs). A switch-reference construction is a chaining construction consisting of two or more clauses (or bases). The terminal clause in an SRC is headed by a single final verb or an SVC that terminates with a final verb, which is preceded by one or more clauses, each headed by a single medial verb or an SVC that terminates with a medial verb. Example 6.1 is an SRC with six bases, annotated (a–f), the first five terminating in medial verbs, the last consisting of a final verb.

- 6.1 a. *Se-teno*
say.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS
- b. *Alphonesesira*
Alphoneses go.DUR.SEQ.PAST.3S.SS
- c. *oka+gua=da* *fiyogha* *bu-do*
fish+stonefish=GEN medicine get.I-SEQ.SS
- d. *fira* e. *jumb-iri* f. *tukughu-sira.*
come.DUR-SEQ.PAST.3S.SS pull.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS cease.II-DP.3S.FN
- (a) ‘I spoke, and (b) Alphoneses went, (c) got the treatment for stonefish (stings), (d) came, (e) applied (it to my wound), and (f) (the pain) ceased.’

As described in Chapter 2, a final verb is a finite verb form inflected for absolute tense, aspect, mood, person and number of subject, and speech-act value. It is the only verb in the SRC chain that is grounded temporally and modally in the speech-act situation. It is often syntactically independent.

Unlike verb stems in SVCs, medial verbs are inflected verb forms. They specify temporal and referential (in terms of identity or non-identity of subject reference) relationships which hold between two clauses: the ‘marking clause’ that the medial verb predicates and the next clause, which is called its ‘reference clause’.¹ Each medial verb within an SRC has its own

¹ In Korafe, the reference clause obligatorily follows the marking clause, except in constructions involving purpose and other embedded constructions.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the terms *marking clause* and *reference clause* are used by Haiman and Munro (1983:xii). Others (Comrie 1983:23; Stirling 1993:4; Roberts 1988b:49) use the term *controlling clause* rather than *reference clause*.

I prefer the term *reference clause* to the term *controlling clause*, which implies that the *marking clause* is subordinate to the *controlling clause*. Verbs agree with their subject NP in person and/or number; they do not control it. In the same way, the switch-reference system monitors the coreferentiality status existent between marking clause and reference clause and indicates it by \emptyset or overt marking. The reference clause does not control the marking clause, as cases of referential overlap and ‘apparently anomalous’ switch-reference illustrate. These cases are discussed in Chapter 7.

Because medial verbs can be temporally distinguished from each other, manifesting their own tense or location in time relative to that of the next verb in the chain, medial verbs joined in SRCs can each be considered to predicate clauses, manifesting peripheral layer juncture.³ Although SRCs are multi-clausal, their constituents exhibit features that characterise core juncture. It is common for clauses in an SRC to share a core argument and a common location. The two clauses in example 6.2 share the core argument *fuka* ‘pig’, object in the first clause and subject in the second.

- There are no overt NPs in the clause labelled (b), even though *fuka* ‘pig’ is understood to be the subject. It is common to find terminal clauses in SRCs with no NPs.

Tense is defined as the "grammaticalised expression of location in time" (Comrie 1985:9). In Foley and Van Valin's (1984:188-197, 208-223) layered view of the clause, they see tense as a "peripheral-layer operator" functioning "much like the peripheral setting NPs like temporals or locatives". If we accept Foley and Olson's (1985:57) claim that "constructions formed with peripheral junctures correspond to more than one clause", then switch-reference constructions are multiclausal.

In the general literature on SRCs, much ink has been spilled trying to sort out whether switch-reference relationships are between coordinate or subordinate clauses or something in between. (See Haiman 1980, 1985; Reesink 1983, 1987; Roberts 1988b; Finer 1985a,b.) The problem lies with the definitions of coordination and subordination. Coordination involves (1) the linking of units of the same rank, and (2) units that are constituents at the same level of constituent structure. Subordination involves (1) embedding: placing one unit as a constituent in another superordinate unit, and (2) hypotaxis: “grammaticalising the nucleus-satellite relations” (Matthieson and Thompson 1988:317).

Korafe links units of different rank together in SRCs. In other words, the medial verbs are syntactically **dependent** on the final verb for their tense and modal orientation. But all the verbs in the series have the same function, namely predicating clauses in an SRC. They function together much like a team in a tug-of-war. The last person on the team line may be tagged with a red sock dangling from his pocket, so that if he is pulled over the line, the referee knows the contest is over. Even though he plays this important signalling role, this anchorman is still just one of the members of the team.

Although medial verbs are syntactically dependent, they each predicate a clause and serve as a base in an SRC, just as the final verb does. They are not embedded in the clause which the final verb predicates. Thus, Foley (1986:177) describes SRCs as ‘*coordinate-dependent*’ structures, a description which fits Korafe SRCs.

Just as medial verbs depend on the terminal verb syntactically, so terminal clauses are often semantically dependent on preceding clauses for the specification of the referential identity of ellipsed NP arguments. NPs identifying referents are often positioned in SRCs: (1) initially as a left-dislocated theme, (2) in the clause where they first have a syntactic role, or (3) in the clause in which they first appear as subject. After their introduction, NPs tend to be ellipsed in subsequent clauses as long as their identity is recoverable and there is no pragmatic reason for reinvoking them. The result of such ellipsis is often an almost uninterrupted string of verbs. Only three overt NPs are found in example (6.3), which contains five medial verbs and one final verb, and one of the NPs is a deverbal nominal construction (*jore fugari katogo*) formed from two verbs: *jore* and *fuge*.

- 6.3 ...*ne* *gae-tero* *a-iri*,
 3PL spear.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS go.NDUR-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 they speared and (the line) went, and
- gae-tero* *oji-gh-iri*
 spear.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS come.NDUR-do.till-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 they speared and (the line) came, and
- jore* *fug-ari+kato=go* *iri*
 bend.I throw.I-DVB+much=CPAR do.SIM.R.3S.FN
 while acting as if breaking and throwing
- ainda* *joká=da* *buv-eri*.
 that.CEFF.GEN inside=LOC arrive.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 inside that (group) they arrived

‘...they (the dance leaders) spearheaded forward movement and (the line) went, they spearheaded forward movement, and (the line) came (back), and while they were moving (vigorously loosening up their limbs) as if they were breaking and throwing them, during that (dance practice time), they (the story’s protagonists) arrived.’

This ‘string of verbs’ structure allows Korafe speakers to focus on the temporal sequence of events.

6.1 ON THE TERM ‘SWITCH-REFERENCE’ AND THE RANGE OF FUNCTIONS PERFORMED BY SRCs

The term *switch-reference* by no means indicates the full range of functions encoded by Korafe medial verb chaining constructions.⁴ In addition to referential marking, all Korafe medial verbs are overtly marked to signal either a sequencing or an overlapping temporal relationship between the marking and reference clauses. Maintaining an isomorphic temporal relationship between the clauses in SRCs and the events encoded by them is of primary importance. Thus, the marked temporal relationships are not tampered with, but Korafe speakers often allow the referential system to register false coreferential subject values, as will be illustrated in Chapter 7.

Haiman and Munro, eds (1983:ix-x) observe that “switch-reference appears exotic”, because the referencing system is attached to the verbs, when one expects it to be attached to the arguments themselves. However, in Korafe, the term *switch-reference* is used for a system that does more than subject referencing. The Korafe switch-reference system appears to monitor a range of semantic relationships (e.g. temporal, subject referencing, cause–effect in some instances) between clauses. Therefore, it is not surprising that the marking is on the verb, which is the head of the clause.⁵

⁴ The term *switch-reference* was originally coined by Jacobsen (1967:240) to signify “a switch in subject or agent...obligatorily indicated by a morpheme...which may or may not have other meanings.” It should be noted that Jacobsen also described coreferential relationships between NP subjects in adjacent clauses, encoded by invariable morphemes in Washo and other North American Indian languages. Roberts (forthcoming: 30–41) tallies the number of Papuan languages in his sample with invariable morphemes indicating coreferentiality of subject (SS) at 82 and non-coreferentiality of subject (DS) at 63. These include Anggor, Boiken, Fasu, Fore, Gahuku, Gadsup, Kalam, Tairora, and Amele. He also indicates (forthcoming: 9, 10, 18, 99) several that are not marked for person, but only for prior or overlap temporal relationships. These include Dadibi, Bahinemo, Sanio, Golin, Sinasina and Rumu as well as the Austronesian languages, Takia, Gedaged and Bilbil.

⁵ Stirling (1993:11, 136, 317) believes that the semantic domain of switch-reference is the clause. She states: “Rather than seeing switch-reference as a way of ensuring certain indexing relations between NPs, I propose that we see it as giving information about the clause, via giving information about the verb”. She agrees with Evans, who rejects the suggestion that switch-reference is ‘weird’ because it violates categorial iconicity. She continues with a quote from Evans (1988:239): “I believe switch-reference...should be seen as providing information about clauses rather than nominal arguments”.

Roberts (1988b:75) argues “that SR, as it is exhibited in Papuan languages, is not primarily a syntactic device like reflexivisation or verb agreement for indicating nominal reference, but rather its main function is that of a thematic device for linking sentences in text formation, and that coreferencing certain nominals across clauses is included in, but subsidiary to, this basic function”.

Haiman and Munro (1983:xii) are also puzzled that a “reference clause is never subordinate to a marking clause”. From a Korafe perspective, this fact is consistent with the temporally iconic relationship that holds between clause sequences in SRCs. It is logical to assume that the marking clause which signals a prior event could become presupposed information for the subsequent event signalled by the reference clause. As long as the clauses are iconically ordered, the temporally subsequent reference clause can never be subordinate to the temporally prior marking clause.

In spite of its focus on its referential function, the term *switch-reference construction* is used throughout this work, because it is the term commonly associated in linguistic descriptions with chaining constructions that have inflected medial verb forms predicating their sentence-internal bases. It should be kept in mind that SRCs primarily indicate the temporal and referential relationships that clauses expressing events have with each other.

6.2 HOW CLAUSES IN SRCs OPERATE TOGETHER

Clauses in SRCs are knit together in the following ways:

- (1) they occur in a sequence which is isomorphic with the sequence of events they encode;
- (2) they can be linked only by those conjunctions which either maintain the temporal iconicity of the events they represent or encode alternation or addition of events that totally overlap and hence can be reversed;
- (3) the verbs predicating them agree in status (realis or irrealis);⁶
- (4) they share the propositional value (asserted as valid or desirable or neutral with regard to assertion) of the terminal clause;
- (5) negation can be limited to one clause, or it can extend over several clauses, so any number of them can share the same polarity; and
- (6) those clauses that are predicated by SS medial verbs share the same subject referent; argument sharing also may occur between clauses marked with a DS medial verb and the following reference clause.

Bonding between medial verbs is also illustrated by instances in which they are gapped. Bonding between a pair of SRCs at their interface is accomplished by ‘tail-head linkage’. The first five properties as well as gapping and ‘tail-head linkage’ are explained in this section (6.2). Section 6.3 deals with referential tracking.

⁶ Foley and Van Valin (1984:213) borrow the term *status* from Whorf (Carroll 1956) and use it to refer to the actuality of the event. Although status often is conceived as a binary distinction between realis and irrealis, they suggest that real, necessary, probable, possible, and unreal are on a continuum between realis and irrealis poles. In this work, the term *status* is used to indicate the binary distinction between realis and irrealis that constrains tense sequencing in the Korafe switch-reference system.

6.2.1 GROUNDING IN SRCs AND CONCORD RULES

In order to encode events in their ‘real’ or iconic order, SRCs must mark both relative temporal relationships between events and the absolute temporal and modal relationship they have with the speech-act situation.⁷ Final verbs terminating SRCs express tense-aspect-mood and the speaker’s modal orientation by means of 12 tense-aspect-mood paradigms, related to the speech-act time. Medial verbs are interpreted as having a ‘tense’ relative to the tense of the subsequent verb. Thus, each event signalled by a medial verb in the SRC is oriented to the speech-act situation by its mediated or direct relationship with the final verb. (The morphological forms of all the verbs listed in this section are presented in detail in Chapter 2.)

A well-defined system of tense sequencing or concord rules governs the correspondences between these medial and final sets. Any SS medial verb (other than durative sequencing SS forms) can occur with final verbs marked for any tense or mood. Example 2.34a-c illustrating tense correspondences with a same subject medial verb is repeated below as 6.4a-c.

6.4a. *Nu nati=da buvu-do na tamb-ira.*
 3S village=LOC arrive.I-SEQ.SS 1S find.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘He arrived in the village and found me.’

6.4b. *Na nati=da buvu-do nu tafu-seni.*
 1S village=LOC arrive.I-SEQ.SS 3S find.II-DP.1S.AQ
 ‘He arrived in the village and found me.’

6.4c. *Na nati=da buvu-do nu tamb-arena.*
 1S village=LOC arrive.I-SEQ.SS 3S find.I-F.1S.FN
 ‘I will get to the village and find him.’

As for DS medial paradigms, the concord rules and their formation rules divide them into two separate groups: (1) DS medial verbs marked for *realis* status, that occur with final verbs in present and past tenses, and (2) DS medial verbs marked for *irrealis* status, that occur with final verbs expressing events projected to happen, events that happen on a customary or habitual basis or negated potential events. Examples 6.5a-d illustrate the concord between DS and final verbs in two SRCs with *realis* status and two with *irrealis* status.

6.5a. *Nu nati=da buv-iri g-eni.*
 3S village=LOC arrive.II-SEQ.R.3S.DS see.II-TP.1S.FN
 ‘He arrived in the village and I have seen him.’

⁷ According to Langacker (1991:I-11, 12), “a process is grounded by being situated in time and reality relative to the speech act. In the absence of grounding, a process has no specific status in this regard, even a processual instance involving definite participants. An ungrounded instance can be conceived as occupying any position in time and as being either real or imagined...Its ungrounded character follows from the lack of tense and modality since these are the grounding predications for a finite clause”.

6.5b. *Nu nati=da buv-iri gosu-seni.*
 3S village=LOC arrive.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS see.II-DP.1S.AQ
 'He has arrived in the village and I saw him (a few days ago).'

6.5c. *Nu nati=da buv-ari g-arena.*
 3S village=LOC arrive.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS see.I-F.1S.FN
 'He will come to the village and I will see him.'

6.5d. *Nu nati=da buv-ari g-aeteni.*
 3S village=LOC arrive.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS see.I-CFAC.1S.FN
 'He should come into the village and I should see him.'

The *realis* medial forms accord with final verbs having tense-oriented TAM suffixes. The *irrealis* medial forms accord with final verbs that for the most part express a modal orientation. However, for convenience, the TAM marker used for indicating *realis* and *irrealis* forms is labelled 'relative tense' marking here.

The relative tense marking that Korafe DS medial verbs exhibit is limited to two *realis* paradigms and six *irrealis* paradigms, as Table 6.1 illustrates.

TABLE 6.1: FIRST PERSON FORMS OF DS MEDIAL PARADIGMS

Sequencing:	Realis: stem I + <i>-eno/-éteno</i>	Irrealis: Future: stem I + <i>-ono/-aono</i>
Simultaneous:	(stress falls on syllable that precedes suffix) stem II + <i>-éno</i>	Customary: stem I + <i>-éono</i> Negative Hortative: stem I + <i>-eóno</i> Future: stem II + <i>{-uru}+ -ono</i>
		Customary: stem II + <i>{-uru}+ éono</i> Negative Hortative: stem II + <i>{-uru}+ eóno</i>

Of the two *realis* paradigms, one signals a sequencing relationship between the verb it marks in the marking clause and the following reference clause, and the other an overlap relationship.

Like the *realis* paradigms, the *irrealis* DS medial paradigms distinguish sequencing and simultaneous temporal relationships. They are additionally differentiated by three sets of markers that can be labelled: (1) general *irrealis* (or future), (2) customary, and (3) negative hortative.

Table 6.2 shows the correspondences between DS verb forms in the marking clause (third column) and final verb forms in the reference clause (fourth column).

TABLE 6.2: KORAFE DS MEDIAL-FINAL VERB ‘TENSE’ SEQUENCING

		DS Medial ‘Tense’	Final Verb T-A-M
Realis	SEQ NDUR	Today’s past- <i>o</i>	Present Today’s past Near past Yesterday’s past Distant past Enduring past
	SEQ DUR	Near past- <i>o</i> [+IPF] → Enduring past- <i>o</i> [+IPF]	Present Today’s past Near past Yesterday’s past Distant past Enduring past
	SIM	Present- <i>o</i> [-IPF]	Same as above SEQ sets
Irrealis	SEQ and SIM {- <i>uru</i> }	Future (Hortative- <i>o</i>)	Future Hortative Imperative Counterfactual Customary ⁸ Habitual VPs Negative Hortative Deverbals
		Customary (Enduring past?- <i>o</i>)	Customary ⁸ Habitual VPs
		Negative Hortative	Negative Hortative

For example, a sequencing non-durative medial verb having a today’s past form that terminates with *-o* (rather than *-i* or *-a* which would make it a final form) can occur with final verbs having present, today’s past, near past, yesterday’s past, distant past, or enduring past tense forms. The abbreviations used are: DS different subject, T-A-M tense-aspect-mood, SEQ sequencing, SIM simultaneous/overlapping, DUR durative, NDUR non-durative, and IPF imperfective.

The *realis* medial forms accord with final verbs having tense-oriented TAM suffixes. Any DS realis medial form (other than near past forms) may occur with any realis final verb, present or past tenses. The near past medial verb forms occur only in sequences with final verbs marked for present, today’s past and near past tenses. As for the general irrealis

8

When they are questioned, Korafe speakers declare that customary medial forms should be used with the customary final verb and the habitual complex terminating with a final form of *ghe* ‘do again’. In practice, however, they use both the irrealis future and customary medial forms in conjunction with SRCs that terminate with customary or habitual verb forms.

or future medial forms, they may occur with the entire set of irrealis final verbs. The DS medial customary paradigm is restricted in its distribution to occurrence with final verbs marked for customary aspect or verb complexes that indicate habitual aspect. The DS negative hortative paradigm occurs only with final verbs marked for negative hortative mood.

All languages⁹ in the Binandere family except Baruga have similar tense correspondences to those listed in Table 6.2 for Korafe. To illustrate the similarity in tense correspondences that languages in the Binandere family exhibit, Suena tense correspondences are compared with Korafe sets. Examples illustrating the sequencing of events having realis status are given in 6.6 (Suena) with 6.7 (Korafe), and examples illustrating the temporal overlap of events having no realis status in 6.8 (Suena) and 6.9 (Korafe). Irrealis sets are compared in 6.9 (Suena) and 6.10 (Korafe).

In 6.6 the Suena today's past tense paradigm is used sentence-medially to encode a sequencing relationship between the marking clause and the reference clause. The reference clause is predicated by a final verb in each of the following tenses: present (6.6a), today's past tense (6.6b), yesterday's past (6.6c) and past (6.6d).

- 6.6a. *Pot-ena* *susaw-ia*.
 give.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS go.II-PRES.3S.INDICATIVE
 'I gave it and he is going.'
- 6.6b. *Pot-ena* *bam-ia*.
 give.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS go.I-TP.3S.INDICATIVE
 'I gave it and he went. (today)'
- 6.6c. *Pot-ena* *bamu-taya*.
 give.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS go.I-YP.3S.INDICATIVE
 'I gave it and he went. (yesterday)'
- 6.6d. *Pot-ena* *bamu-sia*.
 give.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS go.I-PAST.3S.INDICATIVE
 'I gave it and he went. (past)'

The examples in 6.7 give the Korafe equivalents for the Suena examples in 6.6.

- 6.7a. *Mut-eno* *er-ira-re*.
 give.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS IPF-go.DUR.PRES.3S.FN-CR
 'I gave it and he is currently going.'
- 6.7b. *Mut-eno* *a-ira*.
 give.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN
 'I gave it and he went. (today)'

⁹ Capell (1969:26) lists four tense-aspect DS medial verb forms for Binandere: present encoding simultaneous with all the past tenses, general past yielding sequential relationships between the marked clause and the reference clause, future with future tense, and habitual aspect with habitual/customary final verbs. Korafe and Binandere medial verbs terminate in -o (-i for third person singular). Suena (Wilson 1974:42-49) also restricts the 'tenses' that may occur in medial position, but the Suena medial verbs have exactly the same form as the final verbs.

- 6.7c. *Mut-eno* *i-muta.*
 give.I-SEQ.R.IS.DS go.DUR-YP.3S.FN
 'I gave it and he went. (yesterday)'

- 6.7d. *Mut-eno* *i-sira.*
 give.I-SEQ.R.IS.DS go.DUR-DP.3S.FN
 'I gave it and he went. (two or more days ago)'

Unlike Suena medial verbs, Korafe DS medial forms exhibit a difference between their terminal vowel (*-o* (*-i* for 3S))¹⁰ and the terminal vowels used in the final verb sets (*-a* for non-past sets, *-i* for past sets (*-u* for 2PL and *-a* for 3S)). Although Korafe DS medial forms are not as transparently similar to the final forms as Suena ones are, the form still appears as if it is the today's past paradigm that is interpreted in a relative sense and used medially. Just as the today's past tense directly precedes the speech-act moment and is limited in duration, so the similarly marked medial verb signals an event that precedes that of the following verb and is not durative. The DS medial form *muteno* 'I gave and...' corresponds to *muteni* 'I gave' (today's past form for final independent verbs) and *mutena* 'I gave' (for final dependent verbs).

Likewise present tense final verb forms appear to be used as the basis for DS simultaneous realis medial forms to signal temporal overlap between marking and reference clauses. The full present tense form *pupinona* 'I am getting' in Suena appears to be used as the medial form as well. The Korafe DS simultaneous medial forms (e.g. *rur-eno* 'while I am/was getting') lack the imperfective morpheme {*ere*} and differ in final vowel from the present tense final form *ere-rur-ena* 'I am getting'.

SUENA:

- 6.8a. *Gi* *pupi-nona* *pu susaw-ia.*
 spear get.II-SIM.R.IS.DS pig go.II-PRES.3S.INDICATIVE
 'While I'm getting the spear, the pig is running (away).'
- 6.8b. *Gi* *pupi-nona* *pu bam-ia.*
 spear get.II-SIM.R.IS.DS pig go.I-TP.3S.INDICATIVE
 'While I was getting my spear, the pig went (away). (today)'

¹⁰ This distinction may shed some light on the development of the Korafe medial verb forms. Haiman (1983:126) suggests that DS forms in some languages arose from a combination of the VERB + PERSON, yielding a subordinate verb form that is indifferent to switch-reference, to which was added either a nominaliser or a conjunction. (Korafe still has a few sets of medial verbs that are homophonous with the dependent final verb forms: the same-subject sequencing realis durative [span] verb forms.) Korafe speakers index switch of subject reference by adding a final *-o* post-verbally to the 'tense' forms that are used to convey realis or irrealis correspondences. Possible sources of this *-o* are the distal demonstrative 'that, away from speaker and hearer' or the disjunctive conjunction *o* 'or', used in polar questions and other bi-polar alternations. The Korafe demonstrative *o* is a nominaliser, and the disjunctive *o* is a conjunction. Clauses embedded by demonstrative topic markers function as arguments in the subsequent clause, but medial verb clauses do not function as arguments of subsequent reference clauses. Therefore, one can hypothesise that it was probably the disjunctive conjunction *o* 'or' that became the signal of switch-reference, because it was used so regularly with the dependent final verb that fusion has eventuated. It seems appropriate to indicate discontinuity of subject with a disjunctive conjunction.

6.8c. *Gi* *pupi-nona* *pu* *bamu-taya*.
 spear get.II-SIM.R.IS.DS pig go.I-YP.3S.INDICATIVE
 ‘While I was getting my spear, the pig went (away). (yesterday)’

6.8d. *Gi* *pupi-nona* *pu* *bamu-sia*.
 spear get.II-SIM.R.IS.DS pig go.I-PAST.3S.INDICATIVE
 ‘While I was getting my spear, the pig went (away). (past)’

KORAFE:

6.9a. *Gika* *rur-eno* *fuka* *er-ira=re*.
 spear get.II-SIM.R.IS.DS pig IPF-go.DUR.PRES.3S.FN=CR
 ‘While I’m getting my spear, here the pig is going away.’

6.9b. *Gika* *rur-eno* *fuka* *a-ira*.
 spear get.II-SIM.R.IS.DS pig go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN
 ‘While I was getting my spear, the pig went (away). (today)’

6.9c. *Gika* *rur-eno* *fuka* *i-muta*.
 spear get.II-SIM.R.IS.DS pig go.DUR-YP.3S.FN
 ‘While I was getting my spear, the pig went (away). (yesterday)’

6.9d. *Gika* *rur-eno* *fuka* *i-sira*.
 spear get.II-SIM.R.IS.DS pig go.DUR-DP.3S.FN
 ‘While I was getting my spear, the pig went (away). (two or more days ago)’

The immediate future or hortative paradigm is used to indicate events that directly follow the speech-act moment and precede the ‘normal’ future tense. The related DS paradigm set of irrealis sequencing forms precedes final verbs in the future tense as well as imperative, counterfactual, hortative, and positive and negative deverbal forms. As examples 6.10 and 6.11 show, Suena exhibits an *e* vs. *a* distinction (*potane* ‘let me give’ vs. *potana* ‘I will give and...’), and Korafe an *e* vs. *o* distinction (*mutone* ‘let me give’ vs. *mutono* ‘I will give and...’).

SUENA:

6.10 *Pot-ana* *bayamuno-ya*.
 give.I-SEQ.IR.IS.DS go.I.F-3S.INDICATIVE
 ‘I will give (it), and he will go.’

KORAFE:

6.11a. *Mut-ono* *bu-do* *y-arira*. (FUTURE)
 give.I-SEQ.IR.IS.DS get.I-SEQ.SS go.I.F-3S.FN
 ‘I will give (it), and he will go.’

6.11b. *Mut-ono* *bu-do* *y-asi!* (IMPERATIVE)
 give.I-SEQ.IR.IS.DS get.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-IMP.S
 ‘When I give it, get it and go away.’

6.11c. *Mut-ono* *bu-do* *y-aetesi*. (COUNTERFACTUAL)
 give.I-SEQ.IR.IS.DS get.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-CFAC.2S.AQ
 ‘When I give it, I would like you to get it and go.’

- 6.11d. *Nanda mandi, mut-ono b-ase?* (HORTATIVE)
 IS.GEN boy give.I-SEQ.IR.IS.DS get.I-H.2S.CR
 'My son, (do you want) me to give it to you so that you might have it?'

- 6.11e. *Jo mut-ono b-ae aresa.* (NEGATIVE)
 NEG give.I-SEQ.IR.IS.DS get.I-not.do do.F.2S.FN
 'I will not give it to you. (lit. I will not give and you will not get (it).)'

Although this DS irrealis paradigm occurs as well in SRCs that terminate with verbs manifesting the customary paradigm or the habitual clause complex, Korafe purists aver that the customary medial set should be used with SRCs that terminate with a customary final verb form or a habitual construction.

- 6.12 *Mandi nunda bayau muteono sikuru=da*
 boy 3S.GEN food give.I-SEQ.CUST.IS.DS school=LOC
y-a+ghe-raira.
 go.DUR-SEQ.DUR.SS+do.again.I-CUST.3S.FN
 'I give (my) son his lunch, and he goes to school (on a regular basis).'

There is also a medial set of negative hortative forms, which is only used with SRCs terminating with negative hortative final forms.

- 6.13 *Erá eóvo, dara re-f-ua*
 NEG:IPF.do.SEQ.IR.SS do.SEQ.NEG.H.2PL.DS trouble IPF-come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
tamb-eüre!
 find.I-NEG.H.3S.CR
 'Don't do it lest trouble come repeatedly and find (your doorstep).'

Simultaneous DS irrealis medial verb forms are differentiated from sequencing DS irrealis medial verb forms by the addition of the exocentric imperfective morpheme {-uru} which follows the stem II form of the verbs.

- 6.14a. *Nu nati-da buvurutu-r-urari, gi-do, ne isambu*
 3S village-LOC approach.II-EPEN-SIM.F.3S.DS see.I-SEQ.SS 3PL all
ategi+areva.
 greet+do.F.2PL.FN
 'As he is approaching the village, all of you will greet him.'

- 6.14b. *Abua-mane nati-da buvurutu-r-ureoro gi-do,*
 grandfather-PL village-LOC approach.II-EPEN-SIM.CUST.3PL.DS see.I-SEQ.SS
avia-mane sorara+e-do+ghu-seri.
 grandmother-PL cry+do.I-SEQ.SS+do.repeatedly.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 'While our grandfathers would be approaching/were approaching the village (after working at a plantation for six months or more), our grandmothers would cry/cried.'

The SS non-durative sequencing and simultaneous medial verb forms as well as those encoding rhythmic iteration do not manifest the realis/irrealis distinction and are used freely in SRCs terminating with final verb forms in all tenses and moods. However, the durative

sequencing sets do maintain the irrealis-realism distinction and must agree in status with the final verb terminating the SRC.

- 6.15a. *Nu f-oa na-moá g-arira.*
 3S come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS 1S-T/F.D1 see.I-F.3S.FN
 'He will come and see me.'
- 6.15b. *Nu oj-ira na-moá g-ira.*
 3S come.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS 1S-T/F.D1 see.I-TP.3S.FN
 'He came and saw me. (today)'
- 6.15c. *Nu f-ira na-moá gosu-muta.*
 3S come.DUR-SEQ.PAST.3S.SS 1S-T/F.D1 see.II-YP.3S.FN
 'He came and saw me. (yesterday)'
- 6.15d. *Nu f-ira na-moá gosu-sira.*
 3S come.DUR-SEQ.PAST.3S.SS 1S-T/F.D1 see.II-DP.3S.FN
 'He came and saw me. (two or more days ago)'

It is ungrammatical to mix irrealis and realis DS medial and final verbs in one SRC. Co-ranking structures terminating with final verbs must be used instead. Thus example 6.16a using a medial verb form is ungrammatical; one must use a structure with a final verb form (6.16b).

- 6.16a. **Datu digh-ero e-do, ghaeko eninda*
 marriage.arrangements tie.I-TP.3PL.FN do.I-SEQ.SS year another.LOC
fit-arera.
 marry.I-F.3PL.FN
 'They have confirmed the marriage arrangements and they will marry next year.'
- 6.16b. *Datu digh-era ava se-do, ghaeko eninda*
 marriage.arrangements tie.I-TP.3PL.FN that.CT say.I-SEQ.SS year another.LOC
fit-arera.
 marry.I-F.3PL.FN
 'They have confirmed the marriage arrangements, therefore they will marry next year.'

6.2.2 OPERATION OF ONE PROPOSITIONAL VALUE OVER SRCs

The SRC functions as a sentential unit, either as a presupposition¹¹ or as a proposition with illocutionary force. In the latter case, only one illocutionary act is performed when the SRC is uttered. This illocutionary act can be either (1) a statement, (2) a question, or (3) a command. An SRC cannot contain both a statement and a command, as some co-ranking

¹¹ The term 'presupposition' is used here to refer to something the speaker assumes as given for the context in which he or she makes his utterance. This pretheoretical definition is basically pragmatic, opposing presuppositions with assertion. It is not a 'semantic' notion, defined in terms of truth-conditions, opposing presuppositions with entailments (Lyons 1977:600).

sentences do. The same interactive features that indicate the illocutionary force of a simple sentence illustrate the illocutionary force of an SRC. These features (discussed in §4.7) are reviewed here and illustrated.

- (1) The SRC can contain one and only one dependent or independent final verb, marked by a speech-act-value marker, {-i}, -a, or -e in accordance with the specifications given in §2.3.3.
- (2) The frequency and amplitude contours in the rhythm group(s) assigned to the SRC follow the patterns illustrated in §4.7 and its subsections for statements, content questions, commands, and polar questions or they terminate with a falling rising intonation contour which characterises presuppositional material. Pauses can occur SRC internally.
- (3) Only one modal particle (or two tag words, e.g. *ai tefo* ‘yes no?’) can occur at SRC terminus; they cannot occur SRC internally. Only one evaluative word, such as *avose* ‘perhaps’, may occur sentence-initially or after the subject NP in the initial clause. Pause words, such as *avori* ‘all right’ can occur several times in an SRC.

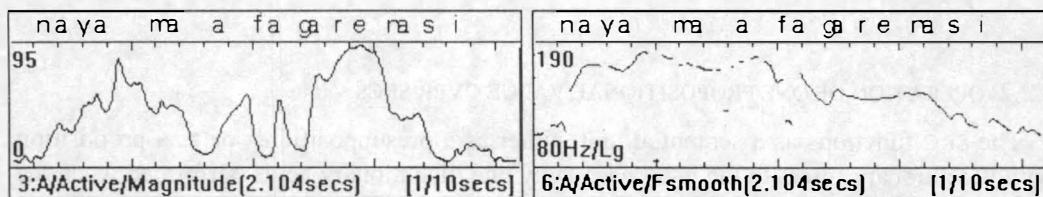
The following SRC has the illocutionary force of a statement. The epistemic modal *asi* ‘thus said’ occurs at its terminus. It contains two clauses, which fall under the scope of one rhythm group with five intonation contours: (1) *na* (2) *ya-ma* (3) *a-* (4) *-fa* (5) *ga-re-na-si*.

6.17 *Na y-ama afa g-aren-asi.*
 1S go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS.EMP father see.I-F.1S.FN-that.say.II
 ‘I will go and see father, that was said!’

In auditory analysis, the *a* in *afa* ‘father’ was considered to be the accented syllable in the utterance. In the instrumental analysis, however, the *ya* in *yama* ‘(I) will go’ was the longest syllable at 318 milliseconds, the loudest syllable in the first clause at 83.3(-1.6dB), and was given the highest pitch in the utterance: 178.5 Hz. The *a* in *afa* was given the highest pitch in the second clause: 172.5 Hz. The *re* in *garenasi* ‘I will see, that was said’ was the loudest syllable in the utterance at 93.0(-0.6dB) and the longest syllable in the second clause, enduring 226 milliseconds.

BK Amplitude contour for 6.17

Frequency contour for 6.17



An interrogative pro-word and the use of the speech-act-value marker {-i} on the final verb in the SRC obligatorily mark content questions as questions. Only one interrogative pro-word occurs in SRCs that are content questions, and it is placed in the clause (initial, medial or final) which contains the focal material being queried. In example 6.18, the pro-word *rejo* ‘what’ occurs in the initial clause, and the verb marked for hortative mood exhibits a final *e*→*i* shift.

- 6.18 *Afa, na rejo=á bu-do re-r-ia*
 father 1S what.SPEC=that get.I-SEQ.SS IPF-eat.II-SEQ.IR.SS
foká+ari=dae s-aoni=ta?
 excrement+do.DVB=PUR say-H.1S.AQ=CEXP
 ‘Dad, whatever is it that I have eaten that I would say (I wanted) to defecate?’

In example 6.19, the interrogative pro-word *redae* ‘why’ occurs in the final clause.

- 6.19 *Ni aminge si-se, redae bouvu na=mo=kena*
 2S do.thus.I say.II-SIM.SS why heaviness 1S=T/F=ALOC
fifit-er-esi?
 put.II-IPF-PRES.2S.AQ
 ‘While you are speaking thus, why are you placing the responsibility on me?’

If the final verb in 6.19 were indicating that the sentence has the illocutionary force of a statement rather than a content question, its form would be *fifiteresa* ‘you were placing’.

Although the final clause of an SRC may not contain the focal element questioned, it still contains the only verb in the SRC marked with the speech-act value for content questions. In example 6.20, the interrogative pro-word *rejo* ‘what specifically’ occurs as the object of the initial clause that terminates with a medial verb *fugeteso* ‘you threw and’.

- 6.20 *Ni rejo fug-eteso sino r-ise gangara+re-s-i?*
 2S what.SPEC throw-DS.SEQ.R.2S dog eat-SS.SIM growl+IPF-say-PRES.3S.AQ
 ‘What did you throw that while the dog is eating (it), he is growling?’

The nominal+verb combination *gangara resi* ‘is he growling?’ is the only verb that is marked to indicate that example 6.20 is a content question. Even though this particular clause does not have any constituent being questioned, it carries the speech-act value that indicates the illocutionary force of the entire sentence. If it were marked as a statement, it would be *gangara resira* ‘he is growling’.

6.2.3 OPERATION OF NEGATION IN SRCs

Of the co-ranking and chaining sentence constructions in Korafe, SRCs are the only type that allows several negative bracketing options. Negative bracketing structures may be manifested: (1) within one clause in the chain, (2) by a few clauses together, or (3) by the entire lexical series in the chain, other than the auxiliary verb terminating the sentence.

The two markers of negation, namely the negative focus marker *jo* ‘not’ and the negative deverbil: stem I of verbs and *ae* ‘not doing’ usually bracket the segment within which negation holds.¹² Each medial verb in the chain defined by the negation markers is interpreted as sharing the irrealis status and negative polarity of the negative deverbil which terminates the chain.

¹² In SVCs verbal predicates must lie within the scope of *jo* and the negative deverbil; negation of one verbal constituent does not occur with *jo*. Bases in co-ranking structures must be individually negated.

The negative deverbal is a nominal form that is primarily used in SRCs in combination with an auxiliary verb, either *e* ‘do’ or *iri* ‘remain’. The auxiliary *e* ‘do’ is used to encode a sequencing temporal relationship between marking and reference clauses, and a form of *iri* ‘remain’ encodes a simultaneous or overlap temporal relationship between the two clauses.

In example 6.21 with the SS medial form of the auxiliary verb *edo* ‘do’, both the marking clause with the negated segment and the reference clause coreference the same referent as their subject.

- 6.21 ...*a jo tumond-ae e-do mundaе jivivus-eteri*.
 that NEG believe-not.do do.I-SS.SEQ 3S.BEN swearing+say-TP.3PL.AQ
 ‘...they did not believe that, and they swore at him.’

A sequencing relationship marked by *etiri* ‘he did and’ also obtains between the marking and reference clauses in example 6.22, but the marking clause with its DS medial verb form differs from the reference clause as to its subject referent.

- 6.22 ...*jo totoi fu-r-ae e-tiri, evetu nu kote-tira...*
 NEG quickly come-(r)-not.do do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS woman 3S think.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘...he didn’t come (back) quickly, and the woman thought...’

Overlap or simultaneous relationships are conveyed by the negative deverbal in conjunction with a medial form of *iri* ‘remain’ (6.22).

- 6.23 *Na nange yaru eni gat-ae ir-eno at-eti?*
 1S do.what.I song a select.I-not.do remain-SIM.R.1S.DS dawn-TP.3S.AQ
 ‘How come I remain not having selected any song while it has already dawned?’

The negative focus marker *jo* is missing from the above example; just the negative deverbal *gatae* ‘not select’ occurs. When there is a strong possibility that the non-event can be reversed, the *jo* can be omitted. The speaker selected a song and sang it immediately after the words given in example 6.23 were uttered.

The combination (negative deverbal + *iri* medial form) provides a strategy for circumventing the iconic order restriction that SRCs adhere to. It is acceptable to say in Korafe, *while X still remained not having happened, before that...* In example 6.24, a simultaneous medial form is juxtaposed with a temporal conjunction that encodes anteriority.

- 6.24 *John jo siror-ae ir-iri ainda giti=da,*
 John NEG born-not.do remain-SIM.R.3S.DS that.CEFF.GEN initial.part=LOC
noi kae eko beká tafu-sira.
 3S.mother poison bad true find.II-DP.3S.FN
 ‘Before John was born, his mother was very sick. (lit. While John was remaining not born, before that, his mother encountered very bad poison.)’

I do not have a good explanation for why a simultaneous medial form can be juxtaposed with an anterior conjunctive expression. Certainly the enduring state of affairs conveyed by *jo sirorae iriri* ‘while he remained not having been born’ totally overlaps with the mother’s period of illness. Perhaps the temporal conjunction is used because it is relating the time of

the mother's illness to John's birth, which is certainly a reality at the speech act encoding time.

In examples 6.21, 6.22, 6.23 and 6.24 above, the scope of negation does not extend beyond one clause. Contrasting with them, examples 6.25 and 6.26 contain SRCs in which several, but not all, bases share a negative polarity. In each case, the negative SRC is linked at its negative deverbial terminus to a base in another SRC, which does not have negative polarity. As 6.25 illustrates, the negative SRC terminating with the deverbial form *gae* 'not see' is linked to *irise* 'while remaining' and linked by *irise* to the other SRC which terminates with the final verb *dadabetira* 'it finished'. The latter SRC has realis status, but the negative SRC, which is underlined, has irrealis status.

- 6.25 *Na mofi evia, beká*
 IS Tufi.cherry.tree this.CT reality
 I this Tufi cherry (small laulus) tree real fruit
- jo jigh-ari g-ae iri-se,*
 NEG hold.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS see.I-not.do remain-SIM.SS
 while I remain not having seen it produce
- ghaeko etodaba dadabe-tira.*
 year three finish.I-TP.3S.FN
 three years have finished
 'While I remain not seeing this cherry tree produce any fruit, three years have elapsed.'

Example 6.26 is more complex. It has three SRCs, labelled (a), (b) and (c). SRC (b), which includes the negative SRC (c), is embedded in SRC (a) and is not on the main event line with SRC (a). It gives background information, namely the identity of the addressees to whom the account referred to by *kiki* 'story' will be retold.

- 6.26 a. *...evia bu-do, kiki si-r-uroro,*
 this.CT get.I-SEQ.SS story say.II-EPEN-SS.SIM.IR.IPL.DS
 ...we will get this, and while we will be telling the story,
- b. *edo* c. *evetu+genembo mave*
 and woman+man who
 and people who
- jo fo-a ning-ae* (back to b.) *e-tero*
 NEG come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS hear.I-not.do do.I-SEQ.R3PL.DS
 not having come and heard (what happened) they did
- o mave sasingu seka ambo=da baboj-er-era,*
 or who children new back=LOC grow.II-IPF-PRES.3PL.FN
 or whatever young children are growing up after (it happened)

(back to a) *kiki s-aoro ning-arera.*
 story say.I-SEQ.IR.1PL.DS hear.I-F.3PL.FN

(back to a) we will tell the story and they will hear.

‘... (a) we will get these (tape recordings and pictures), and while we are telling the account, (b) and (c) those people who did not come and hear what happened (back to b) or the young children who are growing up after it happened, (back to a) we will tell them the account and they will hear (it).’

SRC (a) is broken off at the DS simultaneous medial verb form of *se* ‘speak: *siruroro* ‘while we will be speaking’. It is resumed at the sequencing form of *se*: *saoro* ‘we will speak’. SRC (a) has irrealis status. SRC (b) begins at *edo* ‘and’. It has realis status, as the final verb *babojerera* ‘they are growing’ indicates. The negative SRC (c) intervenes between *edo* and *etero* in SRC (b); it terminates with *ningae* ‘not hear’, which is linked to *etero* in SRC (b). The medial verb *foa* ‘they will come’ is interpreted as sharing the negative polarity and irrealis status of *ningae*.

In a number of examples, the entire SRC is negated up until the final auxiliary verb *e* ‘do’ or *iri* ‘remain’ or the copula *ri*, which is the final constituent in the sentence. The negated verbs in example 6.27 include: *mutoro* ‘we will [not] give’, *budo* ‘(you) will [not] get’, and *yae* ‘not go’; the final verb *areva* ‘you will do’ terminates the SRC.

6.27 (*Ninda gagara*) *jo mut-oro bu-do*
 2S.GEN girl NEG give.I-SEQ.IR.1PL.DS get.I-SEQ.SS

y-ae+areva...

go.DUR-not.do+do.F.2PL.FN

‘(Your daughter) we will not give (back), and you will not take (her) and go away...’

The negative focus marker *jo* ‘not’ can be positioned before each constituent the speaker wants to emphasise as negated. There are three *jo*’s in example 6.28.

6.28 *Jo namonde tingu soveni=da fete-do...*
 NEG 1PL.INC edge side=LOC stand.I-SEQ.SS
 not we stand at the edge of the canoe

ghatu=da fat-oro
 outrigger.poles=LOC press.I-SEQ.IR.1PL.DS
 we will push down the outrigger poles

samono jo saraghe-do y-a
 outrigger NEG dip.under.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
 the outrigger will not dip under and go

ghaka jo joveregh-ae+arira.
 canoe NEG turn.over-not.do+do.F.3S.FN
 the canoe will not turn over

‘It won’t be us that stand at the edge of the canoe, pushing down the outrigger poles so that the outrigger dips under and goes (down) and the canoe turns over.’

A number of SRCs that occur with a negated segment are structurally problematic in one of three ways: (1) mismatches between the syntax and the semantics of some lexically fixed verb sequences that are negated, (2) the occurrence of the negative deverbal without an auxiliary or copula in SRCs, and (3) the occurrence of copular constituents of SRCs.

- (1) A mismatch occurs between the syntax and semantics of some lexically fixed verb sequences, such as ‘hit(X,Y)-die(Y)’, when they are a negated segment within an SRC. The scope of negation invariably extends over both verbs in such fixed sequences. Thus, the *jo* ‘not’ precedes a DS future medial form that is syntactically positive and semantically negative, and the negated segment terminates at the negative deverbal which is syntactically negative and semantically positive. In example 6.29, the focused element is the subject *nane* ‘I’, so *jo* precedes it. The negated segment terminates with the verb *ambae* ‘not die’.

6.29 *Jo nane d-aono amb-ae=ri.*
 NEG 1S.ACT hit.I-SEQ.IR.1S.DS die.I-not.do=COP.AQ
 ‘It wasn’t I that killed him. (lit. (It was)n’t I I hit (him) and he did not die.)’

Even though *daono* ‘I will hit’ is morphologically positive, the reality is that the speaker did not perform the ‘hitting’ action. And even though *ambaeri* ‘he did not die’ is morphologically negative, someone really did die.

- (2) The negative deverbal sometimes occurs without an auxiliary verb (see §5.3.1). When the negative deverbal is not followed by a pause, the structure it terminates can in most instances be considered to have a manner adverbial role in the clause. However, there are a few cases in which the negative deverbal occurs without an auxiliary and is followed by a pause, as in example 6.30.

6.30 *Nunda saramana jo ae nu do sumb-ira.*
 3S.GEN work NEG not.do 3S leave.I run.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘She didn’t do her work, and she has left and run (away).’

This negative construction could be considered to be an SRC base, which is missing the SS sequencing form *edo*. Or it could be treated as a negative construction with the copula missing, because it occurs intrasententially. (The copula always indicates assertions; therefore, it usually occurs sentence-finally.) The *sans* copula analysis seems quite possible for example 6.29, because the construction is the initial constituent in the sentence. The construction could be interpreted to be a co-ranking sentence, rather than an SRC.

However, in example 6.31 the negative construction seemingly occurs as a base constituent in the middle of an SRC.

6.31 *S-iri, ata=da mema+se-tiri, namane koikiroro*
 say.I-SIM.R.3S.DS foot=LOC pain+say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS 1PL.EXC leatherskin.fish
jo bamb-ae, do-do, aya bu-do era
 NEG catch-not.do leave.off-SEQ.SS mother get.I-SEQ.SS go.SEQ.PAST.1PL.SS

kambo=da fit-ero fas+ir-ise...
 house=LOC put.I-SEQ.R.IPL.DS recline+remain-SIM.SS
 ‘While she was screaming, pain was throbbing in (her) foot, and we didn’t
 catch any Slender Leatherskin fish, we quit, took mother and went, put her
 in her house, and while she was lying...’

It does seem preferable to interpret this negative construction as an SS constituent of an SRC, less sharply defined temporally than it would be with the medial verb *edo*. It should be noted that this particular pattern usually precedes the verbs *dodo* ‘leaving off’ and *jaredo* ‘despairing of’. Where *edo* is overtly present, as in example 6.31, the two events are complementary, one flowing into the other. Both examples 6.29 and 6.30 encode a sharp contrast, in fact a change of direction. The *sans* copula option is not favoured here, because copular clauses are not normally constituents of SRCs.

- (3) However, Korafe does have some exceptional instances of SRCs in which copular constructions do appear to be SRC constituents, as in 6.32.

- 6.32 *Ebe=mane aya=da enda gov-use,*
 uncle=PL mother=GEN land plant.II-SIM.SS
 while my uncles have been planting gardens on mother’s land,
jo s-aoro
 NEG say.I-SEQ.IR.3PL.DS
 they have not spoken and
na y-a namonde gov-ae=ri.
 IS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS 1.PL.INC plant.I-not.do=COP.AQ
 I have not gone and planted gardens together with them
 ‘While (my) uncles have been planting mother’s land, (it) is (the case that)
 they haven’t invited me to go and plant (gardens) along with them.’

Although I cannot explain the linking of a copular clause with a clause predicated by a medial verb, this is the way the facts appear to be. The medial verb *govuse* ‘while they are planting’, does not fall under the scope of negation. In fact, the clause it terminates appears to be coordinated in an SRC with the ‘clause’ the copula *ri* terminates. The underlined SRC with negative polarity commences at the negative focus marker *jo*, and terminates at *govae* ‘not plant’. The entire SRC bracketed by markers of negation is a predicate nominal unit connected by the negative deverbal to the copula *ri* which terminates the sentence.

Occasionally negation is expressed by SRCs with verbs having negative hortative forms. For an account of SRCs utilising negative hortative verb forms, see §2.5.2.6 and §7.2.2.2. The latter section illustrates the use of negative hortative verb forms in negative purpose constructions.

6.2.4 CONJOINING IN SRCs

SRCs are ordered tense-iconically, whereas co-ranking structures are ordered logically and are not necessarily tense-iconic. The sequence of verbs in SRCs is intended to be isomorphic with the sequence of events in the real world that they encode. Co-ranking

structures relate one proposition to another using rhetorical parameters, e.g. cause–effect relationships, result–reason relationships, and implicational conditions under which propositions hold.

In SRCs each clause, other than an initial recapitulated clause, provides new information. The initial SRC clause, which is the head clause in a tail-head recapitulation, is the only SRC clause that is given. The coordinating relationship between two SRC clauses is tense-iconic, hence asymmetrical. B cannot precede A; therefore A+B does not equal B+A. But paratactic co-ranking constructions, encoding alternation or additive relationships, allow either A+B or B+A; both are equivalent. And hypotactic co-ranking constructions maintain a number of relationships between A and B, but A is usually given, generic, or assumed to be given for the sake of asserting B.

SRC clauses terminated by medial verbs are normally juxtaposed. Example 6.33 illustrates juxtaposition of SS clauses [clauses 4 and 5], DS clauses [clauses 2 and 3], and DS with SS [clauses 3 and 4].

- 6.33 [A-*era*]₁ [je-*tero*]₂ [du-r-*iri*]₃ [nengae
go.NDUR-SEQ.R.3PL.SS chop.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS fall-EPEN-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3.DU
nunambo=ghae *gafu-ge-do*]₄ [*tika* *bu-do*]₅
3S.brother.in.law=COM.DU cut.II-do.FOC.I-SEQ.SS pointed.stick get.I-SEQ.SS
[*feghe-tero*]₆ [*fas+e-tira*]₇.
husk.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS lie.prone+do.I-TP.3S.FN
'They went, chopped (the sago tree), it fell, and the two brothers-in-law cut it off
from the base, got a pointed stick, stripped off the bark, and it lay (there).

Since asymmetrical coordination is maintained by medial verb suffixes, medial constructions do not require other linking devices. Nevertheless, Korafe SRCs do occasionally occur with conjunctions. They either suspend iconic ordering between the conjoined clauses to allow order reversals A+B=B+A or alternative choices or they make explicit cause–effect and temporal relationships between the conjoined clauses. The conjunctive relationship only applies to the two conjoined clauses.

Three conjunctions *o* 'or', *ā* 'and', and *kotugo* 'and likewise (lit. like a footprint)' suspend iconic ordering between parallel constructions. Iconic ordering is resumed after the second clause. The use of the conjunction *o* 'or' joins two medial clauses that are alternatives. In example 6.34, the two SS simultaneous medial verbs: *gafuse* 'while cutting' and *jetise* 'while chopping' are given as equivalent alternatives.

- 6.34 *Vikoko evia, jo bu y-a enda gafu-se o ika*
knife this.CT NEG get.I go.DUR-IR.SS ground dig.II-SIM.SS or tree
babaimi jeti-se gh-ae e-raera.
large.PL chop.II-SIM.SS do.also-not.do do.NDUR-CUST.IPL.FN
'Regarding this particular type of knife, we don't get (it), go and either prepare
the ground or chop down big trees (with it).'

Usually, conjunction of medial clauses by *ā* involves two simultaneous medial verb forms. The conjunction permits free reversal of the conjoined pair of clauses. In the following

example, two DS simultaneous medial verbs are conjoined by *ã*. Both verbs refer to the same event, marriage, but *evetu fifitero* ‘while they were marrying women’ and *vai ero* ‘while they were marrying men’ present the event respectively from male and female perspectives.

- 6.35 ...*kirumo+u-se*,
 feast+do.II-SIM.SS
 while they were feasting, and

 evetu fifit-ero *ã* *vai+ero*,
 woman put.II-SIM.R.3PL.DS and (woman)marry+do.SIM.R.3PL.DS
 while men were marrying women and (women) were marrying,

 Noah nunda ghaka=da vivit-usira.
 Noah 3S.GEN boat=LOC ascend.II-DP.3S.FN
 Noah climbed into his boat.
 ‘...while they were feasting, and while men were marrying women and
 (women) were marrying, Noah climbed into his boat.’

In example 6.36, a clause with a DS simultaneous medial verb is conjoined by *kotugo* ‘and likewise (lit. like a footprint)’ with a clause having a final verb. Here, the speaker uses *kotugo* to underline his right to plant gardens on the land his uncles are using.

- 6.36 *Aya-mane=da enda ebe-mane govu-rofo kotu=go*
 mother-PL=GEN land uncle-PL plant.II-SIM.IR.3PL.DS footprint=CPAR

 nam-barago gov-arena.
 1S-also plant.I-F.1S.FN
 ‘As for (my) mother’s land, my uncles will be planting it, and likewise, I also
 will plant it.’

Four temporal connective combinations: *ainda gitida* ‘before that’, *ainghae dabade* ‘at the same time as (lit. with that together)’, *ainda jokáda* ‘in the midst of that’, and *ainda amboda* ‘after that’, specify precisely the temporal link between clauses in SRCs. These connective combinations are usually SRC-internal, linked to the rhythm group of the previous clause, with a pause following them. Normally SRCs track events in iconic order, but the combination *ainda gitida* ‘before that’ interrupts the sequential temporal flow to express a sequence of events that is ‘out-of-order’. Example 6.23 in the previous section illustrates how this device operates. So does example 6.37, which is from the the Biblical account about Noah and the flood. In order for the clause encoding the flood’s arrival to precede the clause indicating Noah’s embarking, it must be negated.

- 6.37 *Usegha ã gisi jo fu-r-ae ir-iri*
 flood and tidal.wave NEG come.DUR-EPEN-not.do remain-SIM.R.3S.DS

 ainda giti=da=mo,
 that.CEFF.GEN front=LOC=T/F
 ‘While the flood and tidal waves had not yet come, before that,

 umo+gamo+u-se, kirumo+u-se... Noah nunda ghaka=da
 socialising+do.II-SIM.SS feast+do.II-SIM.SS Noah 3S.GEN boat=LOC

vivitu-sira.

ascend.II-DP.3S.FN

while they were socialising and feasting...Noah went up into his boat.'

Both the temporal connective combinations *ainghae dabade* 'and immediately (together with that)' and *ainda jokáda* 'in the midst of that' follow clauses predicated by simultaneous medial verb forms. In addition to the notion of partial overlap encoded by the verbs themselves, the connective *ainghae dabade* indicates that the event encoded by the clause following it is to be considered as closely synchronised with the event encoded by the clause that precedes it. In example 6.38, *ainghae dabade* indicates the cock's crow is synchronised with the arrival of the snake.

6.38 ...*kokora s-iri ainghae dabade,*
rooster say.I-SIM.R.3S.DS that.CEFF.COM.D together
...while the cock was crowing, at that very same time,

jingabu javo vaghi se-raera
snake name tree.snake say.I-CUST.IPL.FN
a snake that we call 'tree snake'

ava f-ira,
that.CT come.DUR-SEQ.PAST.3S.SS
that one came

Lucas=da voto aminda ofu-sira.
Lucas=GEN net that.T/F.CEFF.LOC catch.itself.II-DP.3S.FN
got itself caught in Lucas' net
'...while the cock was crowing, at that very same time, a snake that we call
'tree snake', that one came and got itself caught in Lucas' net.'

The clause preceding *ainda jokáda* 'in the midst of that' envelopes the clause following it within its time span. In example 6.39, *ainda jokáda* 'in the midst of that' indicates that the point at which the Epaulette shark gets caught in the net occurs within the longer period in which many fish get caught in the net.

6.39 ...*oka digari aimi vosi+y-ama*
fish many that.CEFF.T/F descend.I+go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS

ofu-ruroro aina joká=da,
catch.self.I-SIM.IR.3PL.DS that.CEFF.GEN inside=LOC
'...many fish will go down and while they are getting caught (in the net),
within that time span,

simberi vosi+y-ama ninda voto=da
Epaulette.shark descend.I+go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS 2S.GEN net=LOC

omb-arira.
catch.self.I-F.3S.FN
the Epaulette shark will go down and get caught in your net.'

The temporal connective *ainda amboda* ‘after that’ specifies the significant events involved in a temporal sequencing relationship between two clauses. In example 6.40, the hollowing of the canoe is completed, then the next important phase—gathering the lashing supplies together—can eventuate.

- 6.40 *Agh-eoro* *dadab-eari* *ainda* *ambo=da*
 hollow.I-SEQ.CUST.1PL.DS finish.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS that.CEFF.GEN behind=LOC
digh-ari=da roera bambu-raera.
 tie.I-DVB=GEN thing(s) get.I-CUST.1PL.FN
 ‘We hollow out (the canoe) until (the process) is finished, and after that, we
 gather the things for lashing it together.’

Three conjunctions or conjunctive combinations specify a causal relationship between the SRC clauses they link. They are: *gido* ‘so’,¹³ *aindae* ‘on account of that and therefore’, *aindae sedo* ‘speaking on account of that’. The verb *gido* may be used in an SRC to refer to an actual visual perception ‘seeing’ or as an enabling causal connective ‘so’. In the context of example 6.41, the first *gido* expresses a causal relationship between the wife’s giving the afterbirth and her husband’s reception of it. The husband does not really ‘see’ the afterbirth until the second *gido*.

- 6.41 *A-ira* *nuvu=kena* *buvu-do* *mandi*
 go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.R.3S.SS 3S.husband=ALOC arrive.I-SEQ.SS boy
ijoghako ainda ambo amo mut-iri
 small that.CEFF.GEN afterbirth that.T/F give.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
gido₁, nuvu bu-do gi-do₂ oju+e-do mut-iri,
so 3S.husband get.I-SEQ.SS see.I-SEQ.SS fear+do-SEQ.SS give.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
sino=imi mind-ira.
 dog=CEFF.T/F eat.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘She went, approached her husband and gave (him) the afterbirth of the baby boy, so
 her husband received (it), saw (it), was afraid and gave (it to the dog), and the dog
 ate (it).’

In the following example, *gido* ‘so’ indicates an enabling causal relationship between the cessation of the protagonist’s fright and his movement toward the net, in which a snake was trapped.

- 6.42 ...*uju dadabe-tiri gido, seka-go ungo sirege-tiri*
 fear finish.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS so new-CPAR hand stretch.out.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS

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The conjunctions *aindae sedo* and *gido* are actually connective clauses, because *sedo* ‘saying’ and *gido* ‘seeing’ are SS medial verbs that predicate clauses in SRCs. These Korafe conjunctions correspond closely to the description of conjunction formation, in which an uninflected or minimally inflected verb (e.g. ‘do’, ‘say’, ‘see’) is used or combined with a demonstrative stem (Thompson and Longacre 1985:227).

vose-tiri, *voto ruvi=da* *bu-do...*
 descend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS net top.edge=LOC get.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘...(his) fright was over, so he again stretched out his arm and it went
 down and he grabbed the net at its top edge...’

Korafe SRCs follow regular cultural scripts, tending to list in rather minute detail the component events in immediate order of occurrence (i.e. *fitiri vosetira* ‘he put it and it went down’, *avaraka usetiri avira* ‘she blew up the fire and it caught and burned’). The causal conjunctions, *aindae* ‘on account of that’ and *aindae sedo* ‘speaking on account of that’, and the temporal conjunctions, *ainda jokáda* ‘during that time’ and *ainda amboda* ‘after that’, do not break iconic ordering. But they allow the speaker to suspend the immediate event sequencing implicit in SRCs, leaving a whole series of events unspecified, so that the focus may be placed on those events that are significant to the plot of the story. The conjunction overtly indicates this omission to the addressee.

The significant events marked by *aindae* ‘on account of that’ in the mourning customs explained in example 6.43 include: (1) the death of brothers, (2) the mourning rituals, and (3) the concocting of a poison to be used in sorcery. Other events, inconsequential to the plot, may happen in between these events are, but they are skipped over here.

- 6.43 *Nano+namendi* *amb-eoro*¹⁴ *aindae*
 older.brother+younger.brother die.I-SEQ.IR.CUST.3PL.DS that.CEFF.BEN
dubo+vevera+eari *aindae* *kae*
 neck+hot+do.SEQ.IR.CUST.3S.DS that.CEFF.BEN poison
bor-eoro *sirore-raira.*
 roast.I-SEQ.IR.CUST.3PL.DS be.born.I-CUST.3S.FN
 ‘Brothers die, therefore (their relatives) are vexed, therefore they roast
 poison-producing things and the poisonous substance comes into being.’

The *sedo* is added to *aindae* in the connective clause *aindae sedo* ‘speaking on account of that’ to indicate to the addressee that the speaker has private knowledge of an event that he or she is herewith revealing. In example 6.44, the speaker is announcing her pregnancy to her husband. Again, she may have performed many other activities between her perception of her pregnancy and the production of mats and string bags, but she omits mentioning them.

- 6.44 *Na tamo mino eni ruru-se aindae+sedo ghaito ã*
 1S body payback a get.II-SIM.SS that.CEFF.BEN+say.I-SEQ.SS mat and

¹⁴ The Korafe for the customary DS medial verbs in this sentence was originally written as *ambearo...borearo*. It arose from an earlier form *ambeaoro...boreaoro*, but the current generation of Korafe speakers do not allow three different vowels to be juxtaposed. So the transcription was regularised to the more widely used forms *ambeoro...boreoro*.

tatau bu esimbug-er-ena.
 baby's.string.bag get.I this.prepare.I-IPF-PRES.IS.FN
 'I'm experiencing a response in my body, therefore I am getting (the
 materials) and preparing a pandanus leaf mat and a string bag for a baby.'

A final dependent verb precedes *aindae* 'on account of that' in example 6.45a, but a medial verb precedes *aindae* in 6.45b. The structural difference encodes a significant semantic distinction. Both 6.45a and 6.45b detail some events that occurred in a battle the Korafe had with the Okena. However, 6.45a is focused on providing the reason the Okena beat such a hasty retreat, namely that the Korafe war party speared one of their number. The temporal and referential relationships between *garusera* 'they speared' and *oju edo* 'they were afraid' are not made explicit in the structure. It is quite possible that the response of fear immediately followed the action of spearing.

6.45a. *Garu-sera aindae oju+e-do do sufu-seri.*
 spear.II-DP.1PL.FN that.CEFF.BEN fear+do.I-SEQ.SS leave.I run.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 'Because we speared (a man), the enemy were afraid, left and ran away.'

The use of *aindae* in 6.45b suggests to the readers that the fear response does not immediately follow the spearing of the man. Several events have been skipped over in this narration of the tale to focus on the significant events in cause-effect relationship, at least from the author's viewpoint. Both the temporal (sequencing) and the referential (DS following) relationships are made explicit in 6.45b.

6.45b. *Gae-tero aindae oju+e-do do sufu-seri.*
 spear.I-SEQ.R.1PL.DS that.CEFF.BEN fear+do.I-SEQ.SS leave.I run.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 '(The enemy) speared (a man), (and in the course of the battle they eventually realised it); therefore, they were afraid, left and ran away.'

6.2.5 GAPPING

When two or more clauses have parallel constructions in Korafe, medial verbs may be gapped. For example, where two clauses have the structure [S O/LOC V] and [S O/LOC V] and the NPs manifesting S and O/LOC in both clauses semantically encode equal and opposite partner-participants, the medial verb of the first clause¹⁵ may be gapped.

¹⁵ Reesink (1987:182-188) discusses gapping in Usan, also a Papuan language. Characterised by an SOV + SO order, gapping in Usan has a contrastive function. He (p.183) gives an SOV + SO example from Korafe.

Mary nu isia mindira, John nu kuta.
 Mary 3S taro she.ate John 3S sweet.potatoes
 'Mary ate taro; John sweet potatoes.'

Unfortunately, that example has been deemed incorrect by the Korafe men who answered questions for this work. The corrected version is:

Mary nu isia mindira, ā John nu kuta mindira.
 Mary 3S taro she.ate and John 3S sweet.potatoes he.ate
 'Mary ate taro, and John ate sweet potatoes.'

In the story surrounding example 6.46, two egrets attempt to fly a turtle to a new watering place. The egrets each hold on to a long log (*faragho ghousa*), one on each end. The parallel clauses refer to the egrets by the modifier set *eini...eini* ‘the one...the other’. The location on the log where each of the egrets bite is mentioned as *mendo sovenida* ‘at one end’ in the first clause and *sovenida* ‘at the other (end)’ in the second clause. The verb *gambudo* ‘bite’ is gapped in the initial clause.

6.46 ...*faragho ghousa b-eri. Bu-do oj-era*
 log long get.I-TP.3PL.AQ get.I-SEQ.SS come.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3PL.SS

S: *eini* LOC: *mendo soveni=da* \emptyset ,¹⁶ S: *eini* LOC: *soveni=da*
 one end one.side=LOC \emptyset one one.side=LOC

V: *gambu-do se-tero, nenda ghato igho soro=da*
 bite.I-SEQ.SS say.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS 3PL.GEN cousin turtle middle=LOC

gamb-ira.

bite.I-TP.3S.FN

‘...they got a long log. They got it and came, and one of them (bit) it on one end and the other bit it on the other end and got the turtle to bite (it) in the middle.’

The NPs manifesting subject and object in the first clause are usually more complex than those manifesting the same constituents in the second clause. In example 6.47, the subject of the first clause is the pronominal copy *ne* ‘they’ of the theme *gegenembo etoto* ‘two men’. The subject of the second clause is just the numeric quantifier *etoto*. The object of both clauses is *muni soveni* ‘primary dance leader on one side’. A further indication of the dual clausal status is the use of the conjunction *kotugo* ‘and likewise’, which conjoins clauses, not NPs.

6.47 ...*gegenembo etoto, S: ne O: muni soveni* \emptyset ,
 men.RED two 3PL primary.dance.leader one.side \emptyset

kotu=go S: etoto O: muni soveni V: e-do...
 footprint=like two primary.dance.leader one.side do.I-SEQ.SS

‘...two men, they (act) as primary dance leaders on one side (of the dance line formation), and likewise, two act as primary dance leaders on the other side (of the dance line formation)...’

6.2.6 CONJOINING BETWEEN SRCs BY RECAPITULATION

The occurrence of a final verb terminating an SRC within a longer discourse signals the end of a sequence of integrated actions. It often signals also a break in iconic ordering. In order to resume the iconically ordered narrative or procedural explanation of the previous SRC, the speaker repeats or paraphrases a terminal portion of that SRC. This recapitulation,

¹⁶ The \emptyset symbol in examples in this section replaces the gapped medial verb.

often termed ‘tail-head linkage’,¹⁷ may be accomplished by repeating the same verb that is the ‘tail’ in the first sentence as the initial predicate (the ‘head’) of the second sentence. This lexical overlapping is illustrated by the underlined verbs (*itira. Itido*) at the sentence juncture in example 6.48.

- 6.48 ...*nunda bayau=ghae it-ira. Iti-do...*
 3S.GEN good=COM.DU cook.I-TP.3S.FN cook.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘...she cooked it with her food. Having cooked it...’

Recapitulation is not always limited to repeating the terminal verb in medial form. The verbs in the SVC terminating the initial sentence in example 6.49 are recapitulated by an SVC that terminates with a dependent final verb.

- 6.49 ...*sumbu buv-eni. Sumbu buv-ena...*
 run.NDUR arrive.NDUR-TP.1S.AQ run.NDUR arrive.NDUR-TP.1S.FN
 ‘...running, I arrived. Having run and arrived...’

The lexical verb (*se* ‘say’) in an aspect-encoding clause complex is the repeated segment in example 6.50; the grammatical aspect-marking verb is not used in the recapitulation.

- 6.50 “*Aki=mane, reighi tefo+tafo=ri, ” se-do ghe-tira.*
 older.sister=PL place nothing+RDUP=COP.AQ say.I-SEQ.SS do.again.I-TP.3S.FN
S-eari...
 say.I-SEQ.IR.CUST.3S.DS
 “‘Older sisters, (this) place (has) nobody at all’, she would habitually say. She would say (that and)...’

The narrator may summarise the event encoded in the ‘tail’ using a generic verb in the ‘head’. Commonly used generic verbs in Korafe are *e* ‘do’ and *aminge* ‘do that way’.

- 6.51 ...*ungo ata de-do jojore-ge-teri. E-tero*
 arm leg hit.I-SEQ.SS bend.RED.I-do.FOC.I-TP.3PL.AQ do.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS
gi-do...
 see.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘...they beat and bent their arms and legs. They did (that), and seeing (that)...’

Sometimes an NP is also included in the recapitulating segment. In 6.52 the pronoun *nu* ‘3S’ is included in the recapitulating clause.

- 6.52 ...*fumb-ari=dae e-do amb-ira. Nu ambu-do...*
 bear.baby.I-DVB=PUR do.I-SEQ.SS die.I-TP.3S.FN 3S die.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘...(she) was about to deliver the baby (and she) died. She died (and)...’

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Thurman (1975:342-343) borrows from Loos (1963) the term *linkage* to describe the phenomenon of lexical overlap at sentence junctures.

6.3 REFERENTIAL TRACKING IN SRCs

Referential information in SRCs is conveyed by NPs, by the subject marking on verbs, and by the switch-subject-reference marker on DS medial verbs.

6.3.1 FUNCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF NPs IN SRCs

In SRCs, referents are mentioned overtly only when they are not quickly retrievable from the endophoric context or have discourse functions. (Some of the discourse functions that necessitate overt mention of referents are discussed in §11.2.1.3 and its subsections.) Since DS medial verbs signal discontinuity of subject, one might expect the following clause to have an overt subject referent. However, the facts are that clauses predicated by DS sequencing medial verbs often are not followed by clauses with overt subject referents. This is exemplified in §6.3.2 and further explained in §6.3.2.1. It is true that simultaneous medial verbs are usually followed by NPs referencing the subject of the next clause. In example 6.53, the new subject NP *gitofu* ‘enemy’ follows the DS marked verb *ifiri* ‘while he was breaking off fruit’ and is cross-referenced on the verb *buveri* ‘they arrived’.

- 6.53 ...[*nunda ghato viti if-iri*]₁ [*gitofu*
 3S.GEN cousin ascend.I break.off.fruit.II-SIM.R.3S.DS enemies
buv-eri]₂
 arrive.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 ‘...[his cousin climbed up (the pandanus tree) and while he was harvesting fruit,]₁
 [the enemies showed up.]₂’

SRCs tend to be broken up into thematic segments beginning with NPs. Sequences of events that are thematically bound together are not necessarily complete SRCs. They can be thematic subdivisions of SRCs, that are termed *thematic clause-chain units* (TCCUs). These subdivisions are phonologically, syntactically, and lexically distinguished by features that are discussed in detail in §9.3. In 6.54b, there are three NPs (*na* ‘I’, *nanda afa Mota mo* ‘my father Mota’, and *Michael da natida ava* ‘at Michael’s house that one’) that are used in the following segment that ends at *anumbetiri* ‘he sat and’. Following that, two NPs (*namane Michael noaroghae, isambu* ‘we together with Michael and his wife, all (of us)’ and *nanda natida*) are arguments of the clause terminating with *irero* ‘while we were waiting’. The noun *yaura* ‘the wind’ is the subject of the next 5 clauses (*tuturo e sufiri sumbiri sumbiri sumbu* ‘it began and blew and blew and blew and blew’). The nominal expression transliterated from English *haf fas sikisi* ‘half-past six’ is the subject of *iri* ‘it went’. Following that, *Dafin da nati* ‘Daphne’s house’ is the subject of *duriri* ‘it fell’, and *usu* ‘coconut trees’ is the subject of *tuturo e dudurugerirasi* ‘here they are, certainly beginning to fall’.

- 6.54a. *Edo sumb-iri bune jare-do*
 and run.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS not.know.I despair.I-SEQ.SS
 And it ran (blew) and despairing,
- 6.54b. *na nanda afa Mota=mo, Michael=da nati=da ava,*
 1S 1S.GEN father Mota=T/F Michael=GEN house=LOC that.CT
 I, regarding my father (named) Mota Michael’s house that,

- 6.54c. *vit+ena* *asa+e-do*
 ascend.I+go.DUR.SEQ.R.PAST.1S.SS piggyback+do.I-SEQ.SS
 I went up and carried (him) piggyback and
- 6.54d. *bu f-ena,* *nanda nati=da*
 get.I come.DUR.SEQ.R.PAST.1S.SS IS.GEN house=LOC
 I brought (him) and at my house
- 6.54e. *fit-eno* *anumbe-tiri*
 put.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS sit.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 I put (him) and he sat (there) and
- 6.54f. *namane Michael noaro=ghae,* (.1 pause) *isambu*
 IPL.EXC Michael 3S.wife=COM.D all
 we, Michael and his wife, all (of us)
- 6.54g. *nanda nati=da ir-ero,*
 1S.GEN house=LOC remain-SIM.R.1PL.DS
 while we were remaining at my house
- 6.54h. *yaura tutur*(devoiced)*o+e*
 wind beginning(do.I)
 the wind began and
- 6.54i. *suf-iri+sumb-iri+sumb-iri+sumbu,*
 run.II-SIM.R.3S.DS+run.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS+DUP+run.I
 it ran and ran and ran and ran and
- 6.54j. *haf fas sikisi iri*
 half past six do.SIM.R.3S.DS
 while it was becoming half past six
- 6.54k. *Daphne=da nati du-r-iri*
 Daphne=GEN house fall.I-EPEN-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 Daphne's house fell and
- 6.54l. *usu tuturo*(devoiced)*e duduru+g-er-ir=a*(devoiced)*si.*
 coconut beginning(do.I) fall.RED+do.F-IPF-PRES.3S.=that.say.II
 the coconut trees began to be falling over, that's true.
 '(a) And it blew, and despairing, (b) I, my father Mota (c) climbed up onto
 Michael's house, got (my father) on my back, (d) brought (him piggyback), and (e)
 put (him down) at my house and he sat, and (f) we, Michael with his wife, all (of us)
 (g) were remaining at my house (and while we were there), (h) the wind began and
 (i) it blew and blew and blew, and blew, and (j) at half past six, (k) Daphne's house
 fell, and (R) the coconut trees (l) began to fall and here they are certainly falling.'

Recapitulating segments are thematically part of the sequence of events terminating the previous sentence. So significant NPs of the subsequent thematic segment in the SRC often follow a sentence-initial recapitulating segment. In example 6.55, three NPs follow the recapitulating verb *gido* 'it saw and'. *Ribere* 'the flying fox' has subject role throughout the following clause-chain, and *genemboá* 'that man' has object role for all the transitive verbs,

i.e. *doghe* ‘wrap’, *budo* ‘get’, and *fitira* ‘it put’. The peripheral NP, *bovotu aimi*, has a role only in its containing clause.

- 6.55 [Gi-do]₁RECAP [ribere genembo=a bovotu a=imi doghe
see.I-SEQ.SS flying.fox man=that tapa.cloth that=CEFF.T/F wrap.I
bu-do]₁ [a-ira]₂ [beku joká=da tere-do]₃ [fit-ira]₄
get.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN cave inside=LOC enter.I-SEQ.SS put.I-TP.3S.FN
‘Having seen (him), the flying fox wrapped that man with the tapa cloth, got (him)
and went, entered into a cave, and put (him there).’

Thematic NPs (P2 in Dik’s (1978:19-21) terminology) commonly are NPs that function as arguments in more than one clause, so they may be left-dislocated and set off from the subsequent clause sequence by a pause. They are arranged according to their perseverance as core arguments. For instance, the first two NPs in example 6.56 below are left-dislocated thematic NPs. The first one, *na* ‘I’, has a participant role in all three clauses. The second one, *nanda evetuda yafara* ‘my wife’s present’ is the direct object with patient role in the first and second clauses. The third, *aya* ‘mother’, participates only in the first clause, with which it is grouped intonationally as well.

- 6.56 Na nanda evetu=da yafara, [aya mut-iri]₁ [bu-do]₂
IS IS.GEN woman=GEN gift mother give.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS get.I-SEQ.SS
[re-f-ena.]₃
IPF-come.DUR-PRES.IS.FN
‘I my wife’s gift, mother gave (it to me), and I got (it) and am coming.’

An oblique argument can by Y-shifted into the initial topic position when it is referenced by an NP understood to have subject role in subsequent clauses. The postposition that normally indicates its oblique relationship to the initial predicate is obligatorily deleted. In example 4.73b, repeated here as 6.57a, the indirect object in the first clause, *genembo eni* ‘one man’, is the NP referent understood to be subject of clauses 2-4. Therefore, it cannot be marked by the postposition *kena* ‘to’. That is why example 6.57b is ungrammatical.

- 6.57a. [Genembo eni asi mut-eoro]₁ [bu-do]₂ [vose-do]₃
man one cable give.I-SEQ.CUST.3PL.DS get.I-SEQ.SS descend.I-SEQ.SS
[fet-iari]₄...
stand.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS
‘They give one man the main cable (threaded through the net), and he gets it, goes down into the water and stands...’

- 6.57b. *Genembo eni=kena asi mut-eoro bu-do
man one=ALOC cable give.I-SEQ.CUST.3PL.DS get.I-SEQ.SS
vose-do fet-iari...
descend.I-SEQ.SS stand.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS

Unless the NP is set off by a pause from the first clause or is involved in some possessive relationship with the subject in the first clause (for instance, the animate experiencer of an emotion or bodily process), it cannot be shifted to the initial position in a thematic clause chain unit when it does not have a role relationship with the initial verb. The NP *fuka* ‘pig’

in the examples in 6.58 cannot be shifted to before *vose*, because it is object of the transitive verb *fatiari* ‘it presses and’ and has no involvement with the intransitive verb *vose* ‘descend’.

- 6.58a. *Vagho=i vose fuka fat-iari...*
 trap=CEFF descend.I pig press.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS
 ‘The trap moves down and crushes the pig...’

- 6.58b. **Vagho=i fuka vose fat-iari...*
 trap=CEFF pig descend.I press.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS

In contrast with chain initial clauses that may have several overt NPs and are predicated by a dependent medial verb, a terminal clause with an independent final verb is able to have no NP, and often does not. In English, an NP in a final main clause may be the antecedent of a pronoun in an initial dependent clause. Korafe does not permit pronouns in dependent clauses to cataphorically reference NPs in independent final clauses. For instance, in the English translation of both examples 6.59a and 6.59b, the referent of ‘she’ is understood to be ‘the girl (named) Ghebu Maiden’. However, in Korafe, only example 6.59b, taken from a Korafe legend, clearly identifies the referent of the pronoun *nu* ‘she’ to be its NP antecedent *gagara Ghebu Mose*. The identity of *nu* in example 6.59a is unclear. It might be *Ghebu Mose*’s father, brother or anybody.

- 6.59a. *Nu jaká gose-do bu+oj-ira mut-iri*
 3S betelnut harvest.I-SEQ.SS get.I+come.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS give.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
dandud-iri, gagara Ghebu+Mose vare=da a-ira.
 chew.I-SIM.R.3S.DS girl Ghebu+Mose garden=LOC go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN
 ‘After she had gotten, brought, and given him the betelnut, and while he was chewing it, the girl (named) Ghebu Mose went to the garden.’

- 6.59b. *Gagara Ghebu+Mose nu jaká gose-do...*
 girl Ghebu+Mose 3S betelnut harvest.I-SEQ.SS
bu+oj-ira mut-iri dandud-iri, nu
 get.I+come.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS give.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS chew.I-SIM.R.3S.DS 3S
vare=da a-ira.
 garden=LOC go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN
 ‘After the girl (named) Ghebu Mose had gotten, brought, and given him the betelnut, and while he was chewing it, she went to the garden.’

The placement of an NP in an atypical position (not in the initial clause where its referent is introduced) communicates some paramessage to the addressee(s) or emphasises the NP contrastively. Example 6.60a is a routine post-mortem report of a sorcerer.

- 6.60a. *Nu se-teno amb-ira.*
 3S say.I-SEQ.R.IS.DS die.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘I caused him to die.’

In example 6.60b, high pitch is associated with the *nu* in the second clause, which receives contrastive focus. Here, the speaker is indicating that one of the enemy is dead, but there are more to go.

- 6.60b. *Se-teno nu amb-ira.*
 say.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS 3S die.I-TP.3S.FN
 'I caused him to die. (Let's get the others.)'

Both the *nane* 'I (actor-focus)', referring to the speaker, and the *nu* are marked for focus. The speaker (sorcerer) accents them in his utterance to warn the addressees to act circumspectly toward him, or else!

- 6.60c. *Nane se-teno nu amb-ira.*
 1S.CEFF say.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS 3S die.I-TP.3S.FN
 'It was I who caused him to die. (So be warned!).'

Placing the *voto jingabughae* 'net with the snake' in the second clause of example 6.61 linguistically disconnects Lucas from the net and suggests that Lucas' throwing action was a spontaneous reaction to his discovery that the snake was in the net, not the normal controlled casting of the net to catch fish.

- 6.61 *Lucas nu fuge-tiri voto jingabu=ghae karaje=da*
 Lucas 3S throw.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS net snake=with salt.water=LOC
vovosu-sira.
 descend.II-DP.3S.FN
 'Lucas just threw (it) out, and the net with the snake went down into the salt water.'

However, when no contrastive focus is involved, an object NP must be introduced in the first clause in which it participates. Example 6.62b is ungrammatical, because *ghaka* 'canoe' cannot receive contrastive focus in this context.

- 6.62a. *Na ghaka mut-eno b-ira.*
 1S canoe give.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS get.I-TP.3S.FN
 'I gave (him) a canoe, and he received (it).'
- 6.62b. **Na mut-eno ghaka b-ira.*
 1S give.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS canoe get.I-TP.3S.FN
 'I gave (it to him), and he received a canoe.'

Other than temporal NPs, which are often set off by pauses from the rest of the sentence, oblique arguments (PPs) normally occur in the clause where they are relevant, as do *dikai* 'with (his) teeth' and *ungoi* 'with (his) hands' in example 6.63.

- 6.63 *...usu beká etodaba ava tosembe-do, eni dika=i gambu-do,*
 coconut true three that.CT pluck.I-SEQ.SS one teeth=CEFF bite.I-SEQ.SS
etoto ungo=i bu-do...
 two hand=CEFF get.I-SEQ.SS
 '...he plucked three actual coconuts, bit one with his teeth, and got two with his hands...'

Fuller details about the functions and distribution of temporal and locative arguments are provided in §§11.1.1–11.1.3.

The placement of NPs and PPs in clauses in SRCs discussed in this section are rules of thumb that generally apply. However, any NP or PP may be left-dislocated to the thematic P2 position and marked with the topic marker *mo*. NPs and PPs can also be right-dislocated to the P3 tail position. Illustrations of P2 themes and P3 tails are given in §3.2.3.1.

6.3.2 OMISSION OF OVERT REFERENTS AND ARGUMENT TRACKING IN SRCs

Referents are often omitted when they are retrievable from the speech act or endophoric context. *Matana Kuku* is a legend with only two protagonists: *mandiá* ‘that boy’ and *gua ai* ‘that (controlling) stonefish’. The boy is introduced as *mandiá* in the first SRC, and the stonefish as *gua ai* in the second SRC. Throughout the next 17 sentences, both play a subject role, but the subject is indicated only by the verbal cross-referencing and switch-referencing systems, as the three sentences in example 6.64 illustrate.

- 6.64 *Gae-tiri, nu se-tira, “Matana+Kuku, nanda ata*
 spear.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3S say.I-TP.3S.FN Matana+Kuku 1S.GEN foot
soveni ir-ae=ri!” Aminge se-do, garu-do
 other.side remain-not.do=COP.AQ that.T/F.CEFF.do.I say.I-SEQ.SS spear.II-SEQ.SS
a-ira. Iri, ata=da gae-tira.
 go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN go.SIM.R.3S.DS foot=LOC spear.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘It stung (him), and he said, “Matana Kuku, (at least) it’s not the other foot!” He spoke thus and went along spearing (fish). While he was going, it stung him in the foot.’

Referents are also ellipsed if they are understood to be part of the cultural script the event belongs to, but not particularly salient. In the following example, the instrument used to chop down the sago tree is not mentioned, but everyone knows that axes are used to chop down trees.

- 6.65 *Jaruga Roro nunambo=ghae sifo=ghae ere-do taima=da*
 Jaruga Roro 3S.brother-in-law=COM.DU day=COM.DU arise.I-SEQ.SS bush=LOC
ambe je-do d-ari=dae se-do a-era.
 sago chop.I-SEQ.SS hit-DVB=PUR say.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.3PL.FN
 ‘Jaruga Roro arose with his brother-in-law in the morning and went off saying that they would chop and process sago.’

NP ellipsis and PRO-drop is so common that our data corpus yields only a few examples in which a referent is referred to twice by an overt NP in the same SRC. In example 6.66, the repetition of *egi fuka* ‘wallabies (and) pigs’, the catch from the hunt which the men do not share with their wives, underlines the complication in this legend, which precipitates the women’s desertion of their husbands.

- 6.66 ...*egi+fuka gae-do bu-do+y-ama egi+fuka*
 wallaby+pig spear.I-SEQ.SS get.I-SEQ.SS+go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS wallaby+pig

avaraka=da kusia+e-do mindi+dadabe-do...
 fire=LOC roast stealthily+do.I-SEQ.SS eat.I+finish.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘...they speared wallabies and pigs, got (them), roasted the wallabies and
 pigs stealthily over the fire and ate (them all up)...’

The repetition of *ogha* ‘crow’ in example 6.67 highlights its continuing significance for the Korafe culture, in contrast to that of the *vereto* bird.

- 6.67 ...*ogha nu-mo tamb-ari bune jare-do*,
 crow 3S-T/F find.I-DVB not.know.I despair.I-SEQ.SS
 the crow despaired of finding it (the *vereto* bird), and

vereto aminda do-do,
 vereto.bird that.T/F.CEFF.LOC leave.I-SEQ.SS
 (it) left the *vereto* bird there, and

ogha nu-suka viti+oji-gh-ira
 crow 3S-alone ascend.I+come.NDUR-do.FOC-SEQ.TP.3S.SS
 the crow came up by itself alone and

Kofure buv-ira.
 Kofure arrive.I-TP.3S.FN
 arrived at Kofure.
 ‘...the crow despaired of finding it (the *vereto* bird), and (it) left the *vereto*
 bird there, and the crow came up by itself alone and arrived at Kofure.’

However, the following example is ungrammatical, because there is no reason to focus on *bayau* ‘food’ emphatically or contrastively.

- 6.68 **Na bayau mut-ono bayau mind-arira*.
 IS food give.I-SEQ.R.IS.DS food eat.I-F.3S.FN
 ‘I will give (him) food, and (he) will eat food.’

Sections 6.3.2.1 and 6.3.2.2 provide four guidelines for recovery of ellipsed referents of subject and object arguments in SRCs. Although these guidelines are not ironclad, they do provide a strategy for referent identification in clauses with ellipsed NPs. Because person and number of subject are marked on all final and DS medial verbs, the subject-tracking guidelines tend to be more reliable in identifying referents than the object-tracking guidelines. Further guidelines for recovering subject and object referents are given in §§11.1.5.4.1 and 11.2.2.

6.3.2.1 SUBJECT TRACKING IN SRCs

Two guidelines assist the decoder in keeping track of subject reference: (1) the SS subject guideline and (2) the O→S guideline.

The SS subject guideline (G-1):

In a sequence of clauses predicated by SS medial verbs, the initial subject, which is referenced by an NP in the first clause¹⁸ or is understood from the context, persists as subject throughout the sequence.

In example 6.68, each verb is a SS medial form. Together these verbs track the activities of the *noarovetu* 'wife', referenced by an overt NP only in the first clause.

- 6.69 ...[*noaro-vetu riria amb-ari eko ava e-do*]₁
 3S.wife-woman hilarity die.I-DVB bad that.CT do.I-SEQ.SS
 [*ghaembo=da ghe-do*]₂ [*sumbu f-ira*]₃
 stern=LOC move.from.I-SEQ.SS run.I come.DUR-SEQ.PAST.3S.SS
 [*giti=da buvu-do*]₄ [*nuv-embo Motan*]
 prow=LOC arrive.I-SEQ.SS 3S.husband-person Motan
sandi muno+e-do]₅
 grab.I kiss+do.I-SEQ.SS
 '...his wife became deliriously happy, moved from the stern, ran and came
 and arrived at the prow (of the canoe) and grabbed her husband Motan and
 kissed (him)...'

Other overt NPs function as objects: *riria ambari eko ava* 'great hilarity' and *nuvembo Motan* 'her husband, Motan', or objects of PPs: *ghaemboda* 'at the stern' and *gitida* 'to the bow'.

The O→S guideline (G-3):¹⁹

The object NP in a marking clause predicated by a DS sequencing medial verb is interpreted as the subject of the reference clause, provided that the reference clause is predicated by a verb that agrees in person and number with this NP and contains no overt core NP of its own.

In example 6.70 the subject, *nane* 'it is I', and object, *munda beo* 'her hair', are identified and maintained as subject and object in the second clause by the SS medial verb of the first clause. But the medial verb in the second clause is marked for switch of subject, and the object of clause 2 is interpreted as the subject of clause 3.

- 6.70 ...[*nane munda beo bu-do*]₁ [*ghauro joká=da*]
 1S.CEFF 3S.GEN hair get.I-SEQ.SS bamboo inside=LOC

¹⁸ There is an exception to this rule. When a perception verb (e.g. *gido* 'seeing', *ningido* 'hearing', *jaredo* 'despairing') predicates the initial clause in a clause sequence predicated by SS verbs, the subject NP for the series follows the perception verb. This NP functions as a thematic P2 argument or as the subject of the subsequent clause, marking the onset of the next TCCU.

¹⁹ The numbering of these guidelines follows the order set up in §11.2.4.4 where a more complete set of tracking guidelines are provided.

fend-eno]₂ [*ir-ira.*]₃
 insert.I-SEQ.R.IS.DS remain.I-PRES.3S.FN

‘...it was I that got her hair put it inside a bamboo stem, and it (the hair) remains.’

This rule applies both to clause sequences having realis verbs (6.69) and to clause sequences having irrealis verbs (6.70). In switch-reference involving a transfer predication, the animate LOCUS may lose its indirect object marking (*kena* or *dae*) when it has core function in another clause. (Refer to §4.4.4.) In fact, this animate recipient NP is more likely to be understood as the O in the O→S switch than the inanimate object (the object transferred). In example 6.71, the animate object (addressee) *natofo* is understood as the subject of the third clause, *ningarera* ‘they will hear’.

6.71 ...[*na y-a*]₁ [*natofo s-aono*]₂ [*ning-arera*]₃...
 IS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS kinfolk say.I-SEQ.IR.IS.DS hear.I-F.3PL.FN
 ‘...I will go and tell the kinfolk, and they will hear...’

Cause–effect is often the semantic relationship between clauses with an O→S switch. In the following example, the object of clause 1, *kaugha daba ava* ‘that same banana tree’, becomes the subject of the following two clauses. The boy’s action of thrusting his entire weight against the banana tree was enough to cause it to topple over.

6.72 ...[*kaugha daba ava gae-tiri*]₁ [*gofe*
 banana same that.CT spear.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS topple.I

 vos-a-ira]₂ [*dur-ira.*]₃
 descend.I-go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS fall.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘...he threw (his entire weight) against that same banana, and it toppled,
 went down, and fell (hitting the ground).’

6.3.2.2 OBJECT TRACKING IN SRCs

Korafe verbs are not cross-referenced for object agreement, nor are object NPs always syntactically differentiated from subject NPs, particularly when they both have third person singular reference. Nevertheless, a few guidelines do aid in identifying the referents of objects when overt NPs are not present: (1) the SS object guideline and (2) the S→O guideline.

The SS object guideline (G-2):

In a sequence of clauses predicated by SS medial verbs, an object NP is maintained as the understood object of all the transitive clauses in the sequence until the next overt object NP is introduced.

In the following example, the *arada* ‘lizard’ remains the object until it becomes a ‘skin’ (*anos*), which remains the object of the transitive three of the following four clauses.

6.73 ...[*arada tave-raera.*]₁ [*Tave*_{RECAP} *tambu de-do.*]₂
 lizard search.for.I-do.CUST.3PL.FN search.for.do.I find.I hit.I-SEQ.SS

[*anoso ava timbu-do*]₃ [*bu-do*]₄ [*fo-ama*]₅
 skin that.CT skin.I-SEQ.SS get.I-SEQ.SS come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS.T/F
 [*kambo=da fit-ioro*]₆...
 house=LOC put.I-SEQ.CUST.3PL.DS
 ‘...they search for a lizard. They search for it, find it, and strike it, and they
 skin off its skin, get it, come and put in in the house...’

In example 6.73, the theme (P2) copied by the pronoun in the following clause is the referent of the object of *tendido* ‘lashed’ and *budo* ‘got’. A new NP, *oka* ‘fish’, is introduced as the object of the next clause *gaedo* ‘speared’.

6.74 *Auri emo, nu tendi-do bu-do ya-ma oka*
 spear this.T/F 3S lash.I-SEQ.SS get.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS fish
gae-do ghu-seri.
 spear.I-SEQ.SS do.again.I-DP.1PL.AQ
 ‘These iron prongs, we would lash securely on (to a pole), and we would take
 it and go and spear fish from time to time.’

Although the object often persists in its role over a chain of same-subject medial verbs until another one takes its place, a topic NP can take precedence in the chain. In example 6.75, the NP *rika emo* ‘(regarding) this bird’ is marked with a demonstrative and the topic marker *mo* and introduced as the initial object in the SS clause chain. Another unmarked NP, *buroro* ‘feathers’, is the object of *tusedo* ‘pluck’. However, it would be nonsensical to regard the ‘feathers’ as also being the object of the verbs *oje itido* ‘butcher and cook’, so it is safe to assume that the speaker intends the topic NP *rika emo* ‘(regarding) this bird’ to be understood as the object.

6.75 *Rika emo de-do, bu-do f-oama nati=da*
 bird this.T/F hit.I-SEQ.SS get.I-SEQ.SS come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS village=LOC
buvu-do, buroro tuse-do, oje iti-do...
 arrive.ND-SEQ.SS feather pluck.I-SEQ.SS cut.up.I cook.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘This bird we kill, bring it and arrive in the village, and we pluck its feathers,
 cut it up and cook it...’

The S→O guideline (G-4):

The subject NP of a marking clause predicated by an intransitive DS simultaneous medial verb is interpreted as the object of the reference clause, provided that no overt object NP occurs in the reference clause.

In example 6.76, *gembari ã dighari nomua* ‘clothing already woven and prepared rope’ is the subject of *firi* ‘it is coming’. It is interpreted as the object of *ereofera* ‘we are buying’.

6.76 ...o oroko sifo e=mo, [gembari ã dighari nomua
 or today day this=T/F weave.I-DVB and tie.I-DVB prepared

*sitova=da f-iri*₁ [ere-of-era.]₂
 store=LOC come.DUR-SIM.R.3S.DS IPF-buy.I-PRES.3PL.FN
 ‘...or today in this day and age, clothing already woven and prepared rope is
 coming to stores, and we are buying (them).’

This S→O shift occurs regularly when the simultaneous DS verb is followed by a form of the verb *gi* ‘see’. The writer of the story from which example 6.77 was taken did not know the Korafe word for ‘axe’: *oto*. He only knew the loan word from another language: *karivaku*. So each time his father sent him back to the house to find the ‘*oto*’, he saw the axe but left it, searching frantically for some other item.

6.77 *Oto nu ir-iri gi-do dodo a-ena,*
 axe 3S remain-SIM.R.3S.DS see.I-SEQ.SS leave.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.1S.FN
afa=kena.
 father=ALOC
 ‘I saw the *oto*-axe (there) and left it and went (back) to Dad. (lit. The *oto*-axe was
 remaining, I saw (it) and left (it) and went to Dad.)’

Although an intransitive clause intervenes between the two clauses demonstrating the S→O shift in example 6.78, it does not affect the shift. The initial clause is marked for a switch of reference. The first person plural referent marked on the verb in clause 3 is the subject of both the intransitive verb, *yama* ‘will be going’ and the transitive verb *jeoro* ‘we chop’. The subject of the initial clause, *ambe* ‘sago tree’, is interpreted to be the object of the third clause.

6.78 [*Ambe fet-ir-iri*]₁ [*y-ama*]₂
 sago.(tree) stand.I-remain-SIM.REP.3S.DS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.T/F.SS
 [*j-eoro*]₃ [*du-raira.*]₄
 chop.I-SEQ.REP.1PL.DS fall.I-CUST.3S.FN
 ‘The sago tree remains standing, and we go and chop (it), and it falls (down).’

The S→O shift also occurs with intransitive DS sequencing medial verb forms, when the clause the DS sequencing form predicates is simultaneously the reference clause in an O→S shift and the marking clause in an S→O shift (clause 1: O=i, clause 2: S=i, clause 3: O=i). In example 6.79, an O→S shift between clauses 1 and 2 is followed by an S→O shift between clauses 2 and 3. These shifts are marked respectively by the DS sequencing medial verbs, *gafaso* ‘you will cut’ and *vosari* ‘it will descend’.

6.79 [*Nandae nanda ghaito gaf-aso*]₁ [*vos-ari*]₂
 1S.BEN 1S.GEN pandanus cut.I-SEQ.IR.2S.DS descend.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS
 [*b-aon=asi.*]₃
 get.I-SEQ.IR.1S=that.say.II
 ‘(I would like) you to cut my pandanus leaves down (so that) I could definitely
 get (them).’

These double shifts occur fairly often in narratives, producing lengthy SRCs. For instance, example 6.80 has three objects: *boguto* ‘the outer horizontal bearer that supports the house wall’, *avaraka* ‘fire’, and *Mandako Gajaride*. The most important referential information to

establish at the outset is that one person is interacting with all these objects and participants: *Mandako Gajaride*'s wife.

- 6.80 ... [*boguto* *ghonumbe-tiri*]₁ [*vose-tiri*]₂ [*sare-do*]₃ [*avaraka*
house.bearer wrench.out-DS descend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS split.I-SEQ.SS fire

use-tiri]₄ [*gamb-iri*]₅ [*Mandako+Gajaride*
ignite.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS bite.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS Mandako+Gajaride

ghonumbe-tiri]₆ [*vose-tiri*]₇ [*avaraka=da*
wrench.out.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS descend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS fire=LOC

fuge-tiri]₈ [*vit-ido*]₉ [*av-ira*]₁₀
throw.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS ascend.I-SEQ.SS burn-TP.3S.TN
'...she wrenched [down] the house bearer and it came down, (she) split it, ignited
the fire and it caught on, then she wrenched [down] (her husband) Mandako
Gajaride and he came down, she threw (him) up on the fire and he burned.'

The initiating agent is not overtly realised by an NP in this SRC, but she is the wife of *Mandako Gajaride*. In these O→S→O shifts, the initiating subject NP is considered as the most likely candidate for subject of the transitive clauses. The end house-bearer (*boguto*) is initially the object NP of *ghonumbetiri* 'she wrenched out', but it becomes the subject of *vosetiri* 'it went down' after the first switch subject juncture. After the second switch-subject juncture, it is regarded as the object of *saredo* 'sawed', and the wife as the subject again. The *avaraka* 'fire' is introduced in the story as the object NP of *usetiri* 'she kindled' and becomes the subject of *gambiri* 'it ignited (lit. it bit)'. *Mandako Gajaride* must be considered the object rather than the subject of *ghonumbetiri* 'she wrenched out', because it is the only NP available to be subject of *vosetiri* 'he went down'. The wife is understood to be the subject of *fugetiri* 'she threw', and he is understood to be the subject of the last two clauses, *vitido avira* 'he went up on the pyre and burned to death'.

CHAPTER 7

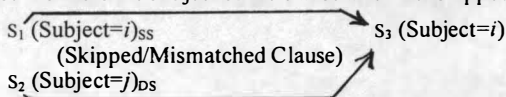
APPARENT ANOMALIES IN THE SWITCH-REFERENCE SYSTEM

The hallmarks of Korafe switch-reference constructions (SRCs) are maintenance of status/tense concord, temporal iconicity and subject reference through the medial verb tracking system. However, departures from temporal ordering and subject reference tracking conventions do occur. These discrepancies are termed ‘apparent anomalies’. The qualification ‘apparent’ is employed here because these ‘anomalies’ can be systematically explained. Our explanation will be in terms of the resolution of tensions between two functions of the switch-reference system, namely the marking of syntactic and semantic relations between clauses and the marking of pragmatic relationships such as foregrounding/backgrounding, continuity of topic or salient participant, etc. The former is a fairly fixed procedure for tracking subject reference and relative tense in a progression of events. The latter is a more flexible procedure for staging scenes and for creating special effects within the basic event line.

Cases of apparently anomalous switch-reference in Korafe are evidenced by: (1) juxtaposed clauses which demonstrate referential overlap, i.e. they share some of the same subject referents; (2) embedded constructions which are ‘skipped’¹ over by the switch referencing and/or the temporal tracking system; and (3) constructions involving medial verbs that register an apparent mismatch in subject reference between the initial SS-marked marking clause and the ‘mismatched’ reference clause,² which has a distinct subject.

¹ The term ‘skipped’ is used by several linguists to refer to clauses that are bypassed in the referential tracking system of SRCs. Franklin (1983:41, 44-45) describes clauses that are ‘skipped over’ for purposes of switch-reference, “because they are subordinated to the matrix clause by diacritic particles specifying distinct relationships such as reason–result, thesis–antithesis, and cause–effect”.

Longacre (1972:12-14) discusses “temporal margins”, “meteorological phenomena” and “circumstantial margins” which are encoded by clauses that are “skipped in the chaining”. Haiman (1983:83) also describes occurrences of this phenomenon as “reference-skipping” in which the initial marking clause monitors the subject of the clause after the ‘skipped’ clause.



In Korafe examples, only subordinated clauses or clause sequences, such as those described by Franklin above, can be said to be ‘skipped over’. They are not monitored by the switch-reference system, because they are not constituent bases of SRCs. Instead, they have nominal function within clauses or as themes or tails. The term ‘skipping over’ does not adequately reflect the syntactic reality involved in anomalies in referential tracking between clauses that are bases in SRCs (see fn.2).

² The term ‘mismatch’ is used instead of ‘skipping over’ for these cases for the following three reasons. (1) The reference clause remains a constituent base within the SRC. Although its subject reference is incorrectly monitored by the marking clause, the ‘mismatched’ reference clause does accurately monitor the referential relationship it has with the subsequent adjacent clause. (2) There is nothing to

7.1 REFERENTIAL OVERLAP

In cases of referential overlap, a shift in number or person of subject reference occurs between juxtaposed clauses. The subjects encoding a “set of participants and a partition of that set” (Longacre 1972:14) may be considered to be either coreferential or distinct. For instance, examples 7.1 and 7.2 illustrates the switch 3S→3PL, and examples 7.3 and 7.4, 3PL→3S. In 7.1, the subjects are considered coreferential, in spite of the singular to plural shift.

- 7.1 *S-etiri, gagara vos-edo nengae jingabu=da
say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS girl descend.I-SEQ.SS they.two snake=GEN

nati-da aera.
house-LOC go.TP.3PL.FN
‘He spoke, the girl got down, and both of them went to the snake’s house.’*

Likewise, in example 7.2 the subjects of the two clauses are marked as coreferential, even though there is a plural subject in the initial clause and a singular subject marked in the second clause.

- 7.2 *Evetu+genembo=ghae, nengae iri-se evetu=á
woman+man=COM.D 3D remain-SIM.SS woman=that

kauri+e-tira.
pregnant+do.I-TP.3S.FN
‘The couple, while they two were living together, that woman became pregnant.’*

However, in 7.3, switch-reference marking indicates the third person singular to third person plural shift.

- 7.3 *...evetako=á ere-tiri nengae a-era nunda
old.woman=that arise.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3D go.NDUR-TP.3PL.FN 3S.GEN

kambo-da vit-eri.
house-LOC ascend.I-TP.3PL.AQ
‘...that woman got up, and the two of them went and climbed into his house.’*

In 7.4, a shift from plural to singular subject is monitored by switch-reference marking.

- 7.4 *Fas+etero evetu av-iri gi-do, genembo nu
lie+do.I-SEQ.IR.3PL.DS woman sleep-SEQ.R.3S.DS see.I-SEQ.SS man 3S*

skip over to when the mismatched reference clause terminates the SRC (see examples 7.17, 7.18, 7.20, and 7.22). (3) Korafe evidences instances in which the subject of the marking clause (S_1) is not coreferential with the subject of the clause following the reference clause (S_2). In these instances, S_1 cannot be said to be the reference clause that the marking clause (S_1) monitors. (See example 7.25.)

The ‘mismatched’ reference clause is referred to as the ‘mismatched clause’ for ease of reference. Although the mismatch is syntactically indicated by anomalous referencing of subject referents, the mismatch actually signals a discourse relationship between clauses, a shift from foreground to background.

javi+e-do *a-ira.*

move+do.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN

'They lay down, and seeing that the woman was sleeping, the man got himself up and going and left.'

The choice, in the above instances, is at the speaker's discretion. If he or she believes the shift in participants is significant enough to highlight, then a DS form of the medial verb is used. Otherwise, the SS form of the medial verb is used.

However, in some cases of referential overlap, the speaker has no choice. The acceptable 'choice' is prescribed by the grammar. It is noteworthy that Papuan languages vary in where they place the boundary between obligatory and optional usages. In the following table, the Korafe set of standard and open-ended choices is compared with the sets which Kewa (Southern Highlands Province) and Usan³ (Madang Province) use.

TABLE 7.1: STANDARD CHOICES FOR REFERENTIAL OVERLAP
IN KORAFE, KEWA AND USAN

	Korafe	Kewa	Usan
PLURAL→SINGULAR			
3PL→3S	EITHER	EITHER	SS
2PL→2S	SS	EITHER	SS
2PL→3S	DS	DS	EITHER
1PL→3S	EITHER	DS	EITHER
1PL→2S	EITHER	DS	EITHER
1PL→1S	EITHER	EITHER	SS
SINGULAR→PLURAL			
3S→3PL	EITHER	EITHER	EITHER
3S→2PL	DS	DS	DS
3S→1PL	EITHER	DS	DS
2S→2PL	SS(?)	EITHER	SS
2S→1PL	DS	DS	DS
1S→1PL	EITHER	EITHER	SS

Wherever the chart is labelled 'EITHER', the choice is pragmatically based, subject to the speaker's viewpoint at the speech-act moment. Cases that are marked SS or DS are prescribed.

In Kewa, when the person category does not vary, but the number changes, the speaker may freely select either SS or DS marking. However, when the person category changes, Kewa speakers must use DS.

In Usan, when the person category remains the same, the speaker must use SS marking, except for 3S→3PL. When the person category changes between the marking and reference clauses, Usan speakers may choose either possibility in plural to singular shifts. However, in singular to plural shifts, they must use DS marking.

³ The standard choices for number and person shifts that Usan and Kewa allow are documented by Reesink (1987:201-202).

In Korafe, when first person occurs in the marking clause, the speaker is free to choose the alternative. When the third person category shifts only in number between the two clauses, both possibilities are also available to the speaker. However, when the second person category shifts only in number between the two clauses, SS is used.⁴ With all shifts in the person category that do not involve first person in the marking clause, DS obligatorily occurs.

7.2 'SKIPPED' EMBEDDED SENTENCES

Within the boundaries of some SRCs are embedded SRCs or clauses. These embedded constructions support the main events in a narrative discourse, but are themselves not part of the main event line. They are nominal constituents of the clauses constituting bases of the SRCs, or themes preposing or tails postposing a given segment of the SRC, but they are not base constituents of SRCs. They encode antecedent events, projected events, clarifications and predictions.

The main SRC 'skips over' these sentences in monitoring switch-reference and/or⁵ in its temporal tracking. These constructions differ from mismatched clauses in SRCs, because they do not obey temporal concord rules. In most cases, they express a different temporal relationship with the speech-act moment than the main SRC has.

The term 'skipped' is used here to refer to two types of embedded sentences which are not monitored by the switch-reference system. One type terminates with a dependent final verb form (other than the hortative), which is often followed by a demonstrative. This type is presented in §7.2.1. The other type consists of purpose constructions, discussed in §7.2.2.

7.2.1 SKIPPED SENTENCES TERMINATING WITH DEPENDENT FINAL VERB FORMS

Skipped embedded sentences are not problematic for theories of switch-reference, because any reasonable theory of switch-reference will predict that they be skipped on the basis of syntax. But they do illustrate some interesting phenomena.

Skipped embedded sentences reference events that can precede or follow the events encoded by the SRC that contains them, because they are temporally grounded independently of the SRC. The dependent final verb⁶ that terminates them indicates their

⁴ Chaining examples in natural texts in Korafe that use second person in either marking or reference clause are scarce. In fact in the current data corpus, the only examples that maintain person but switch number (i.e. 2S→2PL, 2PL→2S) are SS.

⁵ The clause preceding the embedded construction bypasses it and marks instead its referential relationship with the subject of the clause following the embedded sentence. However, when the subject of the marking clause has the same referent as the initial subject in the embedded construction, the skipping is not overtly apparent.

⁶ Although Korafe speakers use dependent final verbs to describe and explain events that are off the event line, some Papuan languages use special types of medial verbs to perform this function. For example, Hua has two types of medial verb: coordinate medials and subordinate medials. Subordinate medials "always occur with the subordinating desinence *-ma*, and often with additional desinences indicating adverbial clause-like notions". The clauses they embed are always presupposed, so they are never marked for illocutionary force. (Refer to Haiman 1980:391-429.) Or again in Chuave, medial

temporal grounding. They are often followed by a demonstrative form or a postposition, which signals the role the embedded sentence plays within the SRC. Skipped embedded sentences perform a nominal role in the SRC: (1) core argument, (2) peripheral argument, (3) ‘possessor’ of an NP, (4) left-dislocated theme, or (5) right-dislocated tail.

The underlined embedded sentence in example 7.5 is a contrastive theme. In contrast to its containing SRC which is in the hortative mood and has irrealis status, it has present tense and realis status.

- 7.5 *Ninda ghasemo bu+fu,*
 2S.GEN canoe get.I+come.DUR.IMP
 bring your canoe and
- nangae vosi+y-a,* *badamu=da*
 1.D descend.I+go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS deep.water=GEN
 let the two of us go down, in the deep water
- oka fati ere-juf-era* *ovia,*
 fish press.I IPF-pull.II-PRES.3PL.FN that.CT
 those fish that they are striking and pulling in
- eni jumbu viti+fo-a* *mind-ore!*
 one pull.I ascend.I+come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS eat.I-H.1PL.CR
 let’s pull one and come back up and eat (it)!
- ‘Bring your canoe, and let the two of us go down, and those fish they’re striking and pulling in out in the deep water there, let’s pull one (ourselves) and come up and eat (it).’

The subject of the embedded clause is an unspecified third person plural entity that is not monitored by the SS-marked *nangae vosiya* ‘we two will go down’. Instead, *vosiya* ‘will go down’ skips over this embedded segment and monitors as its reference clause *eni jumbu viti foa* ‘we two will pull in one and come up’ with its understood subject, *nangae* ‘we two’

The skipped sentence in 7.6 is taken from Mark 2:20. It is an internally headed relative clause that functions as the object of the clause *sandi bu ya* ‘grab and take’, which is a base constituent of the SRC terminating at *ambarira* ‘he will die’. The entire SRC is itself embedded by *ainda sifoda* ‘on that day’ which expresses the temporal framework for the main sentence that follows.

- 7.6 *O gitofu=imi fo-ama,*
 or enemy=CEFF.T/F come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
 or the enemies will come
- genembo* *evetu fit-ira* *ava*
 man woman marry.I-TP.3S.FN that.CT
 the man that has married a wife today

verb markers that bracket backgrounded or subordinate material are: *-g*, *-ga*, *-gua*, *-gui*. Verbs of this kind cannot signal change of subject. (Refer to Thurman 1975:349.)

As for illocutionary force, like Hua subordinate medial verbs, Korafe dependent final verbs signal the speaker’s neutrality with regard to his or her commitment to the factuality or desirability of the proposition encoded by the verb, by the final *-a* marking.

sandi bu+y-a

grab.I get.I+go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS

they will grab and take and

d-aoro

amb-arira

ainda

sifo=da...

hit.I-SEQ.IR.3PL.DS die.I-F.3S.FN that.GEN day=LOC

they will hit and he will die, on that day...

'Or on that day when the enemies will come and grab that man that has today married a wife and take and kill him...'

The SRC has irrealis status and terminates with a verb having future tense, and the embedded clause has realis status and a final verb having a today's past tense form. The SS irrealis future medial verb form *foama* '(they) will come and' with its third person plural subject monitors the subject of *sandi bu ya* 'grab and take', skipping over the third person singular subject of the embedded clause.

In example 7.7, taken from Mark 1:16, the underlined embedded construction is a relative clause whose head has locative function in the matrix clause. It is embedded under the locative demonstrative form, *aminda* 'there'.

- 7.7 *Amingu-se, nu ira,*
that.T/F.CEFF.do.II-SIM.SS 3S go.DUR-SEQ.PAST.3S.SS
while he was acting that way, he went and

Galilee uvu teria ir-ira aminda

Galilee water large remain-PRES.3S.FN that.LOC

in Galilee a large (body of) water is remaining, there,

buvu-do,

ainda

dengesi=da

deinghu-sira.

arrive.I-SEQ.SS that.CEFF.GEN side=LOC travel.II-DP.3S.FN

he arrived, and he travelled around next to it

'Acting that way, he (Jesus) went and arrived there at Galilee (where there) is a large body of water, and travelled around next to that (sea).'

The subject of the main SRC is *nu* 'he (referring to Jesus)'. The SS verb *ira* 'he went' skips over the embedded clause, which has a different subject, *uvu teria* 'a large body of water'. Instead, the subject of *ira* 'he went' is coreferential with the subject of *buvudo* '(he) arrived', which is understood to be *nu* 'he'. The main SRC is temporally grounded in the distant past, but the present tense form of the verb *irira* 'it is remaining' is used because the sea of Galilee was (and still is) in existence at the time of the writing of the Gospel of Mark.

The embedded construction in 7.8, from an account of how pig traps are made, is itself an SRC with two clauses predicated by *darero* 'we anchored in place and' and *fetirira* 'it is standing'. It is embedded by a genitive demonstrative form, *ainda* 'of that'.

- 7.8 ...*bato aminda gae-do*
trigger.block that.CEFF.T/F.LOC spear.I-SEQ.SS
...we ram that trigger block (with a stick)

sireg-eoro

extend.I-SEQ.CUST.IPL.DS

thrusting forward (the stick)

sembi+y-a,

cross.I+go.DUR.-SEQ.IR.SS

and it goes across and

ika eni dar-ero

fet+ir-ira

tree one anchor.I-SEQ.R.IPL.DS stand+remain-PRES.3S.FN

a post that we have firmly tamped into the ground so it stands upright

ainda ifu=da gaye-raira.

that.CEFF.GEN trunk=LOC spear.EPEN.I-CUST.3S.FN

we thrust it against that (post's) mid-section.

'...and we ram the trigger block there against the mid-section of a post that we have already tamped in in an upright position (with a stick that) we thrust across.'

The main SRC uses the customary aspectual verb forms, but the embedded SRC terminates with a verb having present tense. Although the verb *sembiya* 'it goes across' signals SS following, the embedded SRC has a different subject. The reference clause that *sembiya* 'it goes across' is monitoring terminates with *gayeraira* 'it rams'.

7.2.2 SKIPPED PURPOSE CONSTRUCTIONS

Constructions encoding final cause or purpose, marked by the postposition-complementiser *dae* 'on account of, in order to', are also skipped over by the switch-reference tracking system.

Purpose constructions usually precede⁷ verbs that predicate the matrix clauses in which they are embedded. But they encode events with irrealis status that are projected to occur subsequent to the event encoded in the matrix clause. The matrix clause is temporally grounded in relationship to the terminal verb in the SRC.

Purpose constructions can be monoclausal or multiclausal. Multiclausal purpose constructions have the form of an SRC with irrealis medial verbs.

Purpose constructions are embedded complements and could be included in §3.1.6.1. They are included in this discussion because: (1) they themselves are often SRCs, (2) they take their temporal grounding from the terminal final verb in the sentence in which they occur, (3) they monitor coreferentiality and non-coreferentiality of subject between their terminal verb and the verb in the matrix clause, and (4) when there is a medial verb in the

⁷

Purpose constructions can be extraposed to the tail position of a sentence, but they still relate to the final verb in the terminal clause for their referential and temporal grounding. Technically, tail purpose constructions cannot be skipped over, because they follow a final verb. However, the occurrence of a final verb does signal a possible disruption of iconic ordering.

...farighu-seri, fo-a sonemb+aore=dae.
wave.II-DP.3PL.AQ come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS help+do.H.3PL.CR=PUR
'...they waved for them to come help.'

clause before them, it skips over them and monitors the verb in the matrix clause for its subject reference.

Example 7.9 illustrates a multiclausal purpose construction embedded in a non-final clause of an SRC. The three clauses in the purpose construction are underlined and labelled a, b and c.

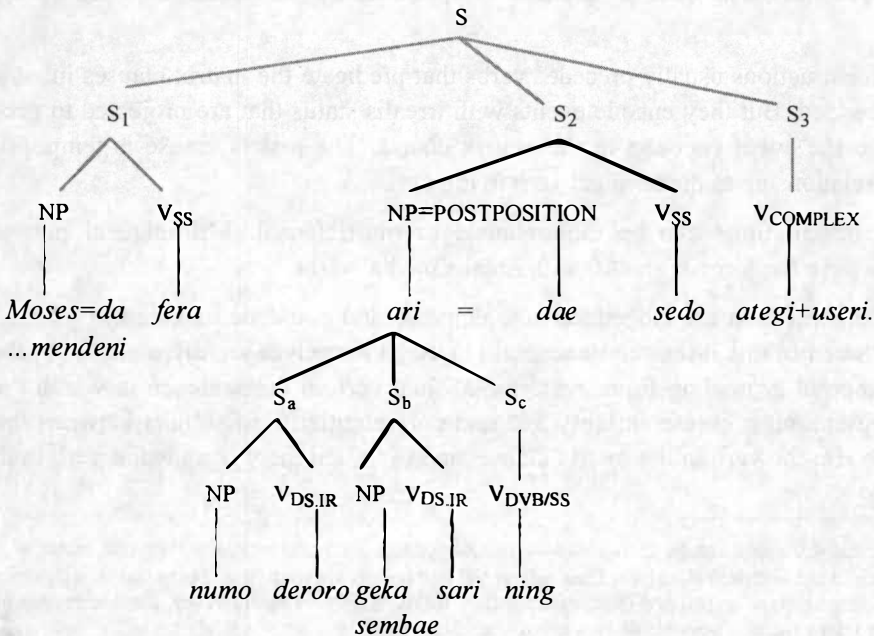
7.9 *Moses=da Geka kaifa+kakato mendeni f-era,*
 Moses=GEN Talk care+INT.RED some come.DUR-SEQ.PAST.3PL.SS

a. numo der-oro
 3S.T/F trick.I-SEQ.IR.3PL.DS

b. geka semb-ae s-ari
 talk cross-not.do say.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS

c. ning-ari=dae se-do, ategi+u-seri...
 hear.I-DVB=PUR say.I-SEQ.SS greet/question+do.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 ‘Some of the caretakers of Moses’ Talk (Pharisees) came, saying that they
would trick him, and he would say rash talk and they would hear (him), and
 they asked (him)...

The clauses labelled (a) and (b) are predicated by DS irrealis medial verbs. The terminal clause in the purpose construction (c) is predicated by a nominal deverbal, which signals that it has the same subject referent as the matrix clause, the Pharisees (caretakers of Moses’ talk). The following is a tree diagram of example 7.9. The purpose construction is under the NP with a POSTPOSITION under S₂.



Korafe has two types of purpose constructions differentiated by their polarity: purpose constructions (positive polarity) and negative purpose constructions (negative polarity).

7.2.2.1 PURPOSE CONSTRUCTIONS WITH POSITIVE POLARITY

Purpose constructions with positive polarity are grounded temporally and referentially in the matrix clause.

When the subject of the terminal clause is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause, purpose clauses terminate with a positive deverbal (*ari* form) as in example 7.9, where the purpose construction terminates with *ningari* ‘hear’.

When the subjects are not coreferential, a DS irrealis medial verb (or a final verb in the hortative mood)⁸ is the terminal verb in the embedded chain. In example 7.10, the verb predicating the purpose clause has a sequencing irrealis DS medial form, but the SRC terminates with a final verb having today’s past tense and realis status.

- 7.10 *Evetu+genembo isambu vare=da i-se, sasingu igho*
 woman+man all garden=LOC go.DUR-SIM.SS children turtle
kaifa+aoro=dae se-do, do-do a-era.
 care+do.SEQ.IR.3PL.DS=PUR say.I-SEQ.SS leave.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.3PL.FN
 ‘As all the adults were going to the garden, saying that the children should watch
over the turtle, they left and went.’

The initial marking clause has as its predicate *ise*, which indicates that the following clause has the same subject referent. Its subject NP is *evetu genembo* ‘people (adults)’. However, the subsequent clause in linear order has a distinct subject NP, *sasingu* ‘children’. This clause is embedded by *dae*, so it is skipped over by the marking clause, which actually monitors the subject reference of the clause terminating with *sedo* ‘(they) said and’. The DS-marked irrealis verb *kaifa aoro* ‘they will care for’ indicates that it has a different subject referent than the matrix clause, *sedo* ‘(they) said and’.

The purpose construction in 7.11 appears to be embedded in a matrix clause between the subject *gagara* ‘girl’ and the verb *setira* ‘she said’. This structure is akin to thematic bracketing, discussed in §7.4, but the subject/topic in this construction occurs in the same rhythm group as the embedded clause.

- 7.11 *Na gagara ovia kombo+er-uana e-teno*
 IS girl that.CT sex.relations+IPF-do.II.EP.IS.FN do.I-SEQ.R.IS.DS
gi-do, gagara y-ama b-aono=dae
 see.I-SEQ.SS girl go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS.T/F get.I-SEQ.IR.IS.DS=PUR

8

Some Korafe speakers utilise hortative final verb forms instead of irrealis medial forms in the terminal clause of all purpose constructions that do not have the same subject referent as the matrix clause.

se-tira.

say.I-TP.3S.FN

'I have been involved with that girl up until now, so the girl said that I should go and get (her to marry her).'

The subject of the purpose construction is cross-referenced by the first person singular marker in the verb, but the main SRC surrounding it cross-references third person singular as subject.

The combination of a purpose construction with the verb *e* 'do' in the matrix clause encodes anticipatory or immediate future. Thus, *ungobu ari dae iri* can be translated 'as it was about to become late afternoon'.

7.12 *Oj-era,*

come.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3PL.SS

they came, and

ungobu+ari=dae

iri

late.afternoon+do.DVB=PUR do.SIM.R.3S.DS

as it was about to become late afternoon

saramana tuturo+e-tera

ainda

mino,

work beginning+do.I-TP.3PL.FN that.CEFF.GEN remuneration

those who began work, their remuneration

K3.00 mut-ira.

K3.00 give.I-TP.3S.FN

he gave K3.00

'They came, and those that began to work as late afternoon was about to occur, (for) their remuneration he gave K3.00.'

7.2.2.2 NEGATIVE PURPOSE CONSTRUCTIONS

Negative purpose or apprehension is encoded by purpose constructions embedded under *dae* 'in order to' and the negative hortative medial and final verb forms.

7.13 *Ã kotu=go, ne oju+u-se,*

and footprint=CPAR 3PL fear+do.II-SIM.SS

and likewise while they were afraid

er-ama

evetu+genembo nemo

IPF-do.SEQ.IR.SS woman+man 3PL.T/F

lest people them

ghamana a-imi

d-eore=dae

se-do,

rock that-CEFF.T/F hit.I-NEG.H.3S.CR=PUR say.I-SEQ.SS

with rocks would hit saying (that)

robogho=i

si-se

gentleness=CEFF say.II-SIM.SS

while they were speaking gently and politely

bu-do fu-seri.

get.I-SEQ.SS come.DUR-DP.3PL.AQ

they got them and came

‘And also, while they were fearing that the people might stone them, speaking politely, they brought (them into their council chamber).’ (Acts 18:26)

In 7.13 the marking clause predicated by *oju use* ‘while they were fearing’ skips over the embedded negative purpose clause *erama...deore dae* ‘lest...they hit’ and shares its subject referent with *sedo* ‘they said’, the verb predicating the matrix clause. In this context, the subject, indicated by *ne* ‘they’ and *nemo* ‘they (emphatic)’, has the Sanhedrin as its referent. But the subject NP of the negative purpose clause is *evetu genembo* ‘the people’.

The verb *burege* ‘prohibit, hinder’ often is a main verb in a construction expressing negative purpose, or more specifically prohibition as 7.14 expresses.

7.14 ...*Iesu=da dorevare oju+e-do,*
 Jesus=GEN followers fear+do.I-SEQ.SS
 ...Jesus’ followers were afraid,

er-ama numo d-eoro
 IPF-do.SEQ.IR.SS.T/F 3S.T/F hit.I-SEQ.NEG.H.3PL.DS
 lest they (the crowd) would hit him (Paul)

amb-eure=dae se-do,
 die.I-NEG.HORT.3S.CR=PUR say.I-SEQ.SS
 and he would die, speaking with that in mind,

burege-tero
 prohibit.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS
 they prohibited (him) and

Paul nu esike fefetu-sira.
 Paul 3S go.apart.I stand.II-DP.3S.FN
 Paul went aside (from the crowd) and stood
 ‘Jesus’ followers feared lest they (the crowd) would hit him (Paul) and
 he would die, so they prohibited (him from speaking to the crowd), and
 Paul stood aside (out of harm’s way).’ (Acts 19:30)

Although both verbs have third person plural subject referents, they are not coreferential. The subject of *oju edo* ‘(they) feared’ is *Iesu da dorevare* ‘Jesus’ followers’, but the subject referent of *deoro* ‘they hit and’ is the rioting crowd of people at Ephesus. The negative purpose construction contains three clauses: the sequencing irrealis SS medial form *erama* ‘will do’, used here to mark the onset of the scope of the negative hortative, the sequencing negative hortative DS medial form *deoro*,⁹ and the negative hortative final form *ambeure* ‘lest he die’.

⁹

Some Korafe speakers prefer to use the negative hortative final verb forms in all clauses of negative purpose constructions, medial and terminal. In this example, *deoro* would have the form *deore* ‘so that they might not hit’.

7.3 'MISMATCHED' CLAUSES IN THE SRC

Apparent anomalies in subject referencing occur between marking and reference clauses that are base constituents of SRCs. In these cases, the initial marking clause indicates that the following reference clause shares the same subject referent, but the reference clause does not, in fact, have the same subject referent. The expected and actual patterns are diagrammed below. For ease of reference, the initial marking clause is labelled S_1 and the reference clause S_2 .

EXPECTED (or CANONICAL):

S_1 (SUBJECT= i) DS S_2 (SUBJECT= j) DS

What actually occurs is the following pattern.

ACTUAL:

S_1 (SUBJECT= i) SS S_2 (SUBJECT= j) DS

Although ellipsis of NP arguments is quite common in SRCs, S_2 either has an overt subject NP or the subject is uniquely recoverable.

I will refer to such cases as exhibiting 'mismatching' between marking and reference clauses. Unlike the embedded skipped sentences which do not obligatorily maintain tense iconicity, these mismatched clauses are either ordered to maintain the temporal iconicity of the events they reference in the event sequence the SRC represents, or indicate overlap of one event with two other events that are represented in iconic order. This means that a mismatched clause cannot be reversed with the clause before or after it.

Mismatched constructions are associated with three types of clauses in Korafe: (1) mismatched clauses that encode physiological and psychological responses, (2) mismatched clauses that provide a temporal, meteorological or circumstantial setting for a subsequent segment of the SRC, and (3) mismatched clauses that register a temporal overlap between marking and reference clauses.¹⁰

7.3.1 MISMATCHES INVOLVING PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EMOTIONAL RESPONSES

In §4.4.3, two distinct options that the Korafe have for encoding emotional responses were discussed. They are illustrated by examples 4.62 and 4.63, which are repeated here as 7.15a and 7.15b.

7.15a. *Na dubo+mema+er-ira.*

IS neck+pain+IPF-do.PRES.3S.FN

'I am overcome with grief.'

7.15b. *Na dubo+mema+er-ena.*

IS neck+pain+IPF-do.PRES.3S.FN

'I am upset over this (lit. I am doing neck pain and I'm going to stay that way).'

¹⁰

Usually the mismatched segment is a clause, but sometimes there are two or three clauses involved.

When the emotional response (or a 'dummy' subject, as described in fn.13, Chapter 4) is considered to overwhelm and control the experiencer, the verb is cross-referenced for third person subject, as in example 7.15a. But in 7.15b, the verb cross-references the experiencer as subject when he or she in some way controls (i.e. chooses) his or her response.

In SRCs, when the animate entity is referenced as the subject of the reference clause and thus, in control of its response, the canonical switch-reference pattern occurs, as illustrated in example 7.16. In all the examples given in this section, the subscript ₁ is used to indicate the marking clause, and the subscript ₂ the reference clause. Brackets enclose the respective clauses.

- 7.16 ...*nuvu bu-do [gi-do]₁ [oju+e-do]₂ mut-iri,*
 3S.husband get.I-SEQ.SS see.I-SEQ.SS fear+do.I-SEQ.SS give.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
sino-imi mind-ira.
 dog-CEFF.T/F eat.I-TP.3S.T
 '...her husband got (the afterbirth), saw (it), feared (on account of it), and he gave (it to his dogs), and the dogs ate (it).'

The husband is monitored as the subject of both *gido* and *oju edo*, and *gido* is marked SS as we would in fact expect. The clause sequence has the following expected structure:

S₁ (SUBJECT=i) SS S₂ (SUBJECT=i) DS

However, the reference clause may contain an impersonal experiential predicate such as *ghamo erari* 'become excited (lit. lungs lift)' in example 7.17.

- 7.17 [*Afa=mane abua=mane feku fuse-do*]₁ [*ghamo er-ari*]₂
 father=PL grandfather=PL flute blow.I-SEQ.SS lungs arise.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS
y-a-ma kombo+yaru+e-do+ghu-seri.
 go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS-T/F sex.partner+play+do.I-SEQ.SS+continue.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 '(Our) fathers (and) grandfathers would play the flute and would become excited and they would go and fornicate with a casual partner.'

From the syntactic marking on the marking clause, the expected structure is:

S₁ (SUBJECT=i) SS S₂ (SUBJECT=i) DS

in which the subjects of both clauses are represented by 'i'.

However, the actual structure is:

S₁ (SUBJECT=i) SS S₂ (SUBJECT=j) DS

Although the marking clause signals that its subject referent is coreferential with the subject referent of the reference clause, the reference clause, in fact, has a third person singular subject, not a third person plural subject.

Because most physiological responses are involuntary, the animate entity experiencing them is not usually cross-referenced as subject. In these cases, a mismatch is encoded between the marking clause and the reference clause encoding the response, as 7.18 illustrates.

- 7.18 *E-do na bino ningi-do [dudukughe-do]₁ [ghamo*
do.I-SEQ.SS IS news hear.I-SEQ.SS be.startled.I-SEQ.SS lungs
keinghu-sira.]₂
hyperventilate.I-DP.3S.FN
‘I did (that) and I heard the news, was startled, and panicked.’

The marking clause in 7.18 indicates that its first person singular subject referent is also the subject referent of the reference clause. However, the verb in the reference clause cross-references a third person singular subject. The same type of mismatch occurs in the following example.

- 7.19 *Gembu-do [i-se]₁ [na ditiko+baingh-usira.]₂*
paddle.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-SIM.SS IS eye.DIM+close-DP.3S.FN
‘I paddled, and as I went along, I nodded off (lit. I eyes closed).’

Although the subject referent of *gembudo ise* ‘while I was paddling and moving along’ is understood to be first person singular from the previous context, the subject of *na ditiko bainghusira* ‘my eyes closed’ is third person singular.

It is the semanticopragmatic argument structure of the ‘impersonal’ clause itself that leads to the mismatches noted in examples 7.17, 7.18 and 7.19. As the significant participant in the sentence, the experiencer of the physiological or emotional response has pragmatic topic role in all cases. The controlling entity in an impersonal clause is made the syntactic subject and marked as such by verb inflection. But the pragmatically salient referent is monitored by the switch-reference system. The discourse saliency of the animate entity is underscored by the mismatch that occurs when he or she is not in control of the physiological or psychological changes, and hence not cross-referenced as subject.

From the above examples, it is clear that the syntactic subject is not always monitored by the switch-reference tracking system. These examples seem to suggest that topics are primarily monitored by switch-reference tracking.¹¹ However, not all topics are tracked by the switch-reference system, as 7.20 indicates.¹²

¹¹ Reesink (1983:240) and Roberts (1988a:96) suggest that the topicality status of the NP may provide a solution to apparent anomalies in referential tracking in impersonal clauses and the like. Reesink (p.243) hypothesises that “the function of a S/R mechanism is that it monitors the coreferentiality of the subject in a following coordinated clause with the subject of the preceding clause, while factors of topicality such as humanness, implying deliberate action, definiteness, implying givenness, and singular or plural focus, may cause ‘false’ SS markings”.

¹² In the following examples, the NP having pragmatic topic role is not tracked by the switch-reference system when it is not the syntactic subject.

...ogha mu-suka viti+oji-gh-ira Kofure buv-ira.
crow 3S-alone ascend+come.NDUR-stop-SEQ.TP.3S.SS Kofure arrive.I-TP.3S.FN
E-tiri, ogha Bedada=i bu-do munda kotofu=dae
do-SEQ.R.3S.DS crow Bedada.clan=CEFF get.I-SEQ.SS 3S.GEN totem=BEN
b-iri oroko=é ogha=mo Kofure ir-ira.
get.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS today=this crow=T/F Kofure remain-PRES.3S.FN
‘...and the crow alone came up and arrived at Kofure. It did, and the crow the Bedada
clan got and took as its totem, and even now the crow remains at Tufi.’

The crow (*ogha*) is understood to be the topic of the entire discourse segment. As long as it has subject role, it is tracked by the switch-reference system. However, when it loses subject role at *etiri* ‘it did

7.20 ...[oka bamb-ari=dae y-aovo]₁ [diti+baingh-arira]₂ amo,
 fish get.I-DVB=PUR go.DUR-SEQ.IR.2PL.DS eye+close-F.3S.FN that.T/F
 do-do nati=da fo-a ghe-vu!
 leave.I-SEQ.SS village=LOC come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS do.again.I-2PL.IMP
 ‘...if you go to get fish and your eyes start closing, leave and come back home
 (each time that it happens).’

Although example 7.20 encodes a physiological response identical to that of 7.19, S₁ is predicated by *yaovo* ‘you will go and’, a DS-sequencing medial verb. It switches the focus from the second person plural addressees to the physiological response, even though the locus of that response is still the addressees. Here, the writer uses the canonical switch-reference pattern rather than the mismatch pattern, which ordinarily occurs in SRCs encoding physiological responses. Why? The mismatch keeps the spotlight on the pragmatically salient entity in the two clauses. But the emphasis here is on the activity, the event encoded by *diti baingharira* ‘eyes will droop’, rather than on the participant. The writer counsels the reader to take notice of the drooping eyelids and avoid falling into the ocean as he did.

In most cases, the physiological or emotional response is incidental to the plot. The animate entity experiencing it is central to the plot. The mismatch provides a way to highlight the pragmatically salient animate entity and still assign the syntactic subject role to the initiator.

7.3.2 MISMATCHES OCCURRING WITH TEMPORAL, METEOROLOGICAL, AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL SETTINGS

The speaker may choose to monitor reference clauses expressing temporal settings, weather conditions, or circumstances peripherally involved in the sequence of events canonically or as mismatched clauses.

Examples 7.21 and 7.22 illustrate canonically structured SVCs in which the reference clauses encode temporal and meteorological events respectively.

7.21 [Se-tero,]₁ [sifo ate-tiri,]₂ gagara se-tira...
 say.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS day dawn.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS girl say.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘They spoke, and when day dawned, the girl said...’

(that) and’, which is marked as DS following. In the clauses terminating with *budo* and *biri*, the crow (*ogha*) has object role; *Bedadai* ‘the Bedada clan’ has subject role and is tracked. However, *ogha* precedes *Bedadai* in the clause, an indication of its topic role. At the referential shift marked on *biri* ‘it took’, the crow (*ogha mo*), marked as topic, again has the subject role and is cross-referenced as subject of *irira* ‘it remains’.

The same is the case with the following example in which *ne* ‘they/them’ (referring to the mauve rainbow fish (*dabi*)) is the sentence topic in sentence-initial position, but it is not tracked at all by the switch-reference system.

Ne borija di-do usegha aimi bu fo-a ghe-raira.
 3PL rain fall-SEQ.SS flood that.CEFF.T/F get come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS do.again-CUST.3S.FN
 ‘(Regarding) them—rain falls, and that flood takes them and comes (sweeping them out into the salt water).’

As expected, the marking clause indicates both that it has a third person plural subject referent and that the following clause has a different subject referent. And the reference clause does have a different subject, *sifo* ‘day’, cross-referenced on the verb *atetiri* ‘it dawned’ as third person singular.

Example 7.22 expresses the meteorological event that is the theme of the entire narrative in which it occurs. The word *yaura* ‘wind’ refers to Cyclone Hannah that hit Tufi district 11 May, 1972.

- 7.22 ...[*namane Michael noaro=ghae isambu nanda nati=da*
 we.EXC Michael his.wife=with all IS.GEN house=LOC
ir-ero]₁ [*yaura suf-iri*]₂...
 remain-SIM.R.1PL.DS wind run.II-SIM.R.3S.DS
 ‘...while we, Michael and his wife, all of us were staying at my house,
 the wind was blowing...’

The marking clause is predicated by a simultaneous DS medial verb *irero* ‘while we were remaining’, indicating that the following clause has a different subject referent. The highly topical NP *yaura* ‘wind’ is the third person singular subject cross-referenced on *sufiri* ‘it blew’.

Reference clauses encoding temporal and meteorological events and circumstances incidental to the plot can occur also in SRCs registering a mismatch in the subject referencing of marking and reference clauses, which takes this form:

S₁ (SUBJECT=*i*) SS S₂ (SUBJECT=*j*) DS/FINAL VERB

As in the mismatched clauses encoding impersonal physiological and psychological responses, the sequence of marking clause S₁ and mismatched clause S₂ represents the event sequence iconically. Although the marking clause indicates that the reference clause shares its subject referent, the reference clause has a different subject. The verb predicating S₂ always has a DS medial verb form (usually sequencing), or else it is a final verb. Examples 7.23, 7.24, and 7.25 register this type of mismatch in the subject-referencing system.

The reference clause in 7.23 encodes a temporal setting.

- 7.23 ...*nange-tir=ai* *nu=sukako* *oj-ira*
 do.how.I-TP.3S=that.CEFF 3S=alone.DIM come.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS
 [*ir-ara*]₁ [*tumba eri?*]₂
 remain-SEQ.TP.3S.SS night IPF.do.PRES.3S.AQ
 ‘...how come he alone has come and stayed and night is falling?’

In 7.25 the pronominal form *nusukako* ‘he alone’ is understood to reference the ellipsed subject of the clause *irara* ‘he remained’. Although no switch in syntactic subject is indicated at this clause juncture, the subsequent clause has a different syntactic subject, *tumba* ‘night’.

Example 7.24 illustrates a meteorological sequence with a similar apparent anomaly in its switch-reference structure.

- 7.24 “...rekato eminge-teni!” se-do dumo=ghae yaura-i
 how.in.the.world this.do.I-TP.IS.AQ say.I-SEQ.SS sulking=with wind-CEFF
d-etiri dadadaghu-se nati=da f-useni.
 hit.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS shake.II-SIM.SS village-LOC come.DUR-DP.IS.T
 “‘...how in the world did I do this!’ I having said that, sulking, with the wind
 hitting me and while I was shaking, I came home.’”

In this example, the syntax implies that the subject of *sedo* ‘I said’ is coreferential with the subject of the following verb. However, the subsequent reference clause indicates that *yaura* ‘wind’ is its local subject, not ‘I’. The modifier in that clause, *dumoghae* ‘sulking’, cannot possibly refer to the wind. It refers, instead, to an ellipsed NP, the subject of the previous clause and the experiencer of the wind’s activity. The referent of this NP, the narrator, uses this referential mismatch to keep himself as the centre of attention, backgrounding the action of the wind.

Example 7.25 is taken from an essay on the writer’s journey to becoming a responsible adult male in the Korafe society. The SRC is terminated by an aspectual clause sequence which expresses iteration of the entire sequence of events at irregular intervals. The reference clause thus encodes an oft repeated circumstance, which was part of the author’s transitional stage.

- 7.25 *Aminge-do*, na ade-jamena s-eoro,
 that.T/F.CEFF.do.FOC.I-SEQ.SS IS girl-PL say.I-SEQ.CUST.3PL.DS
na emboro=da tefo+tefo deinghe-do gh-u-seni.
 IS path=LOC nothing+DUP travel.I-SEQ.SS do.again.II-DP.IS.AQ
 ‘(I) acted that way, and the girls would speak to me (causing), me to repeatedly
 bum around, engaging in useless behaviour.’

The verb *amingedo* ‘I would act that way’ in the marking clause generically recapitulates the final aspectual verb combination in the previous sentence: *sedo ghuseni* ‘I would repeatedly say’. Although persistence of the same subject is signalled by *amingedo*, the personal pronoun *na* ‘I’ is not the subject of the reference clause, but its object.¹³ The *adejamena* ‘girls’ have the subject role, as the third person plural cross-referencing on the verb *seoro* ‘they would speak’ confirms. Although the *adejamena* ‘girls’ have a controlling role in this clause, they do not continue as participants beyond this one clause.¹⁴ The DS

¹³ This example was re-checked with Kingsley Seko to make sure that the use of the SS sequencing medial form *amingedo* ‘do that way’ is grammatical when the following reference clause has a different agentive subject. He said it was all right to use, but suggested that the SS simultaneous medial form *aminguse* ‘while doing that way’ is a bit better in this context.

¹⁴ Stirling (1993:81-82, 91-92) hypothesises that “SS indicates that there is no new (i.e. disjoint) agentive subject in the controlling clause [=reference clause in this thesis]...
 SS...covers the three cases:

- (i) where the controlling clause lacks a subject nominal;
- (ii) where the controlling clause does have a subject, but it is not an agentive subject;
- (iii) where both clauses have agentive subjects and these are coreferential...
 DS marking indicates that the event described in the controlling clause introduces a new agentive protagonist, which is the controller of that event”.

marked verb *seoro* switches attention from the *adejamena* ‘girls’ to another participant, in this case the author. The mismatch in referential tracking and the repetition of *na* ‘I’ as the topic in adjacent clauses enables the author writer to highlight himself as the prominent participant in the sequence of events, while downplaying his responsibility in his activities with the girls.

In each of the mismatch examples, the entity encoded as syntactic subject of the mismatched clause does not persist as a significant topic beyond the clause in which it occurs. If the speaker does not see an event to be particularly important to the plot, he or she can downplay it by encoding it in a mismatched clause. For instance, by placing temporal events in a mismatched clause, the speaker can mark them as settings, functioning like a backdrop on a stage before which the main participants engage in their activities. That is what the author did in this example from the legend *Bijo Gharube da Geka*. (See Appendix 1 for the full legend.)

- 7.26 *Ava+se-do,* *[r-av-ara]₁* *[sifo ate-tiri]₂*
 that.CT+say.I-SEQ.SS IPF-sleep-SEQ.NP.3PL.SS day dawn.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
gegenembo ga-y-ari=dae taima=da ero...
 men.RED spear-EPEN-DVB=PUR bush=LOC go.DUR.SIM.R.3PL.DS
 ‘(The women) said that, and they slept, and when day dawned, while the men
 were going off to hunt in the bush...’

The reference clause *sifo atetiri* ‘day dawned and’ merely is a new backdrop for the next scene on the stage.

However, when the speaker views a temporal or meteorological event or circumstance as pivotal to the plot, he or she uses the canonical switch-reference pattern to encode it. Example 7.27 is from a story about the struggle some fishermen had in landing a dugong. In this story, the protagonist speared the dugong at night and then hung on to the rope which was attached to the spear. The dugong pulled the fishing party’s canoe down the coast and then submerged deep into a bay and stayed there all night with the fishing party stranded. In this case, the author saw the arrival of morning as a significant event, bringing with it the ability to assess the situation as well as to call out to others passing by to help. Therefore, it is encoded in a reference clause in an SRC following the canonical pattern. And it is also recapitulated at the head of the subsequent sentence.

- 7.27 *...sifo=da rika beka si-sira.* *[S-iri]₁*
 day=GEN bird mouth say.II-DP.3S.FN say.I-SIM.R.3S.DS

However, this hypothesis does not work for Korafe, as examples 7.25, 7.28 and 7.29 show. And subjects with patient or theme semantic roles in intransitive reference clauses are often monitored by the switch-reference system, as the example below illustrates.

- ...[boguto ghonumbe-tiri]₁* *[vose-tiri]₂...*
 end.log wrench.out.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS descend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 ‘...she wrenched out the end log and it went down...’

The marking clause verb *ghonumbetiri* ‘she wrenched out’ is marked for DS following, even though the referent of the ellipsed subject in the reference clause is the NP *boguto* ‘end log’, which has patient role, not agentive role.

[*sifo atutu-sira.*]₂ *Ate-tiri,* *jambura eroru-sira.*
 day dawn.II-DP.3S.FN dawn.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS dugong arise.II-DP.3S.FN
 '...the morning birds were calling. While they were calling, day dawned.
 It dawned and then the dugong came up to the surface.'

In cases such as 7.26 illustrates, the clause encoding a temporal event is correctly monitored for its own subject reference in the SRC. Each clause that is unambiguously monitored for subject reference signals an event that has its own place in the main event line developing the plot.

7.3.3 MISMATCHES IN TEMPORAL SEQUENCING

Mismatches in temporal sequencing differ from the two previous types of mismatches in a number of ways:

- (1) They require three clauses as their basic components, not two.
- (2) The subject referent of the mismatched clause is a central participant in the discourse, not just mentioned in the one clause.
- (3) They obligatorily encode temporal overlap of the events they represent. The other two types usually encode a sequence of events, but they may encode overlap.

The three clausal components of 'temporal mismatches' are: (1) the initial marking clause (S_1) predicated by a SS medial verb, (2) the 'mismatched' reference clause (S_2) predicated by a DS medial verb, and (3) the subsequent clause (S_3) predicated by a perception or feeling predication.¹⁵ S_1 and S_3 must have the same subject referent. The linear structure of this mismatch can be diagrammed:

S_1 (SUBJECT= i) SS.SEQ S_2 (SUBJECT= j) DS.SIM S_3 (SUBJECT= i)

The mismatched clause (S_2) may be either transitive or intransitive. A simultaneous medial form of the verb predicates the mismatched clause. The temporal overlap encoded in this mismatch is partial or total between marking (S_1) and reference (S_2) clauses, and total between S_2 and S_3 . However, S_1 and S_3 are ordered to represent the iconic order of the events they encode.¹⁶ S_3 often encodes a perception event.

Example 7.28 illustrates many features of temporal mismatches. It details the movements of the narrator (S_2) and several men from the Tevari clan who came (S_1) and met the narrator (S_3) with the express purpose of helping the narrator land the dugong he had caught.

7.28 *Dave-do* [*era,*]₁ [*na Tarama vivit-eno*]₂
 paddle.I-SEQ.SS go.SEQ.PAST.3PL.SS 1S Tarama ascend.II-SIM.1S.DS

¹⁵ The following perception verbs often predicate S_3 in the temporal mismatch type: *gi* 'see', *bune* 'not know', *itatame* 'feel', *tambu* 'find' and *ningi* 'hear'.

¹⁶ The S_2 in these constructions differs from skipped embedded sentences in that it does not have nominal function in the clause that follows it, nor does it serve as a thematic nominal argument for the clauses that follow it.

[*tafu-seri*]₃

find.II-DP.3PL.AQ

'They paddled and went, and while I was coming up on the Tarama (reef),
they met (me).'

The verb in the marking clause (*S*₁) is inflected for a third person plural subject; it also indicates that the reference clause has the same subject referent. However, the reference clause (*S*₂) does not have a third person plural subject. Instead, it has an overt subject NP, the personal pronoun *na* 'I', which it cross-references as subject on the simultaneous medial verb *viviteno* 'while I was ascending'. *S*₂ correctly indicates disjoint subject reference between itself and *S*₃. The clauses *S*₃ and *S*₁ share the same subject referent (3PL). *S*₃ has the perception verb *tafuseri* 'they found/they met'.

In the two mismatch types discussed in §7.3.1 and §7.3.2, the subject referent does not persist as a subject or a topic past the mismatched reference clause in which it occurs. However, in temporal mismatches, the subject is often a prominent participant in the discourse. In the example above, the speaker, who plays a significant role throughout the discourse text, is the referent of the subject in the mismatched reference clause. In example 7.29 also, a prominent participant is the referent of the mismatched clause.

- 7.29 *Avata* *iji* *eni*, *evevetu* *a=mo* *sifo=ghae* *uvu*
 that.CT.FRUS sun one women.RED that=T/F day=COM.D water

dimb-ari=dae *se-do* [*a-era*]₁ [*nenda*
 dip.up-DVB=PUR say.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3PL.SS 3PL.GEN

gagarako *a=imi* *uvu* *ava* *r-iri*]₂ [*nunda*
 younger.sister that=CEFF.T/F water that.CT consume.II-SIM.R.3S.DS 3S.GEN

aki+mane *gi-do*]₃...
 older.sister+PL see.I-SEQ.SS
 'But one day, in the morning those women said that they would dip up water,
 they went, their younger sister was drinking water, and her older sisters saw
 (her drinking water)...

In 7.29 the subject of *S*₂, the younger sister, differs from the subject of *S*₁, those women, even though this referential shift is not indicated by the subject cross-referencing the verb in the marking clause displays. This younger sister persists as a topic well beyond the limits of this clause. In fact, she plays a prominent role in the discourse. Her prominent status is syntactically indicated by the demonstrative+effector-of-change marker, *aimi* 'that controlling participant', which modifies the noun, *gagarako* 'little sister' that references her. This marker express both her topical and agentive roles.

The text of spoken and written discourse is, by definition, linear, with clauses following each other. The ordering of clauses in chaining structures is intended to represent the iconic order of the events described, or at least the speaker's view of the order. The use of simultaneous medial verb forms allows for overlap slippage, but in most cases in Korafe, the onset of the event expressed by the initial verb in a sequence occurs at least slightly before the onset of the event expressed by the the subsequent verb it overlaps with. In temporal mismatches, the referential discrepancy between *S*₁ and *S*₂ highlights the break in

iconic ordering that they represent. Unlike most of the examples of the other mismatched types of S_2 clauses discussed above, S_2 does not temporally intervene between the event encoded in S_1 and the event encoded in S_3 . Instead, S_2 overlaps with these events. Like the 'Western' movies, the linear order with its mismatch between S_1 and S_2 suggests a 'meanwhile back at the ranch house' switch from S_1 to S_2 . S_1 is part of one event line, and S_2 brings in a second event line.¹⁷ The real character that this mismatch in temporal sequencing exhibits is better shown by the following schema, in which '...' signals that the onset of the event or state S_2 encodes occurs at an uncertain time and '(...)' that the event or state that S_2 encodes may persist for an indefinite period.

Main event line:

S_1 (SUBJECT= i) SS.SEQ S_3 (SUBJECT= i)

Subsidiary event line:

... S_2 (SUBJECT= f) DS.SIM(...)

The nature of S_2 's overlap with S_1 is not clearly specified. In 7.28 and 7.29, the onset of the state or event expressed by the verb in S_2 overlaps at least partially with that of S_1 . In 7.30a and b, it is almost certain that the state described by S_2 , namely the axe's permanency as a household tool, which is already the case before the author of this text even turned around (*jovereghedo*) and remains so right up through the time of his searching for it (*tava useni*), i.e. S_2 completely overlaps with S_1 and S_3 .

7.30a. ...na *jovereghe-do* *ena* [*nati=da*
IS turn.halfway.around.I-SEQ.SS go.SEQ.PAST.IS.SS village(house)=LOC
buvu-do,]₁ [oto=mo *fas+ir-iri*,]₂ [na *tava+u-seni*.]₃
 arrive.I-SEQ.SS axe=T/F lie+remain-SIM.R.3S.DS S search+do.II-DP.IS.AQ
 '...I turned and went back, arrived at the house, and the axe was (there), as I was
 looking for it.'

7.30b. [*Ena*]₁ [oto *nu ir-iri*,]₂ [*na seka=go*
 go.SEQ.PAST.IS.SS axe 3S remain-SIM.R.3S.DS IS new=CPAR
tava+u-seni.]₃
 search+do.II-DP.IS.AQ
 'I went, and the axe was (there) as, I was looking for it again.'

Both event lines have as subject referents separate and significant entities in terms of the discourse. S_1 and S_3 detail the narrator's activities. Although the subject of S_2 is an inanimate object, *oto* '(stone) axe', it still plays a significant role in the text, which explains how the narrator learned the traditional word, *oto*, for 'axe', when he had previously known only the word in modern currency: *karivaku* '(steel) axe'.

This temporal mismatch schema can be explained in terms of the staging of scenes in a play. While the action encoded by S_1 is staged in the spotlight, that expressed by S_2 is performed in the background shadows. At the point where the subject of S_1 moves on to

¹⁷ Roberts (1988a:103) uses the term 'subtopicalised clauses' for these mismatched clauses.

perform S_3 , the subject of S_1 has moved so close to the subject of S_2 (or vice versa) that the spotlight encompasses both of them and continues that way for the duration of S_3 .

Because the subject(s) of S_1 and S_2 always differ, both are usually represented in their clauses by overt NPs. When the two separate event lines with two separate subjects overlap, the identity of the subject-topic of S_3 is often overtly restated to avoid confusion of referents. The repetition of the same NP, which often is just a pronoun, yields a highly marked SRC for Korafe because pro-drop is the norm. The repeated use of NPs highlights the mismatch between the linear nature of spoken and written discourse and the three-dimensional world of real-life activities.

The temporal mismatch pattern is so useful for looping back in a discourse to pick up another strand of the story that it is used often, sometimes with deviations. The linear pattern for mismatches in temporal sequencing is repeated here for quick reference.

S_1 (SUBJECT= i) SS.SEQ S_2 (SUBJECT= j) DS.SIM S_3 (SUBJECT= i)

In example 7.31, S_1 terminates with a simultaneous (rather than sequencing) SS medial verb, and S_2 with a sequencing (rather than simultaneous) DS medial verb. Thus, no overlap is expressed between S_2 and S_3 .

- 7.31 [*Deinghu-se*]₁ [*isia beká eari*]₂ [*gi-do*]₃...
 travel.II-SIM.SS taro real.part do.SEQ.CUST.3S.DS see.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘While he is on his walk, he sees that the taro has become ripe.’

This example comes from a procedural account of getting ready for an exchange partner feast. The taro is already mentioned as ripe in the sentence before this one. So the process in S_2 has already begun to happen before the event encoded by *deinghuse* ‘while he was on his walk’(S_1) and is already completed before the event encoded by *gido* ‘he saw’. Since the taro has become ripe before the chief views it, the sequencing form *eari* must occur; the simultaneous form *urureari* cannot.

In example 7.32 taken from a recorded personal story, Norris Beghuma Mota modifies this mismatch pattern and highlights it with long pauses, indicated by ‘...’, to backtrack temporally in order to bring in a second set of participants, who commenced their fishing trip before the first set of participants had finished their trip to the garden.

- 7.32 *Namane Cindi=ghae vare=da aera*
 we.EXC Cindi=with garden=LOC go.NDUR.TP.IPL.FN
 We, Cindi (and I) went to the garden, and
bayau bambu-do jovereghe oj-era
 food get.I-SEQ.SS turn.around come.NDUR.TP.IPL.FN
 we got food, turned around and came (back)
 [*nati=da buvu-do*]₁...
 village=LOC arrive.I-SEQ.SS
 we arrived at the village...

[Kenneth, Jim, Michael vos+a-era
 Kenneth Jim Michael descend.I+go.NDUR-TP.3PL.FN
 Kenneth, Jim, (and) Michael had gone down

oka bambu-do
 fish get.I-SEQ.SS
 they caught fish

viti+ojighera tere-tero,]₂
 ascend.I+come.NDUR.TP.3PL.FN enter.I-R.SEQ.3PL.DS
 they came up and entered (the landing area), and

[Cindi...Cindi ivuga+e-do]₃ vos+a-ira.
 Cindi Cindi joy+do.I-SEQ.SS descend.I+go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN
 Cindi, Cindi was delighted and went down.

'I and Cindi, we went to the garden, harvested food, came back, and [arrived home]₁...[Kenneth, Jim, and Michael had gone down, they caught fish, and came up and entered the landing]₂...and [Cindi, Cindi was glad]₃ and went down (to meet them).'

In this case, more than three clauses are involved. The second group of participants perform four actions, not one—*vosaera* 'they went down', *bambudo* 'they caught (fish)', *viti ojighera* 'they came up', and *teretero* 'they entered'. These actions correspond to the mismatched constituent, S₂. However, the final verb *teretero* 'they entered and' is a DS sequencing, not simultaneous, medial verb. The verb in S₃ is not a perception verb either. And only one of the two people who are subjects of S₁ is the subject of S₃, Cindi. The DS sequencing medial verb *teretero* 'they entered and' is used instead of the simultaneous form here, because Cindi's first action—*ivuga edo* 'she rejoices'—is not concomitant with, but rather follows the men's arrival.

The following example illustrates another deviation from the default temporal mismatch type.¹⁸ The subject of S₂, the NP *nati* 'house', does not have any ongoing role in the discourse. It only is mentioned in two sentences. The fact that the 'spirit woman' does not know where 'her husband's house' is located highlights the illegitimate role that she is playing, i.e. impersonating the true wife, whom she has 'done away with'.

7.33 *Se-do*, [nu giti vit+a-ira,]₁
 say.I-SEQ.SS 3S first ascend+go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS
 '(She) spoke, and she went up first, and
 [nati ir-iri,]₂ [nu bune-do]₃
 house remain-SIM.3S.DS 3S not.know-SEQ.SS
 while the house (of the man she had stolen as her husband) was (there),
 she did not recognise (it), and

¹⁸ It should be noted that when this text was edited, the editor did not use this tri-clausal construction with a mismatch, but conveyed the spirit woman's error through conversations with the owners of the houses she mistakenly believed were her 'husband's' and climbed up on to.

a-ira *nati eninda* *vit-ira.*
 go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS house another.LOC ascend.I-TP.3S.FN
 she went and climbed up into another house.'

In this example, once again, the pronominal subject *nu* 'she' of S_1 is repeated in S_3 . This repetition clearly identifies the subject referent of S_3 on the continuing event line at its juncture with the subsidiary event line.

7.4 THEMATIC BRACKETING STRUCTURES RESEMBLING MISMATCHES

Thematic bracketing constructions rather closely resemble the mismatches described above. Following a recapitulating segment, thematic participants can be left-dislocated with an extraneous clause intervening. They have the following format:

(RECAP), THEME ($P2=i$), S_1 (SUBJECT= j) DS S_2 (SUBJECT= i)

Example 7.34 illustrates this pattern. It commences with a recapitulatory segment. The thematic NP, *Sifia Gimasa* 'the boy Sifia Gimasa', which follows, is separated from the clauses (S_2) in which it has subject role, by a clause which expresses a temporal setting (S_1).

- 7.34 [*Ava u-se ir-ara e-tiri*]_{RECAP}
 that.CT do.II-SIM.SS remain-SEQ.NP.3S.SS do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 '[She kept doing that, and]_{RECAP}
 [*mandi Sifia+Gimasa*]_{THEME} [*sifo eveva ate-tiri*]₁
 boy Sifia+Gimasa day good dawn.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 [the boy Sifia Gimasa,]_{THEME} [a bright day dawned]₁ and
 [*kora=da oka garu-do+oji-gh-ira*]₂...
 beach=LOC fish spear.II-SEQ.SS+come.NDUR-do.FOC-TP.3S.FN
 [he came along the beach spearing fish]₂...'

If *mandi Sifia Gimasa* were in a clause terminated by a SS medial verb form, this construction would have the exact form of the second type of mismatch with a temporal setting.

The two parallel SRCs in 7.35 are each protases in conditional sentences taken from a description of the carpenter bee. Example 7.35a illustrates the mismatch in temporal sequencing. Example 7.35b has the format of the thematic bracketing pattern. It has a thematic NP which corresponds to S_1 in 7.35a. However, the intervening clause (S_1) that corresponds to S_2 in 7.35a terminates with a sequencing, not a simultaneous, medial verb.

- 7.35a. [*Gugumi ghumbu y-a*]₁
 carpenter.bee fly.I go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
 '[If the carpenter bee will fly and go,]₁ and
 [*ni badamu=da ir-aso*]₂
 2S deep.water=LOC remain-SIM.IR.2S.DS
 [you will be remaining (out) in the deep sea]₂ and

[y-a]₃ buv-ari g-aresa a=mo...
 go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS arrive.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS see.I-F.2S.FN that=T/F
 [it will go]₃ and arrive (where you will be) and you will see it...'

- 7.35b. [A+gi-do]CONJUNCTION [gugumi]THEME
 that+see.I-SEQ.SS carpenter.bee
 '[Therefore,]CONJUNCTION the carpenter bee

[ni badamu=da y-aso,]₁
 2S deep.water=LOC go.DUR-SEQ.IR.2S.DS
 [if you will go to the deep sea]₁ and

[nu ambo ondi y-ari]₂
 3S back chase.I go.DUR-SEQ.IR.3S.DS
 [it will chase after (you) and go]₂ and

g-aresa a=mo...
 see.I-F.2S.FN that=T/F
 'you will see it...'

7.5 THE DISCOURSE FUNCTION OF APPARENT ANOMALIES IN THE SWITCH-REFERENCE SYSTEM

In the preceding sections, we have examined a number of apparent exceptions to the rule that the subject of a marking clause terminating with a verb marked for SS following should be coreferential with the subject of the reference clause. It turns out that in each case the apparent exceptions are systematic, if one takes account of considerations other than the tracking of subject reference from one clause to the next.

A participant-oriented explanation cannot totally explain apparent anomalies in the Korafe switch-reference system. It is not always the syntactic subject that is tracked by switch-reference marking. In fact, it is 'false' subject tracking that signals the existence of an apparent anomaly.¹⁹ Nor is the semantic agent always the participant tracked, as was noted in fn.15 and illustrated by examples 7.25, 7.28 and 7.29. Nor can it be said that the pragmatic topic is always the participant tracked. Example 7.20 and fn.13 illustrate and discuss cases in which the topical entity is not tracked.

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An examination of the apparent anomalies in Korafe might give rise to the hypothesis that the lack of overt referential marking on SS medial verbs facilitates their use in these apparently anomalous cases. However, the default reading of these forms is SS following, and it is the very discrepancy in referential marking between what is expected and what actually occurs that signals the anomaly.

This hypothesis is also discounted for many other Papuan languages, in which DS medial verbs that are overtly marked are also used to register apparent anomalies. For instance, Roberts (1988a:106-110) gives Amele examples where anomalies registered by DS medial verbs express thematic breaks, i.e. shifts in time, place, and/or world settings and surprise changes.

Korafe handles such thematic shifts by using left-dislocated NPs or PPs as global themes marked by pragmatic topic markers (*mo*, *va* and *imi*) and followed by pauses.

Olson (1981:298-306) describes several switch-reference markers (*ga*, *gana*, *moga*, *koga*) that have similar function in Barai. These markers indicate a switch of thematic topic, even when the local topic remains the same, and they often affect several clauses. They do not monitor switch-reference.

Thus, it is not always the subject, the agent, or the topic that plays the pivotal role in determining the marking of referential switches in Korafe SRCs. Participant-centred explanations that focus only on a pivotal NP are inadequate for explaining the total switch-reference system in Korafe, which must include apparent anomalies as well. That is because switch-reference expresses a relationship between clauses, not merely between NPs. As Stirling (1993:136) suggests, “SR is a clause level function which does not deal with the reference of NPs as such but with degrees and types of cohesion between eventualities”.

Five types of cohesion that produce ‘event integration’ (Givón 1983:53-54, 1987:179, 1990a:827) are: (1) referential continuity, (2) temporal continuity, (3) location continuity, (4) action continuity and (5) thematic continuity. Continuity and discontinuity of reference, temporality, and action play a major role in signalling relationships between clauses in the Korafe switch-reference system.

As was previously noted, continuity and discontinuity of syntactic subject referents is encoded by the canonical switch-reference system.

Temporal continuity or order is maintained in Korafe SRCs by both sequencing and simultaneous medial verbs. The order of events in the real world imposes a temporal ‘straitjacket’ on the sequence of medial verbs encoding them. The use of simultaneous medial verbs in the canonical system does not interrupt this order. The event signalled by a simultaneous medial verb must commence before the event encoded by the verb in the reference clause, so at its onset it preserves temporal iconicity. However, its terminus is unspecified and overlaps with the subsequent event encoded by the reference clause.

Like sequencing medial verbs, simultaneous medial verbs may not normally be reversed without disturbing the temporal sequence. However, simultaneous medial verbs are the only medial forms that may be freely reversed when they encode total overlap and are coordinated by a conjunction that is a free form such as *ā* ‘and’ and *o* ‘or’.²⁰ To indicate total discontinuity or a complete reversal²¹ of temporal order, co-ranking structures with final verbs must be used.

Regarding action continuity, Givón (1983:54) suggests that:

...action continuity is the domain of chaining verbs/predications one after another within the thematic paragraph in a way that coheres or makes temporal or causal sense.

He adds, “...*foreground* clauses...tend to *maintain* the sequence of action continuity”. For Korafe then, the canonical SRC is certainly the domain of foregrounded clauses. It has been claimed (Labov and Waletzky 1966:20-21) that “only independent clauses are

²⁰ The SS and DS indicators can be viewed as conjunctions, meaning ‘and X’, ‘while X’, ‘then X’ where X is an event encoded by the medial verb form. However, switch-reference indicators are bound forms; the conjunctions mentioned here are free forms, having a demonstrative base.

²¹ Within the switch-reference system, it is possible to use a negative deverbal together with a medial form of *iri* ‘remain’ followed by a temporal PP. This structure has the format: ‘*X remained not having happened, before that*’. Technically, however, the correct temporal ordering is still preserved in this structure.

relevant to temporal sequences” of narrative units.²² However, there is a definite resemblance between SRCs and the strings of independent narrative in clauses of English (that Labov and Waletzky discussed). Like strings of narrative clauses in English, SRCs are the major vehicle in Korafe for narration of events in temporal sequence, even though they are primarily comprised of medial dependent clauses. The marking on medial verbs is equivalent to English conjunctions ‘and then’ or ‘and while’. In fact, the primary function of the SRC is to indicate and maintain action continuity within narrative and procedural discourses. Final independent verbs are used to interrupt action continuity, so there is the potential for discontinuity of action or backgrounding at each occurrence of a final verb.

Apparent anomalies signal an abrupt break between the marking and the reference clauses. Whenever apparent anomalies occur, the marking clause registers continuity of reference, temporal order, and/or continuity of action. However, the subsequent reference clause indicates discontinuity. The event signalled by this clause does not have the same subject referent, is out of temporal order with the previous event, and/or is an event off the action line.

Although discrepancies in subject referencing between clauses and differences in status and temporality signal apparent anomalies, they do not provide their *raison d’être*. My hypothesis is that apparent anomalies occur in the Korafe switch-reference system to encode discontinuity of action in discourse. Givón (1983:54) links discontinuity of action with background, stating: “*background* clauses...tend to be *outside* the sequence of action continuity...” Hopper and Thompson (1980:280) define backgrounding as:

That part of a discourse which does not immediately and crucially contribute to the speaker’s goal, but which merely assists, amplifies, or comments on it, is referred to as BACKGROUND.

To explain how apparent anomalies function in Korafe, it is helpful to distinguish two basic types of background: ‘**off-line background**’ and ‘**on-line background**’.²³

²² Interpreting Labov, Waletzky and Reinhart, Thompson (1987:442) states: “According to Labov and Waletzky and Reinhart, the foreground (narratives) clauses must not be syntactically dependent”. That would exclude Korafe medial verb clauses from being foregrounded clauses. However, Pawley (personal communication) counters: “I suspect medial verb clauses would qualify as ‘independent’ in Labov’s and Waletzky’s sense. They were concerned to exclude embedded clauses and clauses of reason, condition, etc. which broke up the iconic ordering of narrative clauses. True medial clauses are ‘dependent’, but they don’t break up iconic ordering (usually)”.

Hopper and Thompson (1984:741-742) also express two opposing ideas about chaining constructions. They suggest: “THE ‘CHAINING’ CONSTRUCTION is a term for a sequence of realis clauses in which only the final one is presented as foregrounded”. However, they go on to say: “not all medial V’s show less categoriality than their final counterparts: in many Papuan languages, medial V’s which are ‘coordinate’ with the following V typically do not mark tense and mood independently, but ones which are ‘subordinate’ to the final V do mark these categories. This apparent paradox suggests that chained clauses are typically in a part-whole relationship to some higher discourse unit...”

²³ Others have also noted that the mismatched reference clause, termed S₂, can be interpreted as background information. Haiman (1985:82-83, 92), drawing on comments from Longacre (1972), Marlett (1981), and Gordon (1983), suggests that it is appropriate to interpret S₂ as backgrounded information for Hua. Reesink (1983:235) uses terms like ‘setting’ and ‘reasonable necessary condition for them.’ Roberts (1988a:114) suggests that this segment is “bracketed off...as background material or a subordinate theme”.

Thelin (1990:25-31) discusses two types of background: actual background and proper background. Actual background has the feature [+TIME] or “*temporally definite*...(related directly to state-changing

'Off-line background' includes all events that are not temporally ordered within the time frame for the main event line of the SRC. Korafe embedded constructions, both those that terminate with a final verb and purpose constructions, are 'off-line background' in discourses.

'On-line background' is temporally ordered within the time frame for the main SRC event line. Unlike **'off-line background'** constructions which often can be moved to other places in the sentence, the order of the mismatched clause encoding **'on-line background'** cannot be reversed with clauses preceding or following it. The mismatched clauses described in this chapter belong to 'on-line background'. An emotion or physiological change of state impinges on the main participant, but does not take the focus off him or her. Apparent anomalies in the system relegate temporal, meteorological or circumstantial events to settings. In both of these cases, the mismatched clause is temporally synchronised with the main event line, but the speaker or author has chosen to use apparently anomalous SS marking to represent the mismatched clause as part of the background that supports the main event line rather than being a main line event itself. As for the temporal mismatch type, one would think that the mismatched clause should have a position on the main event line, since it does focus on a significant discourse entity, explaining the complication that entity introduces into the discourse. However, this participant or entity is experienced or seen through the eyes of another major participant that has his or her role in clauses that do express the main event line. At no time is this temporally mismatched clause given its own separate temporal status on the main event line.

Let us return to the analogy of the stage play. Concepts like the 'narrator', 'actors', the 'spotlight', 'stage sets or backdrops', and positions such as 'centre-stage', 'down-stage', in the 'orchestra pit', 'before the curtains' can all be used to explain how apparent anomalies operate.

Embedded sentences that encode 'off-line' background material are like the sections of the play that the narrator reads either in the orchestra pit, off to one side, or in front of the curtain.

Mismatches expressing 'on-line' background are represented as events or states that actually are played out or have a place on the stage. Those involving physiological or psychological responses are like those segments that are read by the narrator off to one side or in the orchestra pit at the same time as the actor standing frontstage and centrestage is miming them in his or her facial expressions and body gestures.

Mismatches encoding temporal, meteorological or circumstantial settings are like stage sets or backdrops on the stage.

In mismatches involving narrative backtracking to pick up some missing strands of the story, the participant whose activities are encoded by the main event line is like the actor who remains in the spotlight at all times. The participant involved in one or more events on the secondary event line is like an actor who performs his role downstage and out of the

foreground events)". Proper background with the feature [-TIME] is '*temporally indefinite*' or not specifically defined in terms of time. Thelin applies these background types to English and Russian, but I am unsure how his definitions match with the Korafe background types. Therefore, I am using the terms 'on-line background' and 'off-line background'.

spotlight, except when the spotlighted actor moves near enough for the spotlight to encompass both of them.

In the same way, the thematically prominent NP in bracketing structures corresponds to the actor frontstage and centrestage with the spotlight on him or her. The subject of the bracketed clause corresponds to the actor downstage who is only in the spotlight when the actor being spotlighted moves into proximity with him or her.

Likewise, partitioning is like narrowing the focus of the spotlight from two actors to the prominent one in this event.

The speaker or author is like the playwright who plans the production, the technical production manager who handles the spotlight, the stage hands who move the stage sets into place and the narrator who orchestrates all the entrances and exits of the actors. He or she makes and executes all the staging decisions. In the process, the switch-reference system gets used in two ways. Morphosyntactically, it sets up formal and semantic relations between clauses, that enable the speaker to reference events iconically and to keep track of subject referents. Pragmatically, it provides a way for the speaker to create scenes that represent the world from his or her perspective, foregrounding significant events that carry the action forward in a discourse and backgrounding supporting material.

CHAPTER 8

CO-RANKING STRUCTURES

Languages containing chaining structures, particularly those with switch-reference, are often presented as being rather exotic. However, chaining structures are not the only type Korafe has. The co-ranking structures, discussed in this chapter, behave similarly to structures which have several verbs of the same rank predicating each clause in the sentence in English and other Indo-European languages.

A co-ranking sentence (CRS)¹ has as its primary constituents two or more bases of the same rank.² Such bases can either be clauses or clause sequences that act as a unit (e.g. SRCs or other CRSSs). They terminate with a final verb, a copula or a predicate in a topic-comment clause without the copula.

Example 8.1 is a CRS with two main bases (1 and 2), but each of the main bases is multiclausal. (Note that EC stands for an embedded clause.)

8.1 *Ava+sedo,*
 that.CT+say.I.SEQ.SS

Base 1 *[[na mendeni=kena kasia=imi ijug+e-raena]_{EC-1a}=da*
 IS some=ALOC parable=CEFF.T/F teach+do-CUST.IS.FN=GEN

¹ Longacre (1985:238) uses the term 'co-ranking structures' to refer to structures which combine "verbs of the same rank". These clauses are often joined by conjunctions, e.g. 'and', 'but', 'or' in English.

Technically, a sentence is minimally a clause plus prosodic features. In the case of written text, the prosodic features are represented by punctuation. Combinations of clauses are 'clause complexes' (Halliday 1985:192-193) until prosodic features are assigned to them. However, as applied to Korafe, the term 'co-ranking structures' is used interchangeably with 'co-ranking sentences', and the term 'sentence' is used for clauses and clause sequences that terminate with an independent final verb. Clause sequences that do not terminate with an independent final verb are not sentences.

² The definition of 'base' as a clause or clause sequence that is a primary constituent of a sentence follows Bruce's (1984:261-263) explanation of the term. Adverbial clauses and other clauses that are phonologically distinct from the independent base are considered to be sentence bases.

Longacre (1985:284, 235-237) uses the term 'base' in a much more restricted sense to refer to structures which are "a functional subpart of a nucleus" of the sentence. He distinguishes sentence 'margins', which normally contain adverbial clauses, from 'bases'. Thus, for him, co-ranking structures are limited to bases in paratactic relationship with each other. In this work, bases which have terminal verbs of the same rank (i.e. final verbs) are CRSSs. This includes bases in either paratactic or hypotactic relationship. Thus, the definition of CRS used here is much broader than Longacre's.

Not all clauses or clause sequences are bases in CRSSs. Structurally, embedded clauses and sequences of clauses that act as a unit (e.g. SRCs) terminate with final verbs, but they function as NPs or constituents of NPs and are phonologically bound to the matrix clause in which they are embedded. They are, therefore, not primary constituents (bases) of CRSSs.

*beká=mo evi=ri:]*_{BASE 1}
 reality=T/F this.CT=COP.AQ

Base 2 [[*ne diti=imi gosu-se, jo gi gogogho+ae arera.*]_{BASE 2a}
 3PL eye=CEFF.T/F see.II-SIM.SS NEG see well+not.do do.F.3PL.FN

*ã [dengoro=i niningu-se, jo kasama+ae arera.]*_{BASE 2b}_{BASE 2}
 and ear=CEFF hear.II-SIM.SS NEG know+not.do do.F.3PL.FN

‘Therefore,

Base 1: [the reason [I teach some with parables]_{1a} is this:]₁

Base 2: [[while they are seeing with (their) eyes, they will not see clearly,]_{2a}

and [while hearing with (their) ears, they will not understand.‘]_{2b}]

EC-1a is a clause embedded in base 1 by a postposition *da* which signals its possessor relationship with the noun *beká* ‘reality’. Base 2 is composed of two co-ranking bases, linked by the conjunction *ã* ‘and’. Bases 2a and 2b are each multiclausal SRCs. Base 1 terminates with a copula, and bases 2a and 2b terminate with final verbs.

Because each base is absolutely grounded, taking the speech act moment as its temporal and modal reference point, bases in CRSs are not required to share tense, aspect, mood, polarity, illocutionary force or any arguments. Thus, the copular predicate terminating base 1 in 8.1 is realis. but the verbs terminating bases 2a and 2b nested in base 2 have future irrealis forms. Base 1 has positive polarity in contrast to the latter two bases which each terminate with a clause having negative polarity.

Bases in CRSs can be linked to each other by direct juxtaposition, as are bases 1 and 2 in 8.1. Or they can be linked by mostly demonstrative-based forms that function as conjunctions and determiners, as bases 2a and 2b in 8.1 are.

Sentence bases can be dependent or independent. Only dependent bases can terminate with a demonstrative determiner, which follows the final predicate in the base and occurs in the rhythm group associated with the base. The falling–rising intonation pattern associated with the terminus of dependent bases distinguishes them prosodically from all other bases in the CRS.

The syntactic, pragmatic and semantic relationships co-ranking bases have with each other are the focus of sections (1) to (3).

(1) Syntactic relationships between co-ranking bases

Bases constituting CRSs combine together in interdependent equal and unequal relationships. The terms ‘parataxis’ and ‘hypotaxis’ are used to describe relationships between bases (Halliday 1985:195).³ Bases that are ‘on equal footing’ with each other in

³

Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1985:918-919, 944) suggest that “coordination and subordination are special cases” of *parataxis* and *hypotaxis* respectively. Coordination is a relationship between those structures that potentially occur with ‘and’; it is a subset of the equivalence relationships included in parataxis. *Hypotaxis* includes subordination of clauses.

CRSSs can be said to be arranged ‘paratactically’. The bases in example 8.2 are in a paratactic relationship with each other.

8.2

Base 1: *Soboko=mo evetu=ri,*
Soboko=T/F woman=COP.AQ

Base 2: *avata gegenembo nu tumonde-do+ghu-seri.*
that.CT.FRUS men.RED 3S believe.I-SEQ.SS+do.again-DP.3PL.AQ
‘Base 1: Soboko was a woman, Base 2: but the men trusted her repeatedly.’

Dependent bases are in an unequal or ‘hypotactic’ relationship with dominant bases. Dependent bases do not occur independently of dominant bases, but dominant bases may occur independently of any other base. Sentence-initial dependent bases, such as base 1 in example 8.3, modify the dominant base, limiting its scope to a certain domain. Base 2 is an SRC.

8.3

Base 1: *Gagara=á nandae ari eko u-sira aindae,*
girl=that 1S.BEN deed bad do.II-DP.3S.FN that.CEFF.BEN
That girl did a bad deed to me, on account of that,

Base 2: *nane munda beo bu-do*
1S.ACT 3S.GEN hair get.I-SEQ.SS
I have taken her hair,
ghauro jóká=da fend-eno ir-ira.
bamboo inside=LOC insert.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS remain-PRES.3S.FN
put it inside a bamboo (stem segment), and it remains
‘Base 1: Because that girl performed a wicked deed at my expense,
Base 2: I got her hair, put it inside a bamboo stem container, and it remains (there).’

Dependent bases in sentence-terminal position normally specify one additional item of supporting information, as example 8.4 illustrates.

8.4

Base 1: *Soboko ivuga beká e-tira,*
Soboko joy true do.I-TP.3S.FN
Soboko was truly glad

Halliday (1985:198) views *parataxis* and *hypotaxis* as “general relationships which are not restricted to the rank of clause. They define complexes at any rank: clause complex, group or phrase complex, word complex”. Subordination that involves rank-shifting, such as embedding of clauses, is not *hypotaxis* in his framework.

Base 2: *nunda kosi dika=go beká e-tira aindae.*
 3S.GEN white.magic.cure teeth=CPAR true do.I-TP.3S.FN that.CEFF.BEN
 her magical cure was truly (sharp) like teeth on account of that
 'Base 1: Soboko was truly glad,
 Base 2: her magic cure prevailed, that's why.'

It is important to distinguish dependent bases that are in hypotactic relation with dominant bases from dependent structures that embed as constituents of NPs or clauses. "Embedding is a mechanism whereby a clause or phrase comes to function as a constituent within the structure of a group, which itself is a constituent of a clause...In hypotaxis one clause depends on another, but in no sense is it a constituent part of it" (Halliday 1985:219).⁴ The focus in this chapter is on *parataxis* and *hypotaxis* of clauses and clause sequences, not embedding.

According to Thompson and Longacre (1985:172), subordinate (or dependent) clauses can function as: (1) complements (NPs), (2) relative constructions (modifiers of NPs), and (3) adverbials (modifiers of VPs or propositions). In Korafe, complements and relative constructions can either be embedded as constituents in NPs or in clauses, or they can be dependent bases in hypotactic relationship with dominant bases. Relative constructions and complements that are in hypotactic relationship with the dominant base are illustrated in this chapter. (See §3.1.6 for the discussion of embedded complement and relative constructions.) Dependent bases encoding adverbial notions (such as those that set the temporal frame or location for the dominant base) are realised by dependent bases in hypotactic relationship with dominant bases. Paratactic, hypotactic and embedding relationships are signalled by the words, phrases, and clauses that link them and by morphological, syntactic and prosodic features.

Linking words conjoining co-ranking bases in Korafe sentences, for the most part, arise from the demonstrative system (*e* 'this', *a* 'that near addressee', *o* 'that away from the speech-act participants'). Table 8.1 lists the linking words, phrases and clauses that function as conjunctions.

⁴ Matthiesen and Thompson (1988:279-284) also distinguish embedding from hypotaxis, which they describe as a grammaticalisation of the "nucleus-satellite relation".

TABLE 8.1: KORAFE LINKING WORDS (ACTING AS CONJUNCTIONS)

Paratactic	Paratactic/hypotactic	Hypotatic
additive: <i>ã/a</i> ‘and’ <i>edo</i> ‘and then’ <i>kotugo</i> ‘and likewise’ alternative: <i>o</i> ‘or, but’ (potentially several alternatives) <i>aĩ/ai</i> ‘or’ (only a binary alternative)	adversative/concessive: <i>ava</i> ‘but’ <i>avata</i> ‘but, although’ cause–effect: <i>agido</i> ‘so’ <i>ava sedo</i> ‘therefore, saying that’ <i>aindae</i> ‘because of that’ <i>aindae sedo</i> ‘speaking on account of that’ result–reason: <i>ainda beká mo</i> ‘the real basis for that’ <i>ainda susu mo</i> ‘the motivation for that’ <i>ainda tuka mo</i> ‘the point of that’ temporal: <i>ainda gitida</i> ‘before that’ <i>ainda amboda</i> ‘after that’ <i>ainda jokáda</i> ‘within that that time span, during’ <i>ai tano ghedo</i> ‘from that time on’	implicational (conditionals, temporals and contingencies): <i>amo</i> ‘if, when, whenever’
Intersentential only: generic-specific: frustrative-adversative: cause–effect: result–reason:	<i>nu</i> ‘but the essential information is’ <i>atá</i> ‘but, contrary to what I thought or to what you think’ <i>avo gido</i> ‘seeing that pivotal fact’ <i>ai resira amo</i> ‘that is to say’	

Some linking words function as determiners that mark dependent clauses or clause complexes with nominal function, either within the clause or as left-dislocated themes (P2). Table 8.2 lists the determiners that embed relative constructions and complements or conjoin those with theme function hypotactically to the dominant base.

TABLE 8.2: KORAFE LINKING WORDS (ACTING AS DETERMINERS)

Embedding/Hypotactic	Embedding only
<i>a</i> ‘that one’	<i>-da</i> ‘of, belonging to’
<i>amo</i> ‘that one (topic)’	<i>-dae</i> ‘for the purpose of, in order to’
<i>aimi</i> ‘that one (control), with that one, by means of that one’	<i>ainda</i> ‘of/belonging to that one’
<i>ava</i> ‘that contrasting one’	
<i>aminda</i> ‘at that location/time’	
<i>aminga</i> (<i>aminga ava</i> , <i>amingo</i> , <i>avaga</i> , <i>avavaga</i> , <i>avago</i> , <i>kau daba aminga ava</i> , etc.) ‘like that’	
<i>aindae</i> ‘on account of/for the benefit of that one’	
<i>ainghae/ainde</i> ‘accompanying that one/those ones’	

Morphologically, the use of the speech-value markers, {-a} and {-i}, distinguishes dependent final verbs that predicate dependent clauses (either in embedding or hypotactic relationships) from independent final verbs that predicate independent clauses.

Syntactically, modal markers (e.g. *ta* 'I'm feeling frustrated', *asi* 'that was said') can only cliticise to the final element of bases in paratactic or hypotactic relationships, not to the final element of embedded constructions.

Prosodically, sentence bases in both paratactic and hypotactic arrangements are typically separated by a .2 to .8 second pause. In paratactic arrangements, the pause precedes the conjunction. In hypotactic arrangements, it follows the conjunction.

The paratactic bases in a sentence sometimes have similar frequency contours. They tend to terminate at approximately the same frequency, sentence medially and finally, although the sentence-medial terminus may evidence a slight upward glide. The dependent base in a hypotactic relationship usually terminates with an upward glide, which ends at a significantly higher frequency than the terminus of the dominant base.

Embedded clauses or clause sequences are not separated by pauses of any significant length (more than .2 second) from the clauses they are constituents of. Determiners (e.g. *ava* and *ainda*) that are not followed by pauses embed clauses or clause sequences. Thus, one rhythm group is associated with both the embedded clause with its determiner and the matrix clause.

TABLE 8.3: FEATURES DIFFERENTIATING PARATAXIS, HYPOTAXIS AND EMBEDDING OF CLAUSES AND CLAUSE SEQUENCES IN KORAFE CRSs

	Parataxis	Hypotaxis	Embedding
Morphology marking on terminal verb	terminal -i or -a in both bases, depends on 'tense' form	dependent base: terminal -a dominant base: -i or -a	embedded clause(s): terminal -a matrix clause: -i or -a
Syntax modal markers on dependent base	NOT APPLICABLE	YES, when base terminates with demonstrative	NO
modal markers on dominant base	final base only	YES	YES
Intonation Pause between bases	YES	YES	NO
Pause position	precedes conjunction before final base	follows conjunction in dependent base	NOT APPLICABLE

With so many features defining the bond between bases in sentences, it is common to find sentences with some paratactic and some hypotactic features. The degree of integration between bases can be registered on a continuum⁵ with pure parataxis at one pole and pure embedding at the other. Hypotactic relationships would be located at several intervals along the continuum, depending on the degree of integration between dependent and dominant bases.

Example 8.5 with the conjunction *avata* ‘but, although (lit. that, contrastive and contrary to expectation)’ illustrates how a slight change in features places similar CRSs at different ends of the continuum. The presence of the copula in 8.5a together with the pause before *avata* places it at the paratactic end of the continuum. The absence of the copula in 8.5b and the occurrence of *avata* in the same rhythm group with the initial base places it closer to the embedding pole of the continuum.

- 8.5a. *Oja=da kau=mo jarusa=da kaugo=ri, avata*
 freshwater.shrimp=GEN kind=T/F crayfish=GEN kind.CPAR=COP.AQ that.CT.FRUS
memeyako beká=ri.
 small.RED.DIM true=COP.AQ
 ‘Freshwater shrimp are like crayfish, but they are very tiny.’

- 8.5b. *Nunda guka titifa=ghae avata aimi jo*
 3S.GEN back spine.RED=COM.D that.CT.FRUS that.CEFF.T/F NEG
ga-y-ae e-raira.
 spear.I-EPEN-not.do do.I-CUST.3S.FN
 ‘Although it (the Mangrove Ray) has spines on its back, it does not sting (people) with them.’

The features present in the elicited examples in 8.6 do not indicate pure parataxis or pure embedding. The speech-act value used for future tense forms, {-a}, does not differentiate dependent from independent bases. However, a paratactic relationship is signalled by the conjunction *ã* in 8.6a, and the conjunction *amo* in 8.6b indicates either a hypotactic or embedding relationship. Here, the .3 second pause shown in the frequency and amplitude contours in the diagrams below the example suggests that the relationship is hypotactic.

5

Lehmann (1988:181-225) provides a framework for analysing clause-linkage relationships along six parameters, which he represents as graded continua. They include: (1) how hierarchical the relationship between the two bases is; (2) the level of integration involved in the combination of bases; (3) how “desententialized” the predicate is, e.g. is it a final verb or a nominalised verb or something in between? (4) the degree of grammaticalisation the main verb exhibits, e.g. is it an auxiliary or modal? (5) the degree of interlacing of bases or sharing of predicates, arguments, tense and aspect; and (6) the explicitness of linking devices (postpositional phrases, specific conjunction, non-finite verb form (etc.)). Although the continua must register relationships between both non-finite and finite verbs, the focus in this chapter is on relationships between finite verbs.

Bases in paratactic relationship:

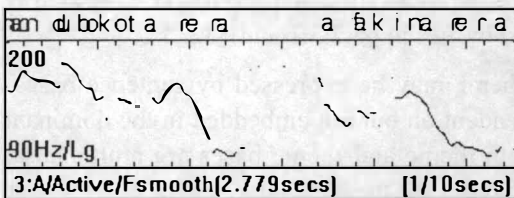
- 8.6a. *Namonde dubo+kot-arera, ā fakina+arera.*
 1PL.EXC neck+think-F.1PL.FN and strength+do.F.3S.FN
 'We will reason well, and we will become strong.'

Bases in hypotactic relationship:

- 8.6b. (*Namonde*) *dubo+kot-arera amo, fakina+arera.*
 1PL.EXC neck+think-F.1PL.FN that.T/F strength+do.F.3S.FN
 'If we will reason well, we will become strong.'

BK Frequency contour for 8.6a

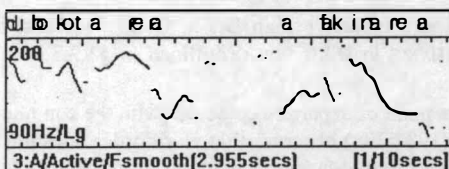
Frequency contour for 8.6b
 (Bensted Kephana)



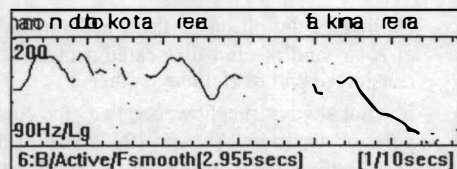
Frequency contours confirm that example 8.6a manifests a paratactic arrangement and 8.6b a hypotactic one. Both bases in 8.6a terminate at approximately the same frequency, an indication of parataxis.⁶ But the initial base in 8.6b terminates at a higher frequency than the second base, a sign of hypotaxis.

⁶ Speakers do differ in the way they interpret sentences intonationally. The contours above represent Bensted Kephana's (age 45) rendering of the two sentences. Those in this footnote were developed from Kingsley Seko's (age 65) taping of them. Both signal that the bases in 8.6a constitute one sentence—Bensted, by initiating base 2 introduced by *ā* 'and' on a high pitch, and Kingsley, by terminating base 1 on an upglide. The lowest pitch in 8.6b for both men is higher than the lowest pitch of 8.6a; both terminate base 1 of 8.6b with an upglide, and both initiate base 2 in 8.6b on a mid-pitch. The full text of Seko's rendering of the examples is given above the frequency contours, the bracketed material being that segment which is not shown in the frequency curves. Seko uttered 8.6b without the connective *amo*.

8.6a. [*Namonde*] *dubo kotarera ā fakina arera.*
 Frequency contour for 8.6a.



8.6b. [*Ava sedo,*] *namonde dubo kotarera, fakina arera.*
 Frequency contour for 8.6b.
 (Kingsley Seko)



(2) Pragmatic relationships between co-ranking bases

According to Mathesius (1939), the pragmatic ordering of information often begins with the known or the obvious and proceeds to the less obvious. Linguists associated with the Prague School have used the words ‘theme’ and ‘rheme’ to describe this type of information packaging. Others have used terms like ‘topic-comment’ and ‘given-new’. But the information encoded by themes is not always given or old information. Recognising this, Halliday (1985:38, 53) defines theme⁷ as “what the speaker selects as his point of departure”.⁸ It is developed by the rheme “the remainder of the message”.

This bipartite theme-rheme relationship is expressed intraclausally and interclausally in Korafe sentences. Its intraclausal use in topic-comment clauses with the format P1:TOPIC + COMMENT (NP/PP-(*ri*)) is described in §4.1.1 and §4.2.1. The notion of a pragmatic function labelled theme (P2), its use in conjunction with the topic (P1), and the markers signalling themes and topics were presented and illustrated by NPs in §3.2.3.1 and §3.2.3.2.

Interclausally in Korafe, both theme and rheme may be expressed by sentence bases. The clause or base with theme function is dependent on but not embedded in the dominant base, which functions as the rheme. In 8.7 both theme and rheme bases are multiclausal SRCs. The demonstrative *amo* ‘that, when’ terminates the thematic base, which provides the background within which the rheme base is relevant.

- 8.7 [*Viti+f-iri*, *fuge-teno*
ascend.I+come.DUR-SIM.R.3S.DS throw.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS
vose+i-sira *amo*,]_{THEME} [*vasago e-do*
descend.I+go.DUR-DP.3S.FN that.T/F silver do.I-SEQ.SS
viti+f-iri *gosu-seri*.]_{RHEME}
ascend.I+come.DUR-SIM.R.3S.DS see.II-DP.1PL.AQ
‘When I took a good look at it while it was coming up (to the surface),
we saw (something) silver coming up (to the surface).’

Theme and rheme bases may be juxtaposed without a conjunction, as in example 8.8. Again, the theme expresses the background within which the rheme base is relevant.

- 8.8 [*Nati it-ari=dae e-do ghu-sera*,]_{THEME} [*giti*
house build.I-DVB=PUR do.I-SEQ.SS do.again-DP.3PL.FN first

⁷ Halliday’s definition of the word ‘theme’ is more inclusive than Dik’s. Both the clause-internal P1:TOPIC and the left-dislocated sentential P2:THEME in Dik’s LIPOC outlined in §3.2.3.1 would be considered part of Halliday’s ‘theme’.

⁸ It is not always true, however, that “the cognitive point of departure coincides with the communicative point of departure” (Lyons 1977:508). Mithun (1987:304) observes that word order does not always begin with given information or even the topic of discussion. She has found in the American Indian languages, Cayuga, Ngandi and Coos, that word order is based on “the relative newsworthiness of the constituents to the discourse”.

y-ama nenda kokomana s-aoro ningi-do,
 go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS 3PL.GEN friend.RED say-SEQ.IR.3PL.DS hear.I-SEQ.SS
fo-ama sonemb+e-do, nati iti-do, nati+dengesi
 come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS help+do.I-SEQ.SS house build.I-SEQ.SS house+side
nati+joká kotofu gogho+e-do ghu-seri.]_{RHEME}
 house+inside leader decoration+do.I-SEQ.SS do.again-DP.3PL.AQ
 ‘When/If they were about to build a house, first they would go and tell their
 friends, they would hear, come, help build the house, and they would make
 leader emblems on the sides and inside the house.’

In example 8.9, the speaker contrasts the speaker’s preferred course of action (expressed in the thematic base) with the actual proposed course of action that the rheme base encodes.

- 8.9 [Na jo y-ae aetena ava,]_{THEME} [Clara moni
 1S NEG go.DUR-not.do do.CFAC.IS.FN that.CT Clara money
ir-ae=de gi-do, nane y-arena.]_{RHEME}
 remain-not.do=COM.PL see.I-SEQ.SS 1S.ACT go.DUR-F.IS.FN
 ‘I wouldn’t go but seeing that Clara doesn’t have any money, I will go.’ (elicited)

The thematic markers ({*ava*}, *ai*) retain their basic meaning, but form more complex conjunctions which also can be used to signal theme-rheme relationships. Example 8.10 is linked by the conjunction *ava sedo* ‘therefore (lit. saying that)’.

- 8.10 *Avata namane de-teva ava+se-do, namane*
 that.CT.FRUS 1PL.EXC hit.I-TP.2PL.FN that.CT+say.I-SEQ.SS 1PL.EXC
y-ama uvu+kamara=da iri-se beka ava+nembo
 go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS.T/F water+lagoon=LOC remain-SIM.SS mouth that.CT+only
s-aoro ningi-do+gh-areva.
 say.I-SEQ.IR.1PL.DS hear.1-SS.SEQ+do.again.I-F.2PL.FN
 ‘But because you have beaten us, we will go and while we are remaining in the
 lagoon, we will only croak and (that’s all) you’ll hear (of us).’
- 8.11 *Nunda sasingu isambu amomonje-gu-sera aindae,*
 3S.GEN children all die.RED-do.FOC.II-DP.3PL.FN therefore
dubo+mema=i f-ira nu fure gaji-sira.
 neck+pain=CEFF come.DUR-SEQ.PAST.3S.SS 3S bury cover.II-DP.3S.FN
 ‘Because each and everyone of her children have died, grief has come and buried
 and overwhelmed her.’

In examples 8.10 and 8.11, the dependent thematic base is not asserted, so the verbs *deteva* ‘you hit’ and *amomonjegusera* ‘each and every one of them died’ are marked as neutral in terms of assertion. Both bases in paratactic arrangements are asserted, whereas in structures expressing a hypotactic relationship, only the final independent base is asserted.

(3) Semantic relationships between co-ranking bases

Although both bases in paratactic relationships are independent, semantic relationships bind them together, just as they bind dependent bases in hypotactic relationship with dominant bases. According to Halliday (1985:193-251), the logicosemantic relations of expansion and projection occur between bases of sentences in both paratactic and hypotactic relationships.

Halliday describes three types of expansions: (1) elaborations, (2) extensions, and (3) enhancements. One base elaborates another base, by expressing it in other words, giving examples of it or clarifying it. Extensions include additions of new information, alternatives, adversatives and other variations. One base enhances⁹ another by qualifying it temporally, spatially, or in its manner. Enhancement relationships also occur between two bases in a conditional or cause–effect relationship. Sections 8.1 to 8.8 outline Korafe sentences encoding expansion.

Halliday refers to constructions that contain direct or indirect quotes as ‘projections’. A projection has a ‘locution’ or mental process base which ‘instates’ a second base as a quotation or thought. In Korafe, quotations are commonly bracketed by initial and final locution bases. Korafe projections are presented in §8.9.

Sentences with hypotactic bases that function as sentential complements or relative constructions are described in §8.10 and §8.11.

Section 8.12 focuses on intersentential relationships and the conjunctions used. For the most part, the same logicosemantic relationships existing between bases in sentences also bind sentences together.

8.1 JUXTAPOSED BASES REALISING ELABORATIONS AND ENHANCEMENTS

Juxtaposed bases in Korafe may be in either a paratactic or a hypotactic relationship. Juxtaposed bases in paratactic relationship express restatements, addition, or contrast.

Restatement is exemplified by 8.12, which expresses the feelings that overwhelmed the Korafe when Cyclone Hannah hit Tufi.

8.12 *Edo aində* *joká=da*,_{THEME}
 and that.CEFF.GEN inside=LOC

Base 1 *namane eveva eni jo fu-r-ae* *ā tamb-ae=ri*;
 1PL.EXC good any NEG come-EPEN-not.do and find.I-not.do=COP.AQ

Base 2 *namane=da dubo joká=da amb-ari ava*
 1PL.EXC=GEN neck inside=LOC die.I-DVB that.CT

⁹

These enhancement relationships correspond to the implicational relationships Longacre (1976:98-164) describes in his expanded sentence calculus. Conditionality, contrafactuality, and other contingency relationships, warning, and causation are all implicational relations.

fū-sir=asi.

come.DUR-DP.3S=that.say.II

‘And within that time period, nothing good happened to us and we didn’t meet up with anything good; within our feelings, it was death that haunted (us).’

Base 1, which is itself two bases conjoined by *ā*, states that “nothing good” happened, and base 2 rephrases their feelings, namely, that they felt death was haunting them.

Addition is encoded by juxtaposed bases in a paratactic extension relationship. Example 8.13 is a series of three clauses extracted from a larger sentence in a tape-recorded discourse.

8.13 ...*Cephas=da nati duduru-sira*
Cephas=GEN house fall.II- DP.3S.FN

Hobert=da nati duduru-sira,
Hobert=GEN house fall.II-DP.3S.FN

Silas=da nati duduru-sira...
Silas=GEN house fall.II-DP.3S.FN

‘...Cephas’ house fell down, Hobert’s house fell down, Silas’ house fell down...’

Korafe speakers often compare people and objects by contrasting them in two juxtaposed bases in a paratactic extension relationship. In example 8.14a, the two persons are contrasted using antonyms in the two bases, and in 8.14b, the contrast is accomplished by stating base 1, then negating it in base 2.

8.14a. *Jim ata ghousa=ri; Cindi ata tufako=ri.*
Jim leg long=COP.AQ Cindi leg short=COP.AQ
‘Jim is taller than Cindi. (lit. Jim is tall; Cindi is short.)’

8.14b. *Jim ata ghousa=ri; Cindi jo amingo ir-ae=ri.*
Jim leg long=COP.AQ Cindi NEG that.CEFF.CPAR remain-not.do=COP.AQ
‘Jim is taller than Cindi.’ (lit. Jim is tall; Cindi is not like that.)

In 8.15, base 2 enhances base 1, with which it is juxtaposed. Base 1 is a command terminating with an imperative verb form. Commands are frequently juxtaposed with bases predicated by a hortative verb form. The course of action encoded by base 2 can only be accomplished after the addressee carries out the command in base 1.

8.15 Base 1: *Fu,* Base 2: *ninda rooro b-ase!*
come.NDUR.IMP 2S.GEN bowl get.I-H.2S.CR
‘Come and get your bowl!’ (lit. Come, may you get your bowl.)

Like 8.15, example 8.16 contains two bases predicated respectively by an imperative verb form and a hortative verb form. However, in this example, the event conveyed by the command overlaps temporally with the event encoded in base 2.

8.16 *Norris, Base 1: afa kaifa+u-ru,*
Norris father watch.over+do.II-IPF.IMP(2S.AQ)
Base 2: *na y-a sasingu tav-ari=dae*
IS go.DUR-IR.SEQ.DUR.SS children look-DVB=PUR

er-ena.

PF-do.PRES.1S.FN

‘Norris, you keep watch over Dad, and I will go and look for the children.’

Juxtaposed bases in a dependent-dominant (hypotactic) relationship express temporal and logical contingencies such as conditionals and contrafactuals. The initial base in juxtaposed bases expressing contingencies is dependent on the dominant final base. Example 8.17 with predicates having the yesterday’s past form illustrates a temporal contingency.

8.17

Base 1: *Namane nangae oka bamb-ari=dae i-mutara,*
1PL.EXC ID fish get.I-DVB=PUR go.DUR-YP.1PL.FN

Base 2: *nu mokogo bari-muta.*
3S majority get.II-YP.3S.AQ

‘When we, the two of us, went to catch fish (yesterday), he caught most of them.’

In the following contrafactual contingency, the verb terminating base 1, *didivuraetira* ‘while he would be dancing’, is marked by a final *-a*, indicating that the event it encodes is not asserted. The apodosis has a locution, which projects a quotation. The locution is terminated by the verb *saeteri* ‘we would say’, marked by *-i* as an assertion.

8.18

Base 1: *Joey didiv-ur-aetira,*
Joey dance.II-IPF-CFAC.3S.FN

Base 2: [*namonde gi-do s-aeteri,*]_{BASE 2a} “*Numamo=mo, [aito=go*
1PL.INC see.I-SEQ.SS say-CFAC.1PL.AQ 3S.father=T/F style=CPAR

ava fugut-er-ira”]_{BASE 2b}
that.CT throw.II-IPF-PRES.3S.FN

‘If Joey would have been dancing, we would have seen him (while he was dancing) and said, “He is patterning his style on his father’s style”.’

8.2 CONJOINED BASES REALISING ADDITIONS: *A/Ā, EDO, KOTUGO*

Some bases conjoined paratactically are coordinate sentences that encode extension by addition. Korafe coordinate sentences consist of two or more bases that terminate with final verbs and are conjoined by the conjunctions *a/ā*¹⁰ ‘(unordered) and’, *edo* ‘(ordered) and’, and *kotu/kotugo* ‘and in addition, likewise (lit. like a footprint)’.

10

Both the pronunciations [*a*] and [*ā*] occur for this conjunction. They are not in free variation. The Yariyari clan inhabiting the Kofure and the Onare point area nasalise it; most other groups do not. Those that do not nasalise it are not happy with the usual ‘*an*’ spelling, but both groups accept ‘*ā*’ as a compromise spelling.

The conjunction *ā* links structures that may be freely reversed at all levels, e.g. NPs with NPs, clauses with clauses, sentence bases with sentence bases. The second base in 8.19 is a conjoined coordinate sentence, that is juxtaposed with and enhances the initial base. Bases 2a and 2b are conjoined by the conjunction *ā*.

8.19

Base 1: *Ā nu etoto=ri:*

and 3S two=COP.AQ

Base 2 [*eni buroro foyago=ri*]_{BASE 2a} *ā* [*eni ingago=ri*]_{BASE 2b}

one feathers white=COP.AQ and one black=COP.AQ

‘And it (the Chinese Sea Tern) comes in two types: one (has) white feathers, and one black.’

Although the concepts conveyed in base 2a and base 2b are interchangeable, *buroro* ‘feathers’, which is ellipsed in base 2b, must always be in the first of the two bases.

In 8.20, *ā* combines with *kotugo*, which is often used singly or with *ā* when the second base continues the same activity or the same line of thinking as the first base.

8.20 [*Sife nu vare=da a-ira,*]_{BASE 1} *ā* *kotugo* [*oroko*

yesterday 3S garden=LOC go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN and additionally today

sekago a-ira.]_{BASE 2}

again go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN

‘She went to the garden yesterday, and she went again today.’

The medial verb form *edo* ‘do’ is used as a coordinating conjunction by Korafe speakers to link paragraphs and sentences and occasionally clauses and NPs. The speaker uses it to signal the importance of either the temporal order: ‘and then’ or the logical order: ‘and in addition to that, on top of that’. In the following example, the speaker uses *edo* to express how negative the situation really was.

8.21 [*Na fakina jo ae=ri,*]_{BASE 1} *edo* [*kaiya tefo=ri*]_{BASE 2}

1S strength NEG not.do=COP.AQ and knife nothing=COP.AQ

‘I had no strength, and (worse than that), I didn’t even have a knife.’

8.3 CONJOINED BASES REALISING ALTERNATIVES: *O, Ai/Āi*

Both the conjunctions *o* ‘or’ and *ai/āi* ‘or’¹¹ are used to express alternatives. The conjunction *o* ‘or’ generally combines phrases, clauses, sentences or paragraphs that express multiple alternatives, binary and n-ary (where n is any number greater than two).

¹¹ Several Korafe forms used as conjunctions have other senses. For instance, *ai/āi* means ‘yes’ and ‘or’. These forms may be either homophonous or polysemous. In the working Korafe–English dictionary, they are listed this way:

ai/āi intj. (1) yes

conj. (2) or

The conjunction *ai/aĩ* ‘or’ occurs only with binary alternatives. In the following elicited example, either one can be used.

- 8.22a. *Demusi=ri, o, Evertius y-arira?*
 Demus=COP.AQ or Evertius go.DUR-F.3S.FN
 ‘Will it be Demus or will Evertius go (or will they both go)?’

- 8.22b. *Demusi=ri, ai, Evertius y-arira?*
 Demus=COP.AQ or Evertius go.DUR-F.3S.FN
 ‘Will it be Demus or, will Evertius go?’

If *o* is used, both men may end up going, whereas with *ai/aĩ*, the speaker’s expectation is that only one man will go.

Where all the options are simultaneously possibilities, *o* is used. Thus, only *o* can occur in example 8.23, a sentence with multiple alternatives.

- 8.23 ... [*ati gemb-arira*,]_{BASE 1} [*javo gemb-arira*,]_{BASE 2}
 stringbag weave.I-F.3S.FN handbag weave.I-F.3S.FN
 [*o y-a ghaito bambu-do fo-ama*
 or go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS pandanus get.I-SEQ.SS come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
de-do fit-ari av-ari gemb-arira.]_{BASE 3}
 hit.I-SEQ.SS put.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS dry-SEQ.IR.3S.DS weave.I-F.3S.FN
 ‘...she will weave stringbags, (or) she will weave personal handbags, or she will go and get pandanus, come and beat it and put it (in the sun), and it will dry, and she will weave (it into a mat).’

Example 8.24 illustrates a binary alternative with the conjunction *ai/aĩ*.

- 8.24 *Nu y-arira aĩ, ir-arira?*
 3S go.DUR-F.3S.FN or remain-F.3S.FN
 ‘Will he go or will he stay?’

The disjunctive *ai/aĩ* is obligatory in this sentence where only one alternative can be selected.

The *o* can be used between a statement and its paraphrase. In 8.25 which is a hypothetical condition, base 2 in the apodosis is a paraphrase of base 1. The two bases are joined by *o*.

8.25

Protasis:

Namonde arivo injib-arera amo,
 1PL.INC palm.torch ignite-F.1PL.FN if

Apodosis:

Base 1: *jo bu y-a ambo=kena ae arera,*
 NEG get.I go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS back=toward not.do do.F.1PL.FN

Base 2 *o jo bu gagara+ae arera.*
 or NEG get.I cover.over+not.do do.F.IPL.FN
 ‘If we light a torch, we won’t get it and put it behind us, nor will
 we get it and cover it over.’

The *o* can also be used to express contrast as long as one or both of the alternatives are true. Example 8.26 contains two contrasting statements made by John the Baptist. Although the statements are antithetical, both are true. Contrasts with *o* usually occur intersententially, rather than intrasententially.

8.26 *Numo teria=ri. Q namo ijoghako=ri.*
 3S.T/F great=COP.AQ or 1S.T/F insignificant=COP.AQ
 ‘He is great. But I’m insignificant.’

8.4 CONJOINED BASES REALISING ADVERSATIVE OR CONCESSIVE RELATIONSHIPS: *AVA, AVATA*

The conjunctions *ava* ‘but (that, contrastive focus)’ and *avata* ‘but, conversely, even though, although (that, contrastive focus, frustrative)’ encode contrast of all types, including oppositions where only one of the statements is true. In 8.27, only the underlined base following *avata* conveys what really happened.

8.27 ...*oka fo-a deder-ur-ari jufu-se diti*
 fish come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS touch.II-IPF-SEQ.IR.3S.DS pull.II-SIM.SS eye
fang-aeteni. Fang-aetena avata, na diti
 open-CFAC.IS.F.AQ open-CFAC.IS.FN that.CT.FRUS IS eye
bainghe-tiri...
 nod.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 ‘...a fish would come and strike (the line) and while I would be pulling,
 I’d fully awake (lit. open my eyes). I would wake up but (instead), I was
 nodding off to sleep...’

Both *ava* and *avata* contain *va* which signals a change of direction or contraexpectation. Example 8.2 is repeated below as 8.28. Here, *avata* indicates that the men’s treatment of Soboko is contrary to the norm in Korafe society. The sentence arrangement is paratactic, with the *avata* linked intonationally with the second base.

8.28 *Soboko=mo evetu=ri, avata gegenembo nu*
 Soboko=T/F woman=COP.AQ. that.CT.FRUS men.RED 3S
tumonde-do+ghu-seri.
 believe.I-SEQ.SS+do.again.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 ‘Soboko was a woman, but the men trusted her repeatedly.’

In 8.29 *avata* occurs in the same rhythm group as the initial base. Syntactically, the two bases are in a non-embedding hypotactic relationship. Semantically, *avata* encodes a concessive ‘even though’ relationship between the two bases as well as the protagonist’s frustration.

8.29

Base 1: ...*ghanda ai* *ga-y-ari* *jingabu=á*
 paddle that.CEFF spear.I-EPEN-SEQ.IR.3S.DS snake=that
 itimb-are=dae *se-do,* *ghanda=i* *garu-sira*
 disengage-H.3S.CR=PUR say.I-SEQ.SS paddle=CEFF spear.II-DP.3S.FN
 avata,
 that.CT.FRUS

Base 2 *jo itimb-ae* *u-sira.*
 not disengage-not.do do.II-DP.3S.FN
 ‘...saying that he would poke (the net) with a paddle and the snake would
 get itself loose, but even though he poked (the net) with the paddle, the
 snake did not get loose.’

The *avata* marks contrast more strongly than *ava*, or else it indicates a much greater degree of frustration. The free translations of the examples in 8.30a and b illustrate this difference.

8.30a. *Na Tufi sembi+y-a* *umo+aetena* *ava,*
 1S Tufi cross.I+go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS visit+do.CFAC.1S.FN that.CT
 borija ai *gaje-tiri* *fete-teni.*
 rain that.CEFF close.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS stand.I-TP.1S.AQ
 ‘I should have gone to Tufi and visited with folks and watched the game, but
 (I was rather undecided, so when) the rain closed in, I stayed home.’ (elicited)

8.30b. *Na Tufi sembi+y-a* *umo+aetena* *avata,*
 1S Tufi cross.I+go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS visit+do.CFAC.1S.FN that.CT.FRUS
 borija ai *gaje-tiri* *fete-teni.*
 rain that.CEFF close.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS stand.I-TP.1S.AQ
 ‘I would have gone to Tufi and visited with folks and watched the game (and
 I had plans to do that), but then the rain closed in, and I stayed home.’ (elicited)

In the context of 8.30a with *ava*, the speaker was ambivalent about going over to Tufi, and the rain offered a convenient excuse for staying home. But in the context of 8.30b with *avata*, the speaker had every intention of going to Tufi, but the rain thwarted him.

8.5 CONJOINED BASES REALISING CONDITIONAL AND CONTRAFACTUAL RELATIONSHIPS: *AMO*

Among the implicational relationships (or antecedent-consequent relationships) that hold between predicates are conditional and contrafactual relationships (Longacre 1976:119-132). Both are commonly expressed in Korafe by two bases conjoined by *amo* ‘given that,

if'.¹² Base 1 must terminate with a dependent final verb form (terminating with {-a}) and *amo* is uttered with it in the same rhythm group.

Hypothetical conditions are expressed by two bases terminating with final verb forms having future tense. Example 8.31 is a hypothetical condition.

- 8.31 *Ava+se-do namonde dubo+kot-arera amo, fakina+arera.*
 that.CT+say.I-SEQ.SS 1PL.EXC neck+think-F.1PL.FN that.T/F strength+do.F.3S.FN
 'Therefore, if we will reason well, we will become strong.' (elicited)

In 8.32, the consequence of the speaker's remaining in that place in the bush is that the pig will bite him.

- 8.32 *Na ir-arena amo, fuka ai gamb-arira.*
 IS remain-F.IS.FN that.T/F pig that.CEFF bite.I-F.3S.FN
 'If I remain here, that pig will bite (me).'

Occasionally, base 2 (or the apodosis) terminates with a final verb having an imperative or a hortative form. In the following example, base 2 contains an SRC that terminates with an imperative verb form *fu* 'come' followed by a clause terminating with a hortative verb form *mindase* '(that) you might eat'.

- 8.33 *Ava+se-do*
 that.CT+say.I-SEQ.SS

Base 1: *ni y-a rika+orue g-aresa amo*
 2S go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS bird+heron see.I-F.2S.FN that.T/F

Base 2: *de-do bu-do f-u mind-ase.*
 hit.I-SEQ.SS get.I-SEQ.SS come.DUR-IMP(2S.AQ) eat.I-H.2S.CR
 'Therefore, if you go and see a heron, kill it and bring it so that you may eat it.'

Contrafactual relationships are also encoded by two bases, which are frequently conjoined by *amo* 'given that, if'. Both bases terminate with final verbs having a contrafactual form. In 8.34, the initial sentence in the example terminates with a negated form of the verb *i* 'go' followed by an independent final verb form *yae aeteri* 'they should not go'. Base 1 (or the protasis) in the following sentence terminates with a dependent final form of *i* 'go', *yaetera* 'if they would go'.

- 8.34 *Sasingako=mo taima=da nusuka+nusuka jo y-ae*
 little.children=T/F bush=LOC 3S.alone+DUP NEG go.DUR-not.do
aeteri.
 do.CFAC.3PL.AQ

¹² Describing Hua, a Papuan language in the Eastern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea, Haiman (1978) treats conditionals as given topics that are left-dislocated constituents. Like the Korafe *mo* which marks themes and topics and occurs in *amo* which marks conditionals, the Hua markers indicating potential and actual topic, *-mo* and *-ve* are part of the *-mamo* and *-pamo* suffixes which mark conditionals.

Base 1: *Y-aetera* *amo*,
go.DUR-CFAC.3PL.FN that.T/F

Base 2: *nou fu-a gamb-aetira*.
death.adder come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS bite.I-CFAC.3S.FN
'Little children should not go off alone into the bush. If they would go
(off into the bush alone), a death adder would come and bite (them).'

In the utterance in 8.35, the speaker uses a contrafactual sentence to explain both the reason why he did not go to Japan with the Korafe dancers, and his eagerness to go.

8.35

Base 1: *Div-ari embo Japan i-sera, aminda*
dance.I-DVB people Japan go.DUR-DP.3PL.FN that.CEFF.LOC
y-ari=da goroto ir-aetira amo,
go.DUR-DVB=GEN opportunity remain-CFAC.3S.FN that.T/F

Base 2 *na y-aeteni*.
1S go.DUR-CFAC.1S.AQ
'When the dance group went to Japan, if there had been the chance (for me)
to go, I would have gone.' (elicited)

This two-based construction conjoined by *amo* is also used to realise conditions which involve a temporal contingency or a universal quantifier.¹³ Korafe sentences expressing temporal contingencies encode both a temporal sequencing relationship and an antecedent–consequence relationship between the two bases. Both bases must terminate with final verbs having present or past tense forms. In example 8.36, the cousin's capture by the enemy is the consequence of his coming down out of the tree. Today's past verb forms predicate both bases.

8.36 *Nunda ghato iká=da o vose-tira a=mo*,
3S.GEN cousin top=LOC that.D2 descend.I-TP.3S.FN that.T/F
gitofu=i b-eri.
enemy=CEFF get.I-TP.3PL.AQ
'When that cousin of his in the top (of the tree) came down, the enemy
seized (him).'

Customary verb forms encode contingencies involving the universal quantifier. In example 8.37, the dependent base functioning as the antecedent is an SRC.

8.37 *O evetu genembo=ghae ir-iaro, sasingu=i*
or woman man=COM.D remain-SEQ.CUST.3PL.DS children=CEFF

¹³ According to Longacre (1972:120), conditions which involve temporal contingencies or a universal quantifier also are subsumed under combinations of predicates which encode conditionality.

ambu-raera amo evetu=dae rosemo se-raera.
 die.I-CUST.3PL.FN that.T/F woman=BEN rosemo say.I-CUST.1PL.FN
 ‘Or if a couple remain and the children die, we call the woman *rosemo*.’

An aspectual clause sequence encoding iteration at irregular intervals is used to encode customary activities in the past, the habitual customs of the Korafe people. In example 8.38, the verbs terminating the antecedent and the consequence, *ghusera* and *ghuseri*, manifest the difference between verb forms marked as neutral in terms of assertion and those marked as assertions.

- 8.38 *Giti avia+abua ne nenda vasai=da*
 first grandmother+grandfather 3PL 3PL.GEN competing.trading.partner=GEN
kirumo ari=dae e-do ghu-sera giti fuka
 exchange.feast do.DVB=PUR do.I-SEQ.SS do.again.II-DP.3PL.FN first pig
digarigo undu-do ghu-seri.
 many.CPAR nurture.I-SEQ.SS do.again.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 ‘At the beginning, when the ancestors were about to hold their competing trading partner exchange feast, they would first raise lots of pigs.’

Conditional and contrafactual relationships can be expressed by bases that are directly juxtaposed (without the conjunction *amo*), provided the frequency contour resembles the contour illustrated by example 8.6b in footnote 6. The example encoding a hypothetical condition in footnote 6 is here repeated as 8.39.

- 8.39 *Ava+se-do namonde dubo+kot-arera, fakina+arera.*
 that.CT+say.1-SEQ.SS 1PL.EXC neck+think-F.1PL.FN strength+do.F.3S.FN
 ‘Therefore, if we will reason well, we will become strong.’

A temporal contingency is encoded by the juxtaposed bases in 8.38 and a conditional relationship in 8.39.

8.6 CONJOINED BASES IN EXPLICITLY EXPRESSED TEMPORAL RELATIONSHIPS:

AINDA GITIDA (MO), AINDA AMBODA (MO), AINDA JOKÁDA (MO), AI TANO GHEDO

Temporal combinations *ainda gitida (mo)* ‘before that’, *ainda amboda (mo)* ‘after that’, *ainda jokáda (mo)* ‘during that time’, and *ai tano ghedo* ‘from that point on’ function as themes expressing the framework (temporal, in this case) within which the main base holds. The stressed syllable of the nominal head of the temporal phrase (e.g. *giti*, *ambo*, and *joká*) is the peak of the final primary contour in the rhythm group they belong to.

Sentences with adversative and conditional relationships contain dependent bases without any clear constituent role in the dominant base. These temporal conjoining phrases, by contrast, can be analysed as PPs which signal their temporal role relationship with the predicate in the dominant base. Because they are part of their own rhythm group and separated by a pause from the dominant base, they are here analysed as sentence themes setting the temporal framework within which the predication in the dominant base holds rather than as peripheral arguments of that predication.

As was noted in Chapter 6, some temporal conjunctions are used in SRCs to suspend the immediate temporal ordering that exists between the two clauses they link.¹⁴ This allows for a reversal of the clauses before and after *ainda giitida* ‘before that’. A delayed interim in which other non-specified events can occur is often encoded by *ainda amboda* ‘after that’. The conjoining phrase *ainda jokada* ‘during that time’ indicates that the event encoded in the following clause is included within the time frame of the event encoded by the clause preceding it. Phonologically these conjoining phrases are often grouped with the preceding clause(s) in its (their) rhythm group, which often includes the recapitulated verb at SRC onset. Sometimes, they are separated by pauses from the rest of the sentence and function as a thematic segment (P2).

When temporal conjunctions are used to link co-ranking structures, they make explicit the temporal relationship that exists between the two bases. This does not preclude the occurrence of other non-specified events between the two expressed events. In example 8.40, a simple clause occurs with *ainda amboda* ‘after that’ as the dependent base.

- 8.40 *Nu vare=da a-ira ainda ambo=da=mo.*
 3S garden=LOC go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN that.CEFF.T/F.GEN back.side=LOC=T/F
 esa+embo oji-gh-eri.
 traveller+person come.NDUR-do.position-TP.3PL.AQ
 ‘After she went to the garden, then, trading guests arrived (and are staying).’

The temporal combination *ainda jokada* ‘during that (time)’ indicates that the action encoded by the the dominant base occurred within the temporal span of the action in the dependent base.

- 8.41 *Ni saramana+e-tesa ainda jokada dara+e-tesi.*
 2S work+do.I-TP.2S.FN that.CEFF.GEN inside.LOC error+do-TP.2S.AQ
 ‘During that time you were working, you made a grievous error.’

The combination *ai tano ghedo* ‘continuing from that endpoint’ is a clause terminating with a SS medial verb form that has grammaticised into a fixed formulaic temporal expression. It is not used in SRCs, only in CRSSs.

- 8.42 *Enda siror-usira ai tano ghe-do oroko.*
 earth be.born.II-DP.3S.FN that.CEFF boundary continue.from-SEQ.SS today
 aminga ava jo siror-ae ir-ira.
 that.CEFF.T/F.CPAR that.CT NEG be.born-not.do remain-PRES.3S.FN
 ‘From the time the earth came into being until now, nothing like that has ever happened.’

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Not all conjunctions used in SRCs suspend immediate temporal ordering. The conjunction *ainghae dabade* ‘straightaway’ highlights the strong temporal link that ties the action encoded in the clause following it to the action encoded in the clause preceding it.

8.7 CONJOINED BASES REALISING CAUSE–EFFECT RELATIONSHIPS

Implicational cause–effect relationships are expressed in Korafe by any of several conjunctions.¹⁵ The unmarked order for cause–effect explanations is iconic, namely that cause precedes effect.

Two conjunctions encode circumstantial or enabling cause–effect: *agido* ‘so (lit. seeing that)’ and *avo gido* ‘seeing that pivotal cause’, and two express sufficient cause–effect: *aindae* ‘because of that’ and *aindae sedo* ‘speaking on account of that’. General explanation is encoded by *ava sedo* ‘therefore (lit. saying that)’. These conjunctions signal hypotactic relationships when they occur in the rhythm group with the initial base and paratactic relationships when they are separated from base 1 by a pause or a falling glide that terminates in voicelessness.

Korafe cause–effect and result–reason conjunctions (refer to §8.8) overtly encode a distinction between private and public information. Public information is referentially transparent. That is, both speaker and addressee have the same knowledge, beliefs, and viewpoint on the information and can verify it. Private information is information that only the speaker has access to. Because it arises from the perspective and beliefs the speaker holds on the content and context of the speech act, the speaker assumes it is not accessible to the addressee and uses a form of *se* ‘say’ to signal that. The SS medial forms *sedo* or *sise* are used with cause–effect conjunctions (*ava sedo/sise* and *aindae sedo/sise*) and the final present tense form *resira* occurs in a result–reason conjunction (*ai resira amo*

Final cause (purpose) and warning are conveyed by constructions using the positive and negative hortative paradigms respectively in combination with the complementiser *dae* ‘in order to’. A fuller account is given in §7.2.2 and its related sub-sections.

Although bases encoding cause normally precede bases encoding effect, dependent bases that express explanatory cause (sufficient cause, and final cause) also may occur in sentence-final position. Givón (1987:182–183) suggests that preposed P(presupposed)-clauses are thematically broad in scope, anaphorically referring to a large chunk of the preceding discourse as well as serving as a grounding device for the following assertion. Postposed P-clauses tend to be more concrete, depending on the immediately preceding clause for their interpretation and “commonly referring to the motivation of the participants” (Givón 1987:182).

8.7.1 GENERAL EXPLANATION: *AVA SEDO/SISE*

The conjunction *ava sedo/sise* ‘therefore (lit. saying that)’ links bases in general explanations in Korafe. *Ava sedo/sise* indicates that there is some kind of causal connection between the two bases, but it does not necessarily indicate that the event or state encoded in base 1 is the primary cause for or requires the occurrence of the event in base 2. In fact, the

¹⁵ The semantics of the Korafe conjunctions encoding cause–effect and result–reason notions is described in Farr, Lowe, and Whitehead (1985:135–152).

occurrence of the event in base 2 is possible even if the event or state encoded by base 1 did not occur. *Ava sedo/sise* makes a causal explanation that is a private belief or feeling of the speaker. In example 8.43, the younger sister being addressed is informed that her sisters are abandoning their husbands and her also, because she is the only sister who has a good husband.

- 8.43 *Nimo genembo eveva ai=kena vai+e-tesa*
 2S.T/F man good that.CEFF=ALOC marry.I+do-TP.3S.FN
ava+se-do, nimo=a iri!
 that.CT+say-I.SEQ.SS you.T/F=that remain.(2S).IMP
 ‘Because you got married to the good husband, you stay here by yourself!’

The *ava* in this conjunction adds an element of contrast. In the elicited examples in 8.44, the boy is contrasted with other boys, overtly in the hypotactic expression 8.44a and covertly in the paratactic expression 8.44b.

- 8.44a. *Nu mandi eveva ava+se-do, anumb+ir-iri*
 3S boy good that.CT+say-I.SEQ.SS sit+remain-SEQ.R.3S.SIM
tataya+e-teri.
 fight+do.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 ‘Because he’s a good boy, he remained seated while (the others) were fighting.’
- 8.44b. *Nu mandi eveva=ri; ava+se-do, noi+numamo=da*
 3S boy good=COP.AQ that.CT+say-I.SEQ.SS 3S.mother+3S.father=GEN
geka ningi-raira.
 talk hear.I-CUST.3S.FN
 ‘He’s a good boy; therefore, he obeys his parents.’

The fact that he is a good boy is taken as a presupposed premise for the boy’s pacifist behaviour in example 8.44a. Both bases are asserted in example 8.44b, but of course, the second base does build on the material presented in the initial base.

8.7.2 CIRCUMSTANTIAL CAUSE: *AGIDO*, *AVO GIDO*

In circumstantial cause–effect, the cause must occur to facilitate the following effect, but it does not automatically precipitate the effect. Conjunctions linking bases expressing circumstantial cause–effect are: *gido* ‘so (lit. seeing)’, *agido* ‘so, therefore (lit. seeing that)’ and *avo gido* ‘therefore (lit. seeing that pivotal cause)’. The *gido* by itself follows bases terminating with a medial verb; *agido* ‘so, therefore’ and *avo gido* ‘therefore (lit. seeing that pivotal cause)’ follow bases terminating with a final verb.

In example 8.45, the fact that the people have been without food enables, but does not automatically trigger, Jesus’ response. In fact, his response contrasts with the disciples’ response to send the people away.

- 8.45 *Evetu+genembo namonde dabade sifo etodaba naká eminda*
 woman+man 1PL.INC together day three of.them this.CEFF.LOC

iri-se, bayau dadabe-tira a+gi-do, ne
 remain-SIM.SS food finish.I-TP.3S.FN that+see.I-SEQ.SS 3PL
 dirig-aono nati=da y-ari=mo, na joka+er-ira.
 send.off-SEQ.IR.IS.DS village=LOC go.DUR-DVB=T/F IS pity+IPF-do.PRES.3S.FN
 ‘While the people have been remaining here together with us for three whole days,
 their food supply is exhausted so I feel sorry for them if I would have to send them
 off and they would go to their villages (in that condition).’

In the previous example, base 1 is in a hypotactic relationship with base 2. The bases in 8.46 are in a paratactic relationship.

8.46 Oka eveva jeuro=de=ri; a+gi-do, namane evetu+genembo,
 fish good fat=PL.COM=COP.AQ that+see.I-SEQ.SS IPL.EXC woman+man
 sasingako isambu mind-ari uju+e-raera.
 children.DIM all eat.I-DVB want+do-CUST.IPL.FN
 ‘(This) fish is good having fat; so we all, men, women and children (lit. we,
 woman, man, children, all), want to eat it.’

The conjunction *avo gido* ‘seeing that pivotal point’ marks causally related topic switches that are the ultimate point in discourses. Because it is only used intersententially, it is discussed below in §8.12.

8.7.3 SUFFICIENT CAUSE: *AINDAE*, *AINDAE SEDO*

The conjunctions *aindae* ‘therefore (lit. on account of that)’ and *aindae sedo* ‘therefore (lit. speaking on account of that)’ encode a strong sufficient causal relationship between the bases. Occurring with the effector of change marker *i*,¹⁶ these conjunctions indicate that the event(s) encoded in the initial base compel the events in the second base to occur. The conjunction *aindae* joins two assertions in a paratactic arrangement in example 8.47.

8.47 Nunda tamo kau=mo jingabu amingo=ri,
 3S.GEN body kind=T/F snake that.CEFF.T/F.CPAR=COP.AQ
aindae oju+e-raera.
 that.CEFF.BEN fear+do.I-CUST.IPL.FN
 ‘Regarding its (the ground skink) kind of body, it’s like the snake,
therefore, we fear (it).’

Anything that faintly resembles a snake immediately and predictably precipitates fear in most of the Korafe.

¹⁶ In his grammar of Hua, Haiman (1980:452) notes that “relative clauses in the ergative case, in contradistinction to relative clauses in the benefactive, are generally possible only where *S*₂ is an involuntary consequence of *S*₁, following naturally and independently of human volition”. In Korafe, both the effector of change marker, which by and large expresses the same notions as ergative markers in other languages, and the benefactive marker combine together in the conjunction, *aindae*, which encodes a compelling cause-effect relationship.

In 8.48 the first base is a presupposition which both letter writer and addressee share, so the *aindae* terminates the first base which stands in a non-embedding hypotactic relationship with the second base, itself a sentence with the bases coordinated by *edo*.

- 8.48 *Aya, nanda letter gefu-sesa aindae, aiyakoe beká*
 mother IS.GEN letter write.II-DP.2S.FN that.CEFF.BEN thank.you true
ava si-seni, edo dubo+mema+u-seni.
 that.CT say.I-DP.1S.AQ and neck+pain+do.II-DP.1S.FN
 ‘Mother, because you wrote me a letter, I am saying thank you and I am
 feeling sad.’

Dependent bases encoding cause may occur terminally following independent bases encoding the effect. The following example is from a letter. The verb *rurusena* ‘I received’ in the terminal dependent base is not marked as an assertion, but the verb *usen* ‘I did’ in the independent base is.

- 8.49 *Afa, na ivuga beká u-seni, nanda letter ruru-sena*
 father IS joy true do.II-DP.3S.AQ IS.GEN letter get.II-DP.1S.FN
aindae.
 that.CEFF.BEN
 ‘Dad, I’m really happy because I received a letter (from you).’

The combination *aindae sedo* also encodes a sufficient cause–effect relationship, but the speaker adds *sedo* to *aindae* in example 8.50 to inform the addressee (an outsider to the Korafe culture) that hospitable behaviour demands that newcomers be helped out with food and gardening needs.

- 8.50 *Yariyari seka ira anumbu-sira*
 Yariyari new go.DUR.SEQ.PAST.3S.SS sit.II-DP.3S.FN
 The Yariyari leader had recently gone and settled (there)
aindae+se-do.
 that.CEFF.BEN+say.I-SEQ.SS
 speaking on account of that,
kauva+veka, jovu+veka, bare+veka
 banana+seedlings sugarcane+seedlings taro+seedlings
 banana seedlings, sugarcane seedlings, taro seedlings
bu sembu+fo-ama mutu,
 get.I cross.I+come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS.T/F give.I
 she would get, come across, give
sembi+y-a ghu-se ir-eira...
 cross.I+go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS do.again.II-SIM.SS remain-EP.3S.FN
 go across, and she would remain doing (those things)
 ‘Because the Yariyari leader had recently gone and settled, (Yakosi’s wife,
 under his direction) kept getting banana, sugarcane, and taro seedlings and
 would come across, give them and cross back again...’

In 8.51 the author explains to his readers (a group including outsiders) why the Korafe people detest the Sergeant Major fish.

- 8.51 *Ainda+amboda, evetu+genembo foká+aoro gi-do*
 that+after woman+man excrement+do.SEQ.IR.3PL.DS see.I-SEQ.SS
mindi-raira, aindae+se-do, namane imboe+e-raera.
 eat.I-CUST.3S.FN that.CEFF.BEN+say.I-SEQ.SS 1PL.EXC hate+do.I-CUST.1PL.FN
 ‘After that, people defecate and (the fish) sees it and eats it, therefore, we detest
 (the fish).’

8.8 CONJOINED BASES REALISING RESULT-REASON RELATIONSHIPS: *AINDA BEKÁ MO, AINDA SUSU MO, AINDA TUKA MO, AI RESIRA AMO*

Result–reason explanations in Korafe reverse the iconic order realised by cause–effect explanations. The event encoded in base 2 temporally precedes that of base 1. Sentence bases in a result–reason relationship are conjoined by the following NPs: *ainda beká mo* ‘concerning the reality underlying that’, *ainda susu mo* ‘concerning the source of that’, and *ainda tuka mo* ‘concerning the point of that’. When they occur in CRSSs, they form the initial thematic base together with the clause or clause sequence that precedes them, occurring within one rhythm group. When these conjunctions occur sentence-initially, the demonstrative at their onset refers anaphorically to the previous sentence, which encodes the result. The conjunction *ai resira amo* ‘regarding that which that says’ contains the clause *ai resira* ‘that says’ within it. Because *ai resira amo* always occurs sentence-initially, it is described in §8.12.

The conjunction *ainda beká mo* ‘concerning the total essence/reality of that’ joins bases that are in a very general result–reason relationship. In example 8.52 the author lists all the reasons he has for saying that the Keeled Angleheaded Lizard has no practical uses in the Korafe culture.

- 8.52
- Base 1: ...osevi, nu kiki tefo=ri. Tefo
Keeled.Angleheaded.Lizard 3S story nothing=COP.AQ nothing
re-s-ena ainda+beká=mo:
IPF-say-PRES.IS.FN that.CEFF.GEN+truth=T/F
- Base 2: nu jo mind-ae e-raera, ã jo de bu-do
3S NEG eat.I-not.do do.I-CUST.IPL.FN and NEG hit get.I-SEQ.SS
aimi rejo eni ae e-raera.
that.CEFF.T/F what.SPEC any not.do do.I-CUST.IPL.FN
'...The Keeled Angleheaded Lizard, it has no customs connected with it.
The whole reason I say so (lit. nothing) is: we don't eat it, and we don't
(lit. kill and get) it and do anything with it.'

In 8.52 *ainda beká mo* links base 1 in a hypotactic relationship with the main reason base (base 2).

The conjunction *ainda susu mo* ‘concerning the source or motivation for that’ indicates that base 2 gives the source reason which motivates the occurrence of the event(s) in base 1. In example 8.53, the reason is cataphorically referred to by the demonstrative *evi(ri)*, which is expounded in the following sentence.

- 8.53 *Namane sino undu-raera* *ainda+susu=mo* *evi=ri*.
 1PL.EXC dog nurture.I-CUST.1PL.FN that.CEFF.GEN+source=T/F this=COP.AQ
 ‘The motivation for our raising dogs is this.’

Sino und-oro

dog nurture.I-SEQ.IR.1PL.DS

‘We raise dogs and

baj-ari, *ainda+amboda,*
 grow.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS that.CEFF.GEN+after
 they grow up, and after that

taima=da bu-do *y-eoro,*
 bush=LOC get.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-SEQ.CUST.1PL.DS
 we take them to the bush, and

fuka, kaisi, ararafa, agari ava gambu-raira.
 pig bandicoot cuscus rat that.CT bite.I-CUST.3S.FN
 they catch pigs, bandicoots, cuscus, and rats.’

The speaker uses *ainda tuka mo* ‘concerning the point or meaning of that’ to signal that the reason conveys a single main point. In example (8.54) the primary reason that parents work so hard is that their children will feel secure and happy.

- 8.54 *Aya afa=ghae nengae, saramana mokogo e-raera*
 mother father=COM.D 3PL.COM.D work much do.I-CUST.3PL.FN
ainda+tuka=mo: *sasingu dubo+jama ã ivuga=ghae*
 that.CEFF.GEN+point=T/F children neck+cool and joy=COM.D
ir-oro=dae *si-se,* *saramana+e-raera.*
 remain-SEQ.IR.3PL.DS=PUR say.II-SIM.SS work+do.I-CUST.3PL.FN
 ‘The main reason that parents work so very hard (is): while they are intending
 that their children would remain secure and happy, they work.’

In the next two examples, the reason base is simultaneously marked as the cause base.¹⁷ In 8.55, the result is linked by the conjunction *ainda beká mo* to the reason which is also marked as the cause by *aindae*.

- 8.55 *Avori=ta, ni y-ama numo g-aresa amo, [ni*
 all.right=FRUS 2S go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS.T/F 3S.T/F see.I-F.2S.FN that.T/F 2S

¹⁷

This dovetails with Davidson’s (1968:87) observation: “A primary reason for an action is its cause”.

dudukughe-do ungo+ata dadadagh-arira.]RESULT
be.surprised.I-SEQ.SS hand+leg shake-F.3S.FN

'All right, if you go and see it (the New Ireland Fruit Pigeon), you will be surprised and shake all over.'

Ainda+beká=mo:

that.CEFF.GEN+reality=T/F

[*ni nanange-do rika evia de-do bu+y-a*
2S do.how.RED.I-SEQ.SS bird this.CT hit.I-SEQ.SS get.I+go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS

mind-aetesa aindae.]REASON=CAUSE

eat.I-CFAC.2S.FN that.CEFF.BEN

'The reason for that is: because you (will be thinking) how you might kill this bird and take it and eat it.'

In example 8.56, the conjunction expressing a result–reason relationship is *ainda susu mo* 'the source of that'. It precedes the reason base, which is also a cause base, marked by *aindae* 'therefore'. The final base encoding effect actually is a paraphrase or a rephrasing of the original base.

8.56 [*Taima=da begara, nu na jo g-ae e-raena.*]RESULT
bush=GEN crab 3S IS NEG see-not.do do.I-CUST.IS.FN

Ainda+susu=mo: [*faragho+anoso joká=da ir-á*
that.CEFF.GEN+source=T/F wood+bark inside=LOC remain-SEQ.IR.SS

ghe-raira.]REASON=CAUSE [*aindae jo g-ae e-raena.*]EFFECT
do.again.I-CUST.3S.FN that.CEFF.BEN NEG see-not.do do-CUST.IS.FN

'The scorpion, I generally do not see. The source of that is: it lives inside the bark of trees, therefore I don't see it.'

8.9 CONJOINED BASES REALISING PROJECTIONS: QUOTATIONS AND THOUGHTS

Quotations or thoughts are presented or projected through the medium of speech acts or mental processes.¹⁸ In the structure of Korafe quotations, the base encoding the speech act or mental process may precede or follow the base containing the quotation, or two speech-act bases may bracket the quotation or thought. The basic speech-act/mental-process verb in Korafe is *se* 'say'. Together with nouns, it forms complement/adjunct combinations such as *kori se* 'shout', *vironu se* 'orate', *kiki se* 'tell tales', *sakai se* 'praise', *dubo kununu se* 'hum' and *koko se* 'scream, shriek'. Other speech-act/mental-process verbs are: *kote* 'think', *bune* 'not know', *kasama e* 'learn', *tumonde* 'believe', *ategi e* 'greet, ask a

¹⁸ According to Halliday (1985:196, 227–228), quotations and indirect quotes are "representations of a linguistic representation" rather than "representations of a non-linguistic experience". They are "the secondary clause that is projected through the primary clause, which instates it as (a) a locution or (b) an idea". Projections may be in a paratactic, hypotactic, or embedding relationship with the instating clause.

question', *gembu* 'write', *ijuge* 'teach', *gi* 'see, comprehend', *uju e* 'want, wish', *itatame* 'feel', *oju e* 'fear, be afraid of', *simbora e* 'put a curse (on someone)', *burege* 'hinder, prevent', *imboe e* 'dislike' and *divu* 'sing'. The 'quotation' base may contain a text, utterance, thought, or song.

The following two sections outline the characteristics of direct and indirect quotes.

8.9.1 DIRECT QUOTES, THOUGHTS, AND SONGS

The bases in Korafe direct quotes are always in paratactic relationship with each other. Direct quotes commonly have three components: the speech act or mental process, the quoted material or thought, and the speech act or mental process repeated.

- 8.57 [*Nu vos+ira* *ategi+u-muta*],_{SPEECH ACT}
 3S descend.I+go.DUR.PAST.3S.SS greet+do.II-YP.3S.AQ
 ["*Re-f-esa*"],_{QUOTE} [*si-muta*]._{SPEECH ACT}
 IPF-come.DUR-PRES.2S.FN say.II-YP.3S.AQ
 '[She came down and greeted (me)],_{SPEECH ACT} ["You are coming"],_{QUOTE}
 [she said]._{SPEECH ACT}

When direct quotations occur in discourse texts, the discourse-internal speaker (or the person to whom the quote is attributed) is referred to by a first person pronoun within the quoted material. Pronouns referencing the discourse-internal addressee(s) (or the person(s) to whom the quote is addressed) are second person forms. In example 8.58, the discourse-internal speaker (the mother) addresses her daughter, Yayau, as *ni* 'you'. She refers to herself as *na* 'I' within the quote. She uses a first person plural marker on the verb to refer to projected activities they will perform together.

- 8.58 ... [*noi se-tira*],_{SPEECH ACT} ["*Yayau, ni bu*
 3S.mother say.I-TP.3S.FN Yayau 2S get.I
kaifa+u-r-uru, na bayau vendi simbuge-do
 care+do.II-EPEN-IPF.IMP(2S.AQ) 1S food put.in.I prepare.I-SEQ.SS
y-aore!"]_{QUOTE}
 go.DUR-H. IPL.CR
 '...[her mother said],_{SPEECH ACT} ["Yayau, you get (the) baby and be looking after it
 while I put the food in (the stringbag) and organise (things), then let us go!"]_{QUOTE}'

Long stretches of speech may be interrupted by a speech-act base, as example 8.59 illustrates.

- 8.59 [*Bubu+ghato si-sira*],_{SPEECH ACT}
 Bubu+leader say.II-DP.3S.FN
 'The Bubu clan leader said,
 ["*Eva=da+Genembo, gute ere-sef-ira*.
 Sea=GEN+Man.Group immerse IPF-cross.I-PRES.3S.FN
 "Eva Group, (the enemy) is swimming and crossing.

Erá *eni* *do-y-eovo*
 do.IPF.SEQ.IR.SS one let-EPEN-SEQ.NEG.H.2PL.DS
 Don't let even one

y-eure!
 go.DUR-NEG.H.3S.CR
 go (escape)!

Uvu=da *vos-or-asi,* *isambu!"*]QUOTE
 water=LOC descend.I-H.1PL-that.say.II all
 Let's all get into the water, everyone!"

 [*se-tiri*]SPEECH ACT
 say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 he spoke,

 ["*Doru-se* *iri-vu!* *De-do,*
 hit.I-SIM.SS remain-2PL.IMP hit.I-SEQ.SS
 "Keep on killing (them). Having killed (the majority),
 dabako do-y-ovo *y-a*
 one let-EPEN-SEQ.IR.2PL.DS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
 you will let one go and
 evevetu *gabas-ar-asi,*
 women.RED inform-H.3S-that.say.II
 inform the women,
 evevetu *s-ari* *ning-or-asi!"*]QUOTE
 women.RED say-SEQ.IR.3S.DS hear.I-H.3PL-that.say.II
 tell the women, so that they hear!"

 [*s-etiri*]SPEECH ACT...
 say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 he said, and...'

Both the inserted speech act verb, *setiri* 'he said and' and the final speech act verb *setiri* 'he said and' are different-subject medial verb forms, even though the same person delivered both parts of the quote. Both speech-act verbs predict that some actor other than the Bubu clan leader performed the action following the speech act.

Direct quotations may additionally have four components that do not occur with indirect quotations:

- (1) demonstratives or demonstrative-based pro-verbs in the initial or terminal speech act formula,
- (2) epistemic or modal markers on sentences within the quotation,
- (3) the completive pause word *avori* 'all right', the affirmative response word *aavori* 'all right', the dubitative pause word *avose* 'perhaps', or *taká/tauka* 'no matter what happens' at quotation onset or after the initial NP, and/or
- (4) a vocative NP.

The proximal contrastive demonstrative *evia* ‘this’ or the pro-verb *eminge* ‘do this way’ may precede the speech act/mental process verb in the speech act base before the quotation. The distal-1 contrastive demonstrative *ava* ‘that’ and *aminge* ‘do that way’ may follow the speech act/mental process verb in the speech-act base following the quotation. In example 8.60, *aminge setira* ‘she spoke thus’ constitutes the post quote formula base.

- 8.60 ...[*nenda gagarako s-etira*],_{SPEECH ACT} [*“Nanda genembo*
 3PL.GEN younger.sister said.I-TP.3S.FN IS.GEN man
egi+fuka bu f-iri re-r-ana
 wallaby+pig get.I come.DUR-SEQ.R.3S.DS IPF-eat.II-NP.1S.FN
ava+se-do, na uvu re-r-ena”],_{QUOTE} [*nu aminge*
 that.CT+say.I-SEQ.SS IS water IPF-eat.II-PRES.1S.FN 3S that.T/F.CEFF.do.I
se-tira]._{SPEECH ACT}
 say.I-TP.3S.FN
 ...[their younger sister said],_{SPEECH ACT} [“Because my husband brought me meat
 from the hunt and I ate (it), I am drinking water”],_{QUOTE} [she spoke thus]._{SPEECH ACT}

In example 8.61, the verb *divu* ‘sing’ is used in both the initial and terminal speech-act bases. The contrastive demonstrative *evia* marks *yaru* ‘song/dance’ in the initial speech-act base predicated by *divira* ‘she sang’.

- 8.61 ...[*yaru evia div-ira*],_{SPEECH ACT} [*“Jaruga+Roro-o-o, ambo*
 song this.CT sing.I-TP.3S.FN Jaruga+Roro-o-o, back
gaita giti gaita, Jaruga+Roro-o-o”],_{SONG} [*divu-do*],_{SPEECH ACT}...
 see front see Jaruga+Roro-o-o sing.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘...[they sang this song],_{SPEECH ACT} [“Jaruga Roro-o-o, (I want) to see (your)
 back; I want to see your face, Jaruga-Roro-o-o!”],_{SONG} [she sang],_{SPEECH ACT}...’

Only sentences in direct quotations may terminate with current relevance (e.g. *-are*), epistemic (e.g. *-asi*), and modal markers (e.g. *ta*). They occur singly or in combinations. Example 8.62 illustrates three possible combinations, *-are+asi* (8.62a), *-are+ta* (8.62b) and *-asi+ta* (8.62c).

- 8.62a. “*Ne i-r-uru-vu, na sifo=de y-aren=ar=asi.*”
 2PL go.DUR-EPEN-IPF-2PL.IMP 1S day=COM.D go.DUR-F.1S=that.CR=that.say.II
 “‘You all go on, I’m telling you here and now that I will be going tomorrow.’”
- 8.62b. “*Er-es=are=ta.*”
 IPF-do.PRES.2S=that.CR=FRUS
 ‘Well, bully for you! I don’t give a hoot.’
- 8.62c. “*Viti mindarev=asi=ta.*”
 ascend.I eat.I-F.2PL=that.say.II=FRUS
 “‘(Why are you telling me?) I’m saying it’s okay by me if you climb up
 and eat (the coconuts).’”

In example 8.63, the narrator marked the two sentences in the quotation base with the reported speech marker *asi*. She used *avose* to indicate the discourse-internal speakers' uncertainty (feigned in this case) about the situation described.

- 8.63 ...[*evevetu=da* *kokomana* *mendeni* *gi-do* *se-raera*,]SPEECH ACT
 woman.RED=GEN friend.RED some see.I-SEQ.SS say.I-CUST.3PL.FN
- [*"O* *nanange* *nuvu=ghae* *inono+inono+er-ir'=asi!*
 that.D2 how.RED.do.I 3S.husband=D.COM equal+DUP+IPF-do.PRES.3S.FN=that.say.II
- Avose,* *o* *isambu* *gegenembo=r=asi!"*]QUOTE
 that.CT.say.I that.D2 all man.RED=COP=that.say.II
- [*se-raera*.]SPEECH ACT
 say.I-CUST.3PL.FN
- '...[the (women) see some of their friends and say,]SPEECH ACT ["How like their
 husbands those (women) are, it is said! Possibly, those are all men, it is said!"]QUOTE
 [they say.]SPEECH ACT

Vocative NPs¹⁹ are address terms or names separated by pauses from the rest of the sentence. Sometimes the quote base of direct quotes is split by an additional speech-act base. In the following example, there are two vocatives. The initial vocative is separated from the rest of the quotation by the speech-act, *siseni* 'I said'.

- 8.64 ...[*"Norris,"*]VOCATIVE [*si-seni*,]SPEECH ACT [[*"Norris,"*]VOCATIVE *afa*
 Norris say.II-DP.IS.AQ Norris father
- kaifa+uru,* *na* *y-a* *sasingu*
 watch.over+do.IPF.IMP IS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS children
- tav'+ari=dae* *er-ena=si."*]QUOTE [*Se*]SPEECH ACT...
 search.for+do.DVB=PUR IPF-do.PRES.IS.FN=say.II speak.I
- '["Norris,"]VOCATIVE [I said,] SPEECH ACT [["Norris,"]VOCATIVE keep watching over
 Dad while I go and search for the children,"]QUOTE [Having spoken]SPEECH ACT...

Although thoughts, wishes, knowledge, and belief usually take the form of indirect quotes, they are sometimes placed given the format of direct quotes, as is the case in example 8.65.

- 8.65 ...[*na* *koti-seni*]MENTAL PROCESS
 IS think.I-DP.IS.AQ
- '...I thought,

¹⁹ The spoken vocative NPs are either marked by *ko* 'dear (diminutive)' or unmarked. Shouted vocatives are marked by *o* (stentorian marker, probably related to the distal-2 demonstrative *o* 'that, away from the speech act participants). So are the termini of clauses.

Ann-o *fu-y-o!*
 Ann=STEN come.DUR.2S.IMP-EPEN-STEN
 'Ann, come!'

[“*Emo*, *yaura sufu-se*
 this.T/F wind run.II-SIM.SS
 ‘Regarding this, while the wind is blowing,

oka naufasa ava bu-do
 fish big that.CT get.I-SEQ.SS
 it is getting a very big fish

fu-r-ari *ga-y-one=dae*
 come.DUR-EPEN-SEQ.IR.3S.DS spear.I-EPEN-H.1S.CR=PUR
 and coming and I will spear (it), for that reason

er-ira.”]QUOTE [si-se]SPEECH ACT...
 IPF-do.PRES.3S.FN say.II-SIM.SS
 (the wind) is acting,” while I was speaking...’

8.9.2 INDIRECT QUOTES

Indirect quotes usually have two components: the indirect quote and the speech-act formula.

Indirect quote constructions are differentiated into four structural types by their word order, their intonational pattern, the type of predicating constituent and by the complementiser that embeds them. In only one of the types is the indirect quotation phonologically separate from the speech-act base. Usually it is the dependent base in hypotactic relationship with the speech-act base. The other three embed as complements in the dominant or matrix clause and have the following structures: (1) the indirect quote terminates with a positive deverbal form followed by *a*, *va*, or *ava* that embeds them, (2) the indirect quote is a purpose construction embedded by *dae* in a matrix clause with a form of *se* ‘say’, and (3) the indirect quote either is a topic–comment clause without the copula or it terminates with a final dependent verb followed by *va* or a demonstrative form, and is phonologically linked to the speech-act formula. (A fuller explanation of the deverbal and purpose construction types is found in §3.1.6.1 and §7.2.2.)

In example 8.66 an indirect quote that is an embedded complement is contrasted with an indirect quote that is not embedded within the speech-act clause. In 8.66a two speech-act/mental-process bases bracket the indirect quote *uvu kafuruva* ‘the water was deep water’, which is an object complement of the verb *setira* ‘he said’. The complementiser *va* signals that the indirect quote (topic–comment structure) is not true.

8.66a. *Nu kote-tira amo, uvu kafuru=va se-tira.*
 3S think.I-TP.3S.FN that.T/F water deep.water=CT say.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘He thought that the water was deep. (And it wasn’t.)’

The indirect quote in example 8.66b is phonologically separate from the speech act base. This quote gives true information.

- 8.66b. *Nu kote-tira amo, uvu kafuru=ri.*
 3S think.I-TP.3S.FN that.T/F water deep.water=COP.AQ
 'He thought that the water was deep. (And it was.)'

When the indirect quote precedes the speech-act formula, it is quite often embedded as the object complement of the speech-act or mental-process verb. However, in example 8.67, the indirect quote comprises a sentence base that is phonologically separate from the sentence base that contains the mental process.

- 8.67
 Base 1: ...[*ghaka reda dotutu-sena ava,*]INDIRECT QUOTE
 canoe where leave.II-DP.IS.FN that.CT
 Base 2: [*na jo kasama+ae=ri.*]SPEECH ACT
 IS NEG knowledge+not.do=COP.AQ
 '...where I left the canoe, I did not know.'

Pronominal reference in indirect quotes mirrors the external context of the discourse. As 8.67 shows, the narrator uses first person pronouns for self-reference: *na* 'I' in the speech act/mental process base and first person singular marking on *dotutusena* 'I left'.

Second person forms are used for those that the narrator is addressing. All discourse-internal participants are referenced by third person pronouns. The second person genitive pronoun in the indirect quote of example 8.68 refers to the person the narrator is addressing. The third person pronoun references the discourse-internal speaker.

- 8.68 [*Nu se-tira amo,*]SPEECH ACT [*ninda mandi sifo=de*
 3S say-TP.3S.FN that.T/F 2S.GEN boy day=COM.PL
fu-r-arira.]INDIRECT QUOTE
 come.DUR-EPEN-F.3S.FN
 'He said that your son will come tomorrow. (lit. That which he said: your son will come tomorrow.)'

8.10 SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENTS IN CRSs

Sentential complements that occur in CRSs have theme function in the sentence. Unlike many complements, they are not embedded in the independent terminal base, but they occur as a dependent initial base that is phonologically distinct from and in hypotactic relationship with the terminal base. The complement is predicated by a dependent final verb, which is usually followed by a demonstrative.

Korafe complements encode: (1) indirect quotations or mental processes, (2) evaluations, (3) final cause (or purpose) and (4) habitual acts. Embedded complements that express evaluations or habitual acts are discussed in §3.1.6.1. Section 7.2 gives complements that encode purpose. Section 8.9.2 describes and illustrates indirect quotes.

This section illustrates complements in CRSs that encode evaluation. As examples 8.69 and 8.70 illustrate, *amo* 'that' is usually the demonstrative complementiser for sentential complements in evaluations.

8.69 *Nu i-sira amo, eveva=ri.*

3S go.DUR-DP.3S.FN that.T/F good=COP.AQ

'That he went away is good.' (He was a bad influence in our community.)

In 8.70 the initial thematic complement contains two alternative bases. The second alternative base is a multi-clausal SRC. The thematic complement has the evaluation *evevari* '(it) is good'.²⁰ The entire sentence is a polar question that requests the addressee to evaluate the alternatives.

8.70 THEME:

Genembo...nunda kambo=da tefo ir-arira,

man 3S.GEN house=LOC nothing remain-F.3S.FN

o y-ama teseni=da o emboro=da tefo+tefo

or go.DUR-SEQ.IR.T/F.SS station=LOC or trail=LOC nothing+DUP

deinghu-se ir-arira amo,

travel.II-SIM.SS remain-F.3S.FN that.T/F

EVALUATION (RHEME):

eveva=ri, ai?

good=COP.AQ yes

'Is it good that a man remains doing nothing at his house or continually roams aimlessly about on the (government) station or on the trails?'

8.11 RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN CRSS

Relative constructions consist of a head, a restricting clause or SRC, and an optional determiner. The restricting clause terminates with a final verb form or a non-verbal predicate; the restricting SRC terminates with a final verb form. The determiner is a demonstrative form, usually the distal-1 demonstrative *a* 'that', combined with one of the three basic pragmatic markers *mo*, *va*, and *i/imi*.

²⁰

Unlike most evaluative words, the evaluation *eveva* 'good' may precede the base it is evaluating when the verb has an irrealis form. In this case, the evaluated base becomes the dominant base and is marked as an assertion.

Eveva=mo, ni y-aetesi.

good=T/F 2S go.DUR-CFAC.2S.AQ

'It would be good if you would go away.'

This construction is prohibited when the final verb has a realis form.

**Eveva=mo, nu i-sira.*

good=T/F 3S go.DUR-DP.3S.FN

*'It would be good that he went.'

Other evaluative words such as *eko* 'bad' can not occur initially in an evaluative sentence.

**Eko=mo, ni y-aresa.*

bad=T/F 2S go.DUR-F.2S.FN

*'It's bad that you will go.'

Korafe relative constructions can be divided into three basic structural types: (1) replacive or internally headed, (2) those with the specifier *ará*, and (3) prenominal relative constructions. Prenominal relative constructions are always embedded as the possessor in noun phrases. They are discussed in §3.1.6.2. Relative constructions that embed in a matrix clause are illustrated in §7.2.1.

Although relative constructions that are internally headed and relative constructions with the specifier *ará* can be embedded in a matrix clause, most of them are not. They function as dependent bases that express the theme constituent in CRSs. They are in a hypotactic relationship with the independent base and phonologically separate from it. The rest of the discussion centres around these relative constructions that use a non-embedding strategy.

8.11.1 REPLACIVE OR INTERNALLY HEADED RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Most Korafe relative clauses are internally headed. They relativise on core arguments or on oblique arguments that are unmarked and fronted. The role the referent of the relativised nominal plays in the independent base is commonly signalled by the demonstrative which terminates the relative construction.²¹

In example 8.71, the nominal relativised on, *gagara* ‘girl’, is an internal constituent with subject function in the initial clause.

- 8.71 [*Gagara vare=da a-ira a=mo,*]_{THEME} [*nan=da*
 girl garden=LOC go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN that=T/F 1S=GEN
komana=ri.]_{RHEME}
 friend=COP.AQ
 ‘The girl who went to the garden is my friend.’

The demonstrative *amo* marks the relative clause as the theme, which provides the given information on which the rest of the sentence is predicated.

In 8.72 the subject of the relative clause *genembo* ‘man’ is the noun relativised on. The demonstrative *aimi* is the subject NP in the dominant clause. It refers anaphorically to the relativised noun in the previous base.

- 8.72 *Genembo oka sifo+ghousa bambu-raira, aimi*
 man fish day+long catch.I-CUST.3S.FN that.CEFF.T/F
oji-gh-ira.
 come.NDUR-position.at-TP.3S.FN
 ‘The man (that) catches fish all the time, that one came.’

²¹ Keenan (1985:163-165) terms relative-like clause constructions that are phonologically distinct from the dominant clause (which has a pronoun that anaphorically refers to the nominal relativised on) ‘co-relatives’. According to him, these dependent relative clauses in hypotactic relationship with the dominant clause “are not NPs and thus *a fortiori* not RCs on our definition, but they are the functional equivalent of RCs in many languages”.

The demonstratives *aimi* and *ava* often are used to contrastively specify referents they mark or refer to. Placing them in the dominant base underlines the contrastive nature of the nominal they refer to. In this case, the man who is always catching fish is the person who has just come in.

Similarly, the *ava* in example 8.73a signals that the *ghaka* ‘canoe’ identified by the relative clause is the one that got smashed. In this example, the *ghaka* ‘canoe’ relativised on is an object in the relative construction.

- 8.73a. *Ghaka bu-do i-sera, a=va beji-muta.*
 canoe get.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-DP.IPL.FN that=CT break.I-YP.3S.FN
 ‘The canoe that we took, (it was) that one that broke.’

In 8.73b no contrast is present and the canoe is the given thematic constituent of the CRS. The demonstrative *amo* terminates the relative clause and is phonologically bound to it.

- 8.73b. *Ghaka bu-do i-sera a=mo, beji-muta.*
 canoe get.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-DP.IPL.FN that=T/F break.I-YP.3S.FN
 ‘Regarding the canoe that we took, it broke.’

Core arguments relativised on are not necessarily the initial constituent in the relative clause. In 8.74 the noun relativised on is *boka* ‘loincloth’.

- 8.74 *Aya boka seghe dend-ira, a nanda=ri.*
 mother loincloth wash.I hang.up.I-TP.3S.FN that 1S.GEN=COP.AQ
 ‘The loincloth that mother washed and hung up is mine. (lit. Mother washed a loincloth and hung it up, that one is mine.)’

As the syntactic object of the relative clause, *boka* is positioned as the second NP in the clause. The *a* ‘that’ in the dominant base refers anaphorically to *boka*.

In order to be relativised on, an oblique argument must shed its postpositional marking and be obligatorily positioned initially in the relative construction. In 8.75 the referent of the nominal *ningu* ‘needle’ has an instrumental semantic role in both clauses. In the relative clause, it is unmarked and has pragmatic topic function. The determiner *aimi* marks it both as an instrument in the event described and as the thematic base in the sentence.

- 8.75 *Ningu ati gembu-raena aimi, na ungo tofo*
 needle string.bag weave.I-CUST.1S.FN that.CEFF.T/F 1S hand self
gae-teni.
 spear.I-TP.1S.AQ
 ‘I stuck my hand with the needle with (which) I’m weaving the string bag.
 (lit. The needle I’m weaving the string bag, with that one, I stuck my hand.)’

One oblique argument, the possessor, cannot be relativised²² on simply by fronting it. It is followed by a possessive pronoun and then the rest of the relative clause. The NP relativised on in 8.76 is *genembo eni* ‘a certain man’; the possessive pronoun *nunda* follows it.

- 8.76 *Genembo eni nunda vide+jamena etoto+naká ir-iara*
 man one 3S.GEN teenage.boy+PL two+of.them remain-EP.3PL.FN
ava, sifo eni nu ere-do bego=kena eminge
 that.CT day one 3S arise.I-SEQ.SS firstborn=ALOC this.T/F.CEFF.do.FOC
se-tira...
 say.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘A certain man that had two sons (lit. a certain man his teenage boys were two)
 one day arose and spoke this way to the firstborn...’

Multiclausal relative constructions in Korafe are common. The relative construction in example 8.77 is an SRC with two clauses. The NP *genembo* is relativised on. Overtly present as the subject of the first clause, it is understood to be the referent of the object in the second clause of base 1 and the referent of the subject in base 2.

8.77

Base 1: *Genembo jaká of-iri namonde g-era amo,*
 man betelnut buy.II-SIM.R.3S.DS 1PL.INC see.I-TP.1PL.FN that.T/F

Base 2: *anakora Tufi a-ira.*
 already Tufi go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN
 ‘The man that we saw buying betelnut, (he) has already gone to Tufi.’

8.11.2 RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS WITH *ARÁ*

Another relative construction type begins with the demonstrative form *ará* ‘that one that you’re focusing on, I mean the one that’.²³ The speaker uses *ará* to refer to elements in the deictic context (gestural, symbolic, or in the conversation context) which he or she knows that the addressee also recognises.

When *ará* precedes the noun being relativised on, the speaker is telling the addressee new information about the referent of the relativised noun. In example (8.78), the speaker explains the use to which he put the stick lying nearby.

²² Korafe follows the accessibility hierarchy Comrie and Keenan (1977:156) outlines: subject>direct object>non-direct object>possessor. Although all unmarked core arguments may be relativised on, subject and direct object are the only two arguments that need not be moved. Non-direct objects must be y-shifted to initial position in the relative construction. Possessor is still less easy to relativise on, requiring a more complex syntactic arrangement that involves a possessive pronoun.

²³ The form *ará* is composed of the distal-I demonstrative *a* ‘that near the addressee’ and the relevancy-copula form *ra* ‘relevant to the addressee’s situation’. Other related forms include *re* ‘currently relevant’, *eré* ‘this, currently relevant’, *aré* ‘that, currently relevant’, and *ri* ‘realis copula’.

- 8.78a. *Ará* *faragho* *fas+ir-ira* *aimi*,
 that.relevant.to.you stick lie+remain-PRES.3S.FN that.CEFF.T/F
sino de-teni.
 dog hit.I-TP.3S.AQ
 ‘That stick that’s lying over there I used to hit the dog.’ (elicited)

When *ará* follows the noun being relativised on, the head is external to the postnominal relative construction. The speaker uses the *ará* construction to provide enough information for the addressee to identify the referent involved in the event being discussed. In 8.78b, the speaker uses the *ará* clause to restrict the referent of the *faragho* ‘stick’ to the one lying near the addressee.

- 8.78b. *Faragho, ará* *fas+ir-ira* *aimi*, *sino*
 stick that.relevant.to.you lie+remain-PRES.3S.FN that.CEFF.T/F dog
de-teni.
 hit.I-TP.3S.AQ
 ‘It’s that stick, I mean the one lying over there, that I used to hit the dog.’

Example 8.79a answers the addressee’s question: ‘what happened to the canoe I took?’

- 8.79a. *Ará* *ghasemo* *bu-do* *i-sesa* *amo*,
 that.relevant.to.you canoe get.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-DP.2S.FN that.T/F
beji-muta.
 smash.I-YP.3S.AQ
 ‘(You ask about) that canoe that you took, well, it got smashed.’

In 8.79b, the *ará* construction functions similarly to a restrictive relative clause that provides additional information so that the addressee can identify which canoe is being discussed.

- 8.79b. *Ghasemo, ará* *bu-do* *i-sesa* *amo*,
 canoe that.relevant.to.you get.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-DP.2S.FN that.T/F
beji-muta.
 smash.I-YP.3S.AQ
 ‘The canoe, as a matter of fact that one that you took, (is the one that) got smashed.’

Oblique arguments lose their marking and are fronted when they become the head nouns in *ará* relative constructions. In example 8.80, the unmarked head noun complex *bougu begaiya* ‘large village’ has a locative relationship with *sirorusena* ‘I was born’ which predicates the relative clause. It is understood to be the referent of the object of *sosighi usira* in the main clause.

- 8.80 *Bougu+begaiya, ará* *namo siroru-sena* *amo*, *yaura*
 large.village that.relevant.to.you IS.T/F be.born.II-DP.1S.FN that.T/F wind

biruru=imi sosighi+u-sira.

twisting=CEFF destruction+do.II-DP.3S.FN

'The large village, you know that one (where) I was born, well, it was destroyed by a cyclone (lit. (it) a cyclone destroyed).'

8.12 REMARKS ON INTERSENTENTIAL CONNECTIVES

Sentences are either juxtaposed, or they are linked (1) by recapitulation of the terminal verb or (2) by virtually the same set of connectives that link internal bases in CRSs. Differentiating sequences of sentence-internal bases from sequences of sentences is not always straightforward, when the bases or sentences are in a paratactic relationship.²⁴ The frequency contours exhibited by bases and sentences in paratactic relationship are similar. Each contour manifests a glide down to a low pitch shortly before or at its terminus. However, sentence-internal paratactic bases sometimes manifest a slight glide upwards following the downglide. The final syllable or two in a sentence is often devoiced; the final syllable in sentence-internal paratactic bases is never devoiced. A less reliable guide is the length of pauses. Intrasentential pauses average between .6 to .7 of a second. Intersentential pauses average between 1.0 and 1.2 seconds in the sample taken. However, the averages are slightly skewed by long pauses after thematic NPs and recapitulating clauses sentence-initially that can be over two seconds long.

Most intrasentential conjunctions function as intersentential conjunctions also, particularly when the sentences being linked are already compound (paratactically linked) or complex sentences. Conjunctions which occur sentence-initially mark significant points in the speaker's or writer's argumentation. Therefore, Korafe conjunctions which communicate the reason for current results, i.e. *ava sedo*, *ainda beká mo*, *ainda susu mo* and *ainda tuka mo* often occur sentence-initially.

Three conjunctions in Korafe always mark significant points in the argumentation and are used to link sentences only: an additive specifier *nu* 'that is specifically'; a circumstantial cause-effect conjunction *avo gido* 'seeing that crucial point'; and a result-reason conjunction *ai resira amo* 'that is to say'.

The proposition specifier *nu* has the same form as the third person singular pronoun. The speaker selects the most significant item of information from the information at his or her disposal to elaborate on or to explain the previous point. In example 8.81, the writer gives the specific reason they dig pits on paths into the garden.

²⁴ Pawley and Syder (1976:43) recognise this fact: "Clause sequences which form larger grammatical units show types of connections which are not easily defined as intra-sentential as opposed to inter-sentential...The sentence does not consistently coincide with the unit of exposition in discourse, and in any case sentence boundaries tend to be hard to locate in spoken discourse...once the linguist moves on to the rules governing clause sequences the structure is seen to be looser and the real world to intrude into the formulation of grammatical constraints. Now one must talk more often of common knowledge, of presuppositions, of belief systems, of relations between discourse topics, of the type of speech event, or speaker's purpose and so on".

- 8.81 *Bako=mo, enda ava*
 hole=T/F ground that.CT
 ‘Regarding pits (for snaring pigs), the ground
jo tefo+tefo ghamb-ae e-raera.
 NEG nothing+DUP dig.I-not.do do.I-CUST.IPL.FN
 we do not dig up for no purpose.
Nu, fuka goroto aminda ghamb-eoro,
 3S pig open.path that.T/F.CEFF.LOC dig.I-SEQ.CUST.IPL.DS
 Rather, we dig (a pit) there at an opening (into the garden for) pigs, and
fuka vare mind-ari=dae fo-a
 pig garden eat.I-DVB=PUR come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
 the pigs come to eat the garden and
aminda vose-raira.
 that.T/F.CEFF.LOC descend.I-CUST.3S.FN
 fall down there (in the pit).’

The conjunction *avo gido* ‘seeing that crucial point’ encodes circumstantial cause–effect at crucial points in a speech. Example 8.82 was part of a speech helping the people to understand the ramifications of self-government. The speaker was articulating what he hoped would become the entire group’s aspirations for the future, enabled by this turn of affairs in the polity of the country. The conjunction *avo gido* contrasts the current state of affairs with the hoped-for outcome of having the discussion.

- 8.82 *Fu-sera avata kotu,*
 come.DUR-DP.IPL.FN that.CT.FRUS footprint,
 We have come, but on the other hand,
oroko... einda mind-ari+dand-ari,
 today this.CEFF.GEN eat.I-DVB+chew.I-DVB
 today’s style of consumption,
einda s-ari, einda ir-ari
 this.CEFF.GEN say-DVB this.CEFF.GEN remain-DVB
 this manner of speaking, this lifestyle
kau eni=ri.
 kind another=COP.AQ
 are something different (than the old ways).
Avo+gi-do.
 that.CT+see.I-SEQ.SS
 Seeing that that’s so
aminda inono+u-se,
 that.T/F.CEFF.LOC sufficient+do.II-SIM.SS
 while we are becoming sufficient in (performing) those (new patterns),

embavo+ghato+mandavo+ghato *ainda* *kot-ari*,
 man.that.CT+member+boy.that.CT+member that.CEFF.LOC think.I-DVB
 everyone's opinion

ainda *kasama*, *ainda* *j-ari+gov-ari*,
 that.CEFF.LOC knowledge that.CEFF.LOC chop.I-DVB+plant.I-DVB
 that knowledge, that gardening ability,

ainda *fakina* *ava* *bu-do*
 that.CEFF.LOC strength that.CT get.I-SEQ.SS
 we will utilise those strengths, and

mendo *dabako* *aoro*,
 nose one do.SEQ.IR.1PL.DS
 we will become one cape (group), and

reighi=é *jighi* *fet-aetira*.
 place=this hold.I stand.I-CFAC.3S.FN
 it will hold this place and stand firm.

'We came (along that way) but on the other hand, today's patterns of consumption, speech and lifestyle are different. Therefore, while we are becoming sufficient in (performing) those (new ways), we should utilise everyone's opinions, knowledge, gardening abilities, and strengths, and we should become one point (cape group functioning together), so that it would hold this place and stand firm.'

Korafe speakers use the intersentential connective *ai resira amo* 'that says that' to express a logical result–reason relationship between two sentences that they realise is not obvious to the addressee. In 8.83, the speaker is explaining why he was elated.

8.83 ...*fuka* *etoto+naká...* *vose-do* *ir-ero*,
 pigs two+in.all descend.I-SEQ.SS remain-SIM.R.1PL.DS
 '...two pigs in all (fell) down (into the pit) and while they were remaining (there),

namane *vare=da* *era*
 1PL.EXC garden=LOC go.DUR.SEQ.PAST.1PL.SS
 we went to the garden,

buvu *gi-do*,
 arrive.I see.I-SEQ.SS
 arrived and saw them, and

na *ivuga+edo* *sumbu* *afa* *sanduduseri*.
 1S joy+do.I-SEQ.SS run father grab.II-DP.1PL.AQ
 I was glad and ran and Dad and I hugged.

Ai+re-s-ira+amo:
 that.CEFF+IPF-say-PRES.3S.FN+that.T/F
 The reason for that is (lit. that which that says):

na bako bun-ari=ri.

1S hole not.know-DVB=COP.AQ:

I didn't know (how to make) pits (for snaring pigs).

Avata afa ijuge-tiri, bako ghafu-seni.

that.CT.FRUS father teach.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS hole dig.II-DP.1S.AQ

But Dad taught (me), and 'I dug the pit.'

CHAPTER 9
STANDARDISED SEQUENCES OF VERBS AND THEMATIC
CLAUSE CHAIN UNITS (TCCUs)

This chapter examines standardised ways of expressing particular types of events and situations. It takes up the question: How are things said in Korafe?

In a much-cited passage, Chomsky (1965:4) stated that a grammar of a language should be a systematic description of the linguistic *competence* of native speakers, competence being “the speaker-hearer’s knowledge of the language”. Echoing this view, Radford (1988:3, 27) indicates that “a model of a native speaker’s competence” is “a grammar that tells us what we need to know in order to be fluent in a language”, a grammar being “a finite system of rules which generate...the infinite set of well-formed sentence-structures in the language”. In the structuralist grammarian’s view, the lexicon is part of the grammar, lexical items being the form-meaning pairs in a language, morphemes and idioms, that are unpredictable by the rules of grammar.¹

Pawley (1985:87-90, 1994:7-18, 27) argues that this ‘grammar-lexicon model’ presents an “impoverished account of linguistic competence”.² He argues that a proper speaker should show nativelike standards in: producing grammatical utterances, pronouncing words and adhering to conventional intonation, stress and rhythm patterns, being able to decode fluent speech, knowing the idiomatic way of saying things as opposed to ways that are merely grammatical, distinguishing between standardised expressions and ad hoc descriptions, and saying the right thing at the right time.

Drawing on the work of Grace (1987), Pawley proposes an alternative view of languages as ‘subject matter codes (or languages)’. A description of a *subject-matter* language would

¹ In recent years, the scope of the lexicon generativists propound has been extended from a minimalist list to include: (1) more grammatical information about individual lexemes and (2) forms that were initially derived by rules of morphonology and syntax, e.g. nominalisations. However, it still differs considerably from dictionaries that lexicographers make. Pawley (1986:101) lists a number of morpheme sequences that dictionaries like *Webster’s* have but grammarians would count as literal expressions, formed by productive processes, hence not included in their lexicons.

² The term ‘grammar-lexicon model’ is from Grace (1981).

In the 1960s, Pawley sought to do a grammar and lexicon of Kalam, a Papuan language. Feeling dissatisfied both with his grammatical description and early drafts of the lexicon, he (1993:103) makes this comment: “My thesis...failed to record some of the most distinctive and quintessential characteristics of the language. The analysis did not give the reader much idea of how the Kalam actually say the kinds of things that they say. The most productive patterns for reporting events and situations, for instance, were not distinguished from those patterns that were grammatical but unidiomatic”.

include in addition to a generative grammar: (1) a dictionary of *subject matter lexemes*, (2) a system of discourse rules incorporating a body of speech formulas, each with its own grammar and (3) an ethnography of discourse. This chapter and the next are a preliminary attempt to apply the *subject matter language* construct in a limited way to Korafe.

Subject matter lexemes consist chiefly of *names* and *terms*, i.e. “expressions that native speakers recognise as conventional and institutionalised and which substitute for part of speech categories (N, V, etc.)” (Pawley 1986:103). This would include not only the morphemes and idioms present in the ‘grammarian’s lexicon’, but also the well-formed complex and compound words that are typically included as dictionary entries in lexicographer’s dictionaries, e.g. *brotherliness*, *forgettable*, *forgetful*, *forgetfulness*.

Speech formulas are “conventional ways of saying things for definable discourse purposes” (Pawley 1994:7). Prototypical speech formulas are “bundles of at least seven components: meaning, grammar, lexical form, naturalness (idiomaticity) constraints, discourse function, discourse context, and prosody or musical conventions. Built into each formula is a specification of what to say, when to say it, how to say it and why” (Pawley 1995:7-8). A gestural component is also obligatory for speech formulas used by speech-act participants face-to-face.

Pawley (1983:88-95, 1994:14-18) distinguishes *fixed*, *semiproductive*, and *productive* speech formulas. Formulas that are *fixed* occur with invariant lexical content and word order. Examples from English include: *A rolling stone gathers no moss!*, *A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush!* The formula *Good day!* is a typical greeting. *God bless you!* is often said when someone sneezes.

Semiproductive formulas occur with severe constraints on the variation. An example is: *What in the name of NP!*, used to express extreme annoyance, where there are only a few acceptable variations of the NP constituent. Two are: *What in the name of blue blazes!* and *What in the name of heaven!*

Productive formulas are constructions whose lexical content is only partly specified. Some English formulas are: NP_i *turned on* NP_s *heel*, *The* ADJ_i -*er* (X) *the* ADJ_{ij} (Y)! as in *The sooner he leaves town, the better!* or *The sooner you start, the sooner you’ll be done!*, NP_i *got* NP_s *nose(s) all out of joint*, NP_i *is out to get* NP_j ! Many variables can realise the NPs and ADJs in exponents of these formulas. Often the tense of the verb can change, as in the following token of the final formula above: *John was out to get Charlie*.

The ethnography of discourse involves “identifying discourse genres and relating each to wider systems of knowledge and rules of behaviour, and specifying the discourse structure rules for each genre” Pawley (1994:20). Discourse structure rules “specify an agenda of things that may be said with an order in which they may be said” (1994:18).

In Korafe, expressions describing most conventional activities consist largely of sequences of verbs. In order to speak Korafe idiomatically, one must memorise these standardised verb sequences and master the rules governing their use in discourse. Failure to do so will hamper not only one’s fluency in Korafe, but also one’s ability to apply syntactic processes like negation correctly to such verb sequences. Without this knowledge, one is likely to omit verbs that should be included and insert NPs where ellipsis is required.

Issues of fluency and thematicity converge with issues of syntactic and semantic well-formedness in the production of these standardised sequences. Although one might classify such sequences as idioms, most standardised verb sequences in Korafe are syntactically and semantically well-formed.

The focus in this chapter is threefold: (1) on those verb sequences that rank as subject matter lexemes, (2) on those clause sequences used as speech formulas and (3) on the utilisation of subject-matter lexemes, speech formulas, and free expressions in shaping units, called thematic clause chain units (TCCUs), that package information in a discourse framework.

9.1 STANDARDISED VERB SEQUENCES (SVSs)

Korafe terms include exponents of nominal+nominal combinations, nominal+verb combinations, and verb+verb sequences. Some typical nominal+nominal combinations are *aya afa* ‘parents (lit. mother father)’, *oka bayau* ‘food (lit. fish/meat food)’, and *sino tavuya* ‘musical instruments (lit. kundu drum conch shell)’ *mendo menjuga* ‘runny nose (lit. nose mucus)’, *sino fuka* ‘animals (lit. dog pig)’, *guri fono* ‘jewellery’ (lit. shell necklaces, pig-tusk necklaces), *ika vuji* ‘fruit of a tree (lit. tree fruit, now also used to mean coffee)’, and *biria barara* ‘lightning and thunder’.

Some Korafe terms that are examples of the nominal+verb construction type include: *kavevera e* ‘lavish (lit. generosity do)’, *asio se* ‘sneeze (lit. achoo say)’, and *jorujorughe* ‘hop (lit. hop hop continue)’. For more examples of nominal+verb combinations, see §2.6.

Verb+verb sequences take the form of serial verb sequences (SVs) which are the head constituents of serial verb constructions (SVCs). SVCs express episodic and complex events that are construed as a semantic unit. The more predictable a series of verb stems, the less likely it is to allow intervening arguments and the more likely they are to colexicalise. Korafe has a number of two-verb serial verb sequences that are routinely used without intervening arguments. These standardised SVs function as inseparable units, substituting for monostem verbs as predicates in clauses.

Example 9.1 illustrates the use of three standardised SVSSs in an SRC: *fati degagedo* ‘he pushed down and broke cleanly’, *vitaira* ‘he went up’, and *bu vitaira* ‘he took (it) up’.

- 9.1 *Ogho* *fati* *degage-do* *bu*
 canoe.pole press.I break.off.cleantly.I-SEQ.SS get.I
vit+a-ira *tataya+etira.*
 ascend.I+go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS fight+do.TP.3S.FN
 ‘He pushed down on the canoe pole and broke it clean through,
 took it up and fought (with it).’

Standardised SVSSs range in degree of phonological integration from phonologically fused to phonologically free but associated with one intonation contour. Phonological fusion occurs in some sequences in which V₂ begins with a vowel. Vowel gobbling of the final vowel in V₁ (regressive syncope) is obligatorily operative in phonologically fused SVSSs (e.g. *'sembu* 'cross' + *o'jira* 'he came' → *sembo'jira* 'he came across'). Word stress in

these sequences falls on the final syllable of V_2 or on the final consonant of V_2 and the initial vowel of the suffix (e.g. '*fete* 'stand' + '*i'rira* 'she remains' → '*feti'rira* 'she is standing', '*savu* 'go inland' + '*isira* 'he went' → '*sav'isira* 'he went inland').³ The case of the verb 'die', illustrated in 9.2 is unusual in that the stem I form of the verb uses one verb stem, but the stem II form of the verb is an SVS that is phonologically bound.

9.2	Stem I: ' <i>amb-ira</i> die.I-TP.3S.FN 'he died'	Stem II: <i>ambu+dudu'ru-sira</i> die.I+fall.II-DP.3S.FN 'he died (lit. he fell dead)'
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The Korafe write phonologically fused SVSs as a single word.

Most sequences are considered as separate words by the Korafe and written that way. However, vowel gobbling of the final vowel in V_1 can occur in fast speech when V_2 begins with a vowel. This sequence is associated with one intonation contour. Although both verbs retain word stress, the accent of the intonation contour falls on the syllable containing the final consonant of V_2 and the initial vowel of the suffix which is double-underlined in the following examples: '*divu fu'se-teri* 'they celebrated (lit. dance/sing they blew)' and '*divu erefu's-era* 'they are dancing'.

The standardised SVSs given in the formulas in this section are construction types. In a given position in a given SVS construction type, the set of verbs that can occur without breaking idiomaticity conventions is a subset of the total set that can occur grammatically in that position. The choice of verbs in a standard sequence is limited either by the semantic type of information the SVS encodes (posture+state, motion+direction, perception, etc.) or by the prescribed verb that obligatorily fills V_2 and functions as an auxiliary verb encoding distribution, completive aspect, or intensification. The lexically specific SVSs that are given as exponents of the construction types are Korafe terms.

SVSs that encode specific semantic pairings (e.g. posture+state, direction+motion) are the focus of §9.1.1. Section 9.1.2 describes those that are grammatically oriented.

9.1.1 SVSs ENCODING SPECIFIC SEMANTIC PAIRINGS

9.1.1.1 SVSs ENCODING POSTURE OR PREHENSILE STATES

Four phonologically fused SVSs have the verb *iri* 'remain' as their second component. They follow this formula:

V_1 =posture/prehensile verb + V_2 =*iri* 'remain'

The prehensile verb *jighi* 'hold' with *iri* in *jighi'ri* 'be holding'.

The initial component of the other three of them conveys a posture or stance; the combination expressing maintenance of a posture. They are listed in Table 9.1.

³ These verbs follow the regular phonological rules applying to verb formation, found under (7) in the introductory section of Chapter 2.

TABLE 9.1: POSTURE + STATE SVSS

<i>'fasa+e</i>	+ <i>i'ri</i> = <i>fasi'ri</i>	'be lying down, be in prone position'
<i>anum'be</i>	+ <i>i'ri</i> = <i>anumbi'ri</i>	'be seated'
<i>'fete</i>	+ <i>i'ri</i> = <i>feti'ri</i>	'be standing'

9.1.1.2 SVSSs ENCODING DIRECTION + MOTION

SVSSs encoding direction + motion have also fused phonologically. They have the following structure:

V_1 =direction verb + V_2 =*fu* 'come' or *i* 'go'.

These compounds are listed in Table 9.2.

TABLE 9.2: DIRECTION + MOTION SVSS

Direction verb +	<i>'fuyo</i> 'come'	<i>'iyo</i> 'go' ⁴
<i>sembu</i> 'cross'	<i>sembu'fuyo</i> 'come across'	<i>sem'biyo</i> 'go across'
<i>buvu</i> 'emerge'	<i>buvu'fuyo</i> 'come toward ocean'	<i>bu'viyo</i> 'go out toward ocean'
<i>savu</i> 'enter'	<i>savu'fuyo</i> 'come inland'	<i>sa'viyo</i> 'go inland'
<i>tere</i> 'enter'	<i>tere'fuyo</i> 'come inside'	<i>te'riyo</i> 'go inside'
<i>viti</i> 'ascend'	<i>viti'fuyo</i> 'come up'	<i>vi'tiyo</i> 'go up'
<i>vose</i> 'descend'	<i>vose'fuyo</i> 'come down'	<i>vo'siyo</i> 'go down'

9.1.1.3 SVSSs ENCODING MANNER + ACTION

The structure of this type of SVS is:

V_1 =verb encoding manner + V_2 .

SVSSs encoding manner are numerous. The following examples are just a small sample. Manner SVSSs encoding manner + posture are:

fete: *dainghe fete* 'stand up straight'
atai fati fete 'conquer (lit. press with the feet and stand)'
gae fete 'dig your heels in (lit. spearing get)'

⁴ A number of morphophonemic changes occur with direction + motion compounds involving the verb *i* 'go'. The final vowel of V_1 harmonises with the initial vowel of V_2 , e.g. *savu* 'go inland' → *save / _erira* 'he is going', and *savu* 'go inland' → *savi / _isira* 'he went'. Instead of vowel gobbling, epenthetic *r*-insertion occurs with present tense compounds with *i* 'go', e.g. *savu* 'move inland' + *erira* 'he is going' → *save-r-erira* 'he is going inland'. When vowel gobbling occurs with *i* 'go', the syllable in which the vowel gobbling occurs receives the word stress (e.g. *savira*). When *i* 'go' precedes a consonant-initial suffix, it retains its syllable peak position as a vowel. But *i* → *y* / ___-*v*[+back] suffix-initially (e.g. *savi+y-arira*→*saviyarira* 'she will go inland') and *i* → *v*_[+front] / ___-*v*_[+front] (e.g. *savi+i-ira*→*savi:ra* 'she went inland'). When the vowel gobbling is applied twice (as in *savi:ra* 'she went inland'), the syllable that reflects the changes is compensatorily lengthened.

The posture verb *fasa e* 'lie down' also encodes manner with the verb *avi* 'sleep': *fase avi* (*fās'avi*) 'sleep prostrate (lit. lie down sleep)'.

Some manner + motion SVSs are:

- deinghe ya/foa* 'go/come walking about'
- jarige ya/foa* 'go/come skipping over'
- ghumbu ya/fo* 'go/come flying'
- dave ya/foa* 'go/come paddling'
- sumbu ya/foa* 'hurry (lit. run go/come)'⁵

Other manner SVSs include:

- sainghe se* 'whisper (lit. slow speak)'⁶
- sandi avi* 'sleep together sexually (lit. embracing sleep)'
- beje buvu* 'erupt (lit. breaking emerge)'

9.1.1.4 SVSs ENCODING PREHENSILE CONTACT + MOTION

Most SVSs of this type have the following structure:

V_1 =prehensile verb + V_2 =motion verb.

Some examples are:

- fumbu ya/foa* 'shouldering or bearing go/come'
- bu ya/foa* 'take/bring (lit. get go/come)'
- bambu ya/foa* 'collect, get with effort and come/go'

The prehensile verb *bu* also collocates with *unumbe* 'escort' and *fuge* 'throw away': *unumbe bu* 'bring by escorting' and *bu fuge* 'subtract (lit. get throw away)'.

Although *do* 'leave off, let, abandon' does not always encode movement, when it occurs with *fuge* 'throw away', it does: *fuge dodo* 'carelessly abandon (lit. throw away abandon)'.

9.1.1.5 SVSs ENCODING FORCEFUL CONTACT CAUSING CHANGE

SVSs expressing contact of a forceful nature that causes a change in the state of the undergoer have the following structure:

V_1 =verb of contact + V_2 : verb of change

⁵ In this sequence *sumbu* 'run' undergoes phonological reduction, forming a phonologically fused SVS with *i* 'go': *sumbu* + *iyo* → *sumbi:yo* 'hurry!').

⁶ The same subject irrealis sequencing medial form of *sainghe*, *sainghia* 'move quietly', has frozen with the diminutive *ko* to form the manner adverb, *sanghiako* 'gently, calmly, softly'.

SVSSs using *de* as V_1 are:

<i>de beje</i>	'smash' ⁷
<i>de degage</i>	'hit dislocating (making a clean break)'
<i>de fokughe</i>	'clap'
<i>de base</i>	'puncture (lit. hit penetrate)'
<i>de bet</i>	'beat to a pulp'
<i>de jore</i>	'hit dislocating (making a jagged break)'
<i>de fainghe</i>	'bounce (lit. hit move upward)'

SVSSs using *fati* as V_1 are:

<i>fati jore</i>	'apply pressure breaking a part of an object off jaggedly'
<i>fati tise</i>	'apply pressure causing object to come apart in several pieces'
<i>fati degage</i>	'apply pressure breaking a part of an object off cleanly'

Verbs encoding a type of change occurring with *fuge* as V_2 are:

<i>jore fuge</i>	'dislocate and throw'
<i>gafe fuge</i>	'cut throw away'

SVSSs using *je* as V_1 are:

<i>je base</i>	'gash penetrating beyond the skin'
<i>je sarige</i>	'chop and split'

9.1.1.6 SVSSs ENCODING PERCEPTION OR COMMUNICATION

A limited number of SVSSs encode perception and communication events and processes. Those which contain the most utilised perception verb *gi* have the structure:

V_1 =perception or action verb + V_2 = *gi*

Examples include:

<i>fuge gi</i>	'catch in one's glance (lit. throw see)'
<i>dere gi</i>	'test, tempt (lit. touch see)'
<i>e gi</i>	'try (lit. do see)'
<i>fainghe gi</i>	'gaze upwards'
<i>tege gi</i>	'read (lit. count see)'
<i>itatame gi</i>	'experience (lit. feel see)'

The structure of other perception combinations is:

V_1 =perception verb + V_2 = perception or action verb.

⁷ The verb *beje* 'smash into bits' is ambitransitive (e.g. *okia bejetira* 'the pot broke', *na okia bejeten* 'I broke the pot'.) The difference is usually clear from the context. In the same way, when the verb *de* is used with *beje*, they can be used in both contexts: *Na okia de bejeteni*. 'I smashed the pot.' and *Okia du de bejetira*. 'The pot fell, hit (the ground) and smashed to bits.'

Examples include: *kote* ‘think’, *bune* ‘not know’, *jare* ‘despair’, *tumonde* ‘believe’ and *ningi* ‘hear’.

<i>kote do</i>	‘forgive (lit. think leave off)’
<i>tumonde bainghe</i>	‘worship (lit. trust/believe nod)’
<i>bune jare</i>	‘utterly despair (lit. not know despair)’

The basic verb encoding communication is *se* ‘speak, utter’. It routinely occurs with the perception verb *ningi* ‘hear’ in the SVS: *se ningi* ‘discuss, converse (lit. say hear)’.

9.1.1.7 SVSs ENCODING CULTURAL OR NATURAL ROUTINES

Terms designating generic labels for cultural routines in Korafe are often SVSs, with the following structure:⁸

V_1 =cultural/natural activity + V_2 =associated cultural/natural activity

Some examples are:

<i>divu fuse</i>	‘celebrate, rejoice (lit. dance blow)’
<i>je gove</i>	‘prepare gardens (lit. slash/chop plant)’
<i>fuse jumbu</i>	‘perform healing activities (lit. blow pull)’
<i>bore inge</i>	‘bake (singe off fur and bake on coals)’
<i>dimbu bari</i>	‘fish with nets (lit. dip with dipnet and surround with seine nets)’
<i>iti dumbu</i>	‘prepare food (lit. cook dip up)’
<i>tendi dighi</i>	‘prepare dancing headdress (lit. lash and tie (feathers of birds))’

SVSs expressing natural routines include:

<i>gate sirore</i>	‘hatch (lit. peck and be born)’
<i>ambu bainghe</i>	‘be prostrate (lit. die and bow down)’
<i>ghuve tere</i>	‘(carpenter bee) bore and enter’
<i>averege vose</i>	‘cascade (lit. overflow descend)’

9.1.2 GRAMMATICALLY-ORIENTED SVSs

9.1.2.1 SVSs WITH THE AUXILIARY *GE*

There are two SVS types with the auxiliary *ge* ‘do (FOCUS)’:

- (1) V_1 =stem I/stem II + V_2 =*ge*,
- (2) V_1 =stem I with initial CV reduplicated + V_2 =*ge*.

All SVSs with *ge* are phonologically fused.

⁸ These sequences also occur as *SS sequencing medial verb form* + *SS sequencing medial verb form* (e.g. *jedo govedo* ‘prepare garden’), *stem form* + *deverbal* (e.g. *divu fusari* ‘celebrate’) and *deverbal* + *deverbal* (e.g. *jari govori* ‘garden preparation’). The sequence or *SS irrealis medial verb forms* *ya foa* ‘will come and go’ also occurs as the *deverbal combination form* *yari furari* ‘coming and going’.

1. The semelfactive pro-verb *ge* 'do (FOCUS)' focuses on a unique occurrence of the event, either concentrating on the object receiving the action or singling out one instance of the action. Some of the restricted set of verbs that function as V₁ in these SVSs are listed below, and the SVS is also shown.

<i>sire</i> (stem I of)	'extend' and <i>sirege</i> 'stretch out arm or leg'
<i>dise</i> (stem I of)	'separate, part away' and <i>disege</i> 'separate into two parts'
<i>disu</i> (stem II of)	'separate' <i>disuge</i> '(limb become) dislocated (at a joint)'
<i>gafu</i> (stem II of)	'cut horizontally through soft things (e.g. grass)' and
<i>gafuge</i>	'cut horizontally through one hard item (e.g. a tree)'
<i>dive</i> (stem I of)	'cut vertically' and <i>divege</i> 'cut down through one item'

2. The stem I form of any verb can be reduplicated and combined with *ge* to encode distribution of an activity over several actors, over several undergoers or over several instances of it.

In 9.3 three semantic possibilities occurring with the SVS *mimindi* 'eat (RED)' + *ge* are illustrated.

Distribution of the action over several participants:

- 9.3a. *Namane isambu bayau mimindi-ge-teri.*
 1PL.EXC all food 'eat.RED.I-do.FOC.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 'We all, each one of us, ate the food.'

Distribution of the action over several objects:

- 9.3b. *Bayau kau+eni+kau+eni sire-tera amo,*
 food kind+a+kind+a distribute.I-TP.3PL.FN that.T/F
mimindi-ge-teri.
 eat.RED.I-do.FOC.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 'We ate each of the several kinds of food they distributed.'

Distribution of the action over several instances:

- 9.3c. *Namane umbu nanjogo bayau aminda*
 1PL.EXC time how.many food that.CEFF.T/F.LOC
mimindi-ge-teri?
 eat.RED.I-do.FOC.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 'How many times did we eat a meal there?'

Example 9.4 illustrates the semantic difference between the SVS encoding posture *fetiri* 'remain standing' when it stands alone and when it combines with *ge*.

- 9.4a. *Fet-ir-ari.*
 stand.I-remain-NP.3PL.AQ
 'They were remaining standing.' (They could be standing as a group together or individually, but we know that more than one person is standing.)
- 9.4b. *Fefete-g-ir-ari.*
 stand.RED.I-do.FOC-remain-NP.3PL.AQ
 'Each and every last one of them was remaining standing.'

9.1.2.2 COMPREHENSIVE COMPLETIVE SVSS

Korafe comprehensive completive SVSSs have this structure:

V_1 =any verb + V_2 =*dadabe* ‘finish’

V_1 =any verb + V_2 =*tefo e* ‘reduce to nothing’.

Although *dadabe* and *tefo+e* are normally intransitive, when they occur with a transitive verb stem, the combined expression is transitive. The examples given in 9.5 illustrate the difference in meaning between the use of *dadabe* and *tefo e* in SVSSs.

9.5a. *Na bayau mind dadabe-teni.*

IS food eat.I finish.I-TP.IS.AQ

‘I have finished eating (the food that was dished up, and I’m satisfied.)’

9.5b. *Na bayau mind tefo+e-teni.*

IS food eat.I nothing+do.I-TP.IS.AQ

‘I totally consumed the food (whatever was there, right down to the last drop).’ or

‘I’ve eaten it all (tried it all and finished my course in life.)’ (said by a dying person when a friend suggests that he eat something)

Actions encoded by these sequences are telically focused on the undergoer. In example 9.6, the speaker indicates that the sago processing has reached its end, with no more sago left to process.

9.6 ...*ambe beká de dadabe ere-do...*

sago reality hit.I finish.I arise.I-SEQ.SS

‘...we completely beat the actual sago until it is all processed, and then we arise...’

In 9.7, all the enemies involved in the battle have been eliminated.

9.7 *Gegenembo gae dadabu-seri.*

men.RED spear.I finish.II-DP.3PL.AQ

‘They speared every last man.’

When intransitive verbs are used, the undergoer remains the focus of the expression, but it has subject function, rather than object function, in the clause.

9.8 *Toru+gegenembo ambu tefo+u-seri.*

Toru+men.RED die.I nothing+do.II-DP.3PL.AQ

‘The men of the Toru clan have all died out.’

9.1.2.3 INTENSIFYING SVSS

Korafe has both generic and specific types of SVSSs encoding intensification of the degree to which an event is performed. The generic intensifying auxiliary verbs can occur with any other verb in the language. Generic intensifying SVSSs have this structure:

V_1 =any verb + V_2 =*gogogho* ‘well’ + *e* ‘do’ or *gogoghombe* ‘do well’⁹

SVSSs with these structures are illustrated by examples 9.9 and 9.10.

- 9.9 *Yaru* *divu+gogogho+e-raira*
 song sing.I+well+do.I-CUST.3S.FN
 ‘She sings very well.’

- 9.10 *Genembo* *javo+Safuru oka bangu* *bambu+gogoghombe-do*
 man name+Safuru fish shellfish get.I+well.do.I-SEQ.SS
ghu-sira
 do.repeatedly.II-DP.3S.FN
 ‘The man named Safuru caught fish and shellfish very well (during his life time).’

The specific type has this structure:

$V_1 + V_2 =$ *vatetena+e*
degiti+ge
vade+ge

In this type, V_1 is limited lexically to the verbs listed below in (1)–(3).

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| (1) | <i>iti</i> ‘build/cook’ | <i>iti+vatetena+e</i> | ‘cook thoroughly’, |
| | <i>digh</i> ‘tie’ | <i>dighi+vatetena+e</i> | ‘tie thoroughly’; |
| (2) | <i>e</i> ‘do/make’ | <i>e+degiti+ge</i> | ‘make well’, |
| | <i>avi</i> ‘sleep’ | <i>avi+degiti+ge</i> | ‘sleep soundly’, |
| | <i>de</i> ‘hit’ | <i>de+degiti+ge</i> | ‘bash up’, |
| | <i>se</i> ‘speak’ | <i>se+degiti+ge</i> | ‘speak well’ and |
| (3) | <i>avi</i> ‘burn’ | <i>avi+vade+ge</i> | ‘burn thoroughly’ |
| | <i>de</i> ‘hit’ | <i>de+vade+ge</i> | ‘hit punishingly’ |

- 9.11 *Nu* *avi+degiti+ge-tira*
 3S sleep+totally+do.FOC.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘She was in a deep sleep.’

- 9.12 *Ekeroro* *avaraka a=imi* *avi+vade+ge-tira*
 elephant.grass fire that=CEFF.T/F burn+totally+do.FOC.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘The fire totally consumed the kunai grass.’

The verb *ambu* ‘die’ is sometimes used hyperbolically, as in: (*ogha*) *gute ambira* ‘(the crow) bathed to the point of exhaustion (lit. he bathed died)’, *avi ambira* ‘he fell into a deep sleep (lit. he slept died)’.

⁹ There are a number of *mbe*-based verbs in Korafe. Examples include *teghombe* ‘peel off’, *takeghambe* ‘stick to, be fastened securely’ (*takegha*=‘stuck fast’), *vakeghambe* ‘be clamped’. In Korafe’s prehistory, there probably was a generic verb *mbe*, even though no free verb root *mbe* is in the current data corpus, nor does *mb* occur word-initially. The hortative paradigm of the current *mbe*-based verbs includes *-mbaone* (1S), *-mbaore* (1PL) and *-mbaove* (2PL), which signals an original CV stem for this posited verb.

9.2 KORAFE SPEECH FORMULAS

This section treats certain kinds of speech formulas, i.e. expressions which use a more or less fixed form of words for a conventional discourse purpose. A brief account of fixed and semiproductive formulas is given initially, followed by a more detailed account of productive formulas, particularly standardised clause sequences in SRCs.

9.2.1 FIXED AND SEMIPRODUCTIVE SPEECH FORMULAS

Fixed speech formulas (formulas that do not vary in lexical content or word order) in Korafe are exemplified by the greeting *Sifo eveva!* ‘Good day! (lit. day good)’, a calque on the English expression. Fixed formulas used for expressing gratitude are: *Aiyakoe!* ‘Thanks!’ and *Aiyakoe beká resena!* ‘Thank you very much!’. The telling of a legend begins with the fixed formula *Kiki!* ‘Story!’ and *Kiki aghata bamba!* ‘tall tale!’ concludes them.

Semiproductive formulas occurring with severe constraints on the variation include both traditional greetings and farewells in Korafe. Some common greetings are given in 9.13.

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 9.13 | a. <i>R-av-asi!</i>
IPF-sleep-NP.2S.AQ
‘You slept!’ | b. <i>Ir-esa!</i>
remain-PRES.2S.FN
‘You are staying!’ | c. <i>Re-f-esa!</i>
IPF-come-PRES.2S.FN
‘You are coming!’ |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|

Only second person forms are used in these greetings. They are statements, not questions or commands, that must occur with near past tense for *ravasi!* ‘you slept’ and present tense for the other forms. In addition to their discourse function as a greeting, they often signal the initial discourse utterance or the initial response in a dialogue. Movements, such as the third greeting encodes, can be SVSS encoding direction + motion, such as: *Viti refesa!* ‘You are coming up.’ and *Sembu refesa!* ‘You are coming across (the surface crossed is usually the fiord)’.

Farewells are also standardised. However, they are not statements, literally, but commands. The most common farewells are:

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| 9.14 | a. <i>Anumbe-y-o!</i>
sit.IMP-EPEN-STEN
‘Sit!’ | b. <i>Yasi-y-o!</i>
go.IMP-EPEN-STEN
‘Go!’ | c. <i>Avi-y-o!</i>
sleep.IMP-EPEN-STEN
‘Sleep!’ |
| | d. <i>I av-ase!</i>
go.DUR.IMP sleep-H.2S.CR
‘Go get some sleep!’ | | |

These expressions also comprise verbs, in this case inflected for imperative mood or verb sequences with V_1 inflected for imperative and V_2 for hortative moods (see 9.14d above). All the verbs have the second person singular subject suffix. Those that terminate in *-o* are uttered at a greater amplitude than most conversational exchanges are. As with the greetings, directional verbs can be juxtaposed with the short form of the command: *Vosiyo!* (*vose+iyō*) ‘Go down!’ and *Sembiyo!* (*sembu+iyō*) ‘Go across!’

9.2.2 STANDARDISED CLAUSE SEQUENCES

Standardised clause sequences used in SRCs are among the *productive speech formulas* that occur in Korafe. These speech formulas denote conventional activities or grammatical notions, such as iterative aspect or conative mood.¹⁰ They are the primary focus of this section. They have the general structure:

CLAUSE₁: (X) V₁=SS/DS + CLAUSE₂: (X) V₂=INFLECTED VERB

where X stands for unspecified non-verbal material and V₁ is expounded by a medial verb form and V₂ by an inflected verb form, either medial or final.¹¹ (Constraints on the occurrence of (X) are given below and further discussed in §9.2.2.2.)

These standardised clause sequences are more closely integrated than other sequences involving medial verbs. In addition to obeying all the restrictions that apply to SRCs, such as tense-sequencing constraints, they are constrained by grammatical and phonological rules which apply obligatorily to them, but optionally to other sequences involving medial verbs. These rules include:

- (1) the entire sequence must be negated as a unit. If only one of the events represented is negated, the initial verb must be changed to a final verb, and the SRC must become a co-ranking structure (CRS). (See §9.2.2.1.)
- (2) The initial clause often manifests tokens of (X) before V₁. Normally, nothing intervenes between V₁ and V₂ in C₁ and C₂ respectively. However, sometimes tokens of (X) do intervene between V₁ and V₂ in sequences encoding generic cause-effect, change of location or state, transfer and the inchoative aspect. Examples of exceptional cases are discussed in §9.2.2.2.
- (3) The entire sequence must be associated with one rhythm unit and often is associated with one intonation contour.

¹⁰ Some clause sequences with a SS verb form pose a problem for this model that has terms and speech formulas as standardised memorised chunks, but nothing in between. Unlike the other clause sequences, many of these combinations can occur either as SVSS or V₁=medial verb_{SS}+V₂. Like their SVS counterparts, these combinations can be considered conventional labels for activities or 'terms'. They do not allow NPs to occur between V₁ and V₂.

Most of them designate cultural routines. Some examples include: *divudo fusedo* 'celebrating (lit. dancing/singing blowing)', *jedo govedo* 'preparing (gardens) (lit. chopping and planting)', *itido dumbudo* 'cooking and serving (food) (lit. preparing/cooking dipping-up)', *dimbudo barido* 'catching (fish) (lit. dipping and enclosing with nets)', *dungedo gaedo* 'hunting (wallabies) (lit. setting on fire and spearing)', and *jedo aghedo* 'making (canoes) (lit. chopping and hollowing out)'. (See also §9.1.1.7 and fn.6.)

The prehensile verbs *bu* 'get' and *bambu* 'get with effort' also can combine in either serial or medial form with the motion verbs *i* 'go' and *fu* 'come' to encode 'take' and 'bring' respectively. (See §9.1.1.4.)

¹¹ V₂ is almost always an inflected verb form, but an instance of a V₂ that is a verb stem occurs in the following sequence encoding sporadic iteration.

...kambo=da buvu-do, iti inge-do ghe ri-seri.
house=LOC arrive.I-SEQ.SS cook.I bake.I-SEQ.SS do.again.I eat.II-DP.3PL.AQ
'...we arrived at home, cooked and baked the food again and ate.'

The formulas given throughout the rest of this section will take this shortened format: (X) V₁ + (X) V₂, omitting (X) where it cannot occur.

Some standardised clause sequences in which V₁ is a medial verb are lexically constrained. In these cases, one verbal constituent is lexically fixed. Some of the lexically constrained sequences are also semantically constrained by the type of semantic information they encode (e.g. equal distribution, cause, permission). The rest of the lexically constrained clause sequences are grammatically oriented with a prescribed auxiliary verb that encodes an aspectual or modal notion as one of their head constituents.

Other standardised clause sequences are paired collocations, limited by the semantic type of information each member encodes (direction/position, assumption of posture, cause+effect, etc.). Longacre uses the term 'expectancy chains' to refer to conventional sequences in SRCs.¹² Clause sequences that encode certain semantic relations between events are the focus of §9.2.3.1. Section 9.2.3.2 describes those that are grammatically oriented.

9.2.2.1 NEGATION

The scope of negation obligatorily extends over both verbs within all standardised clause sequences. Therefore, the morphemes that bracket negation, *jo...ae* 'not...not do' must bracket both verbs together. The negative focus marker *jo* 'not' must occur before either the initial verb or the focused sector of the initial clause along with the verb, as in 9.15a.

9.15a. *Nu jo namane s-aoro siror-ae=ri.*
 3S NEG 1PL.EXC say.I-SEQ.IR.1PL.DS be.born-not.do=COP.AQ
 'It wasn't we that caused him to be born.'

Example 9.15b is ungrammatical because the negative focus marker *jo* 'not' does not precede *saoro* 'they will say'.

9.15b. **Nu namane s-aoro jo siror-ae=ri.*
 3S 1PL.EXC say.I-SEQ.IR.1PL.DS NEG be.born-not.do=COP.AQ

¹² According to Longacre (1972:68-69, 90-91), "natural languages contain in their lexical structure certain Expectancy Chains. An Expectancy Chain may involve (i) a succession of actions which customarily follow each other in chronological order; (ii) an intent to act plus the action itself; (iii) an obligation to act plus the action; or (iv) the ability to act plus the action...around the world, we find Expectancy Chains which involve successive actions such as: 'leave (someplace)...go...arrive'; 'search...find'; 'waste away...die'; 'fall down...smash....'

Expectancy Chains which involve Succession with different actors are such as the following: 'shoot...die'; 'hit...die'; 'call...answer...'; 'give (to someone)...appreciate'; give (to someone)...cook (it)'. Although most of his examples are paired collocations, Longacre does not clearly differentiate paired clause sequences from scripts. (See discussion of scripts in Chapter 10.) And two of his multimediated expectancy chains definitely correspond more closely to scripts: 'go with hooks...tie hooks...catch fish...bring fish...eat' and 'cook in leaves...put into container...bring to the canoe...come down'.

The standardised clause sequences described in this chapter, for the most part, contain two verbs. They are lexically, grammatically, and phonologically constrained. Korafe scripts often involve more than two verbs. Although the verbs in Korafe scripts are lexically constrained, the definition of scripts does not involve grammatical or phonological constraints.

In 9.16a a clause sequence encoding continuous aspect, *jofughuse iri* 'remain swallowing', is negated as a unit.

- 9.16a. *Nu uvu jo jofughu-s'+ir-ae=ri.*
 3S water NEG swallow.II-SIM.SS+remain-not.do=COP.AQ
 'He wasn't continually swallowing water.'

Examples 9.16b and 9.16c are ungrammatical because the negative focus marker *jo* intervenes between V_1 and V_2 . It should occur only preceding V_1 .

- 9.16b. **Nu uvu jofughu-se jo ir-ae=ri.*
 3S water swallow.II-SIM.SS NEG remain-no.do=COP.AQ
- 9.16c. **Nu uvu jo jofughu-se jo ir-ae=ri.*
 3S water NEG swallow.II-SIM.SS NEG remain-no.do=COP.AQ

Non-standardised sequences of medial verbs do occur with the structures found in 9.16b and 9.16c. (Refer to §6.2.3.) It should be noted that the structure found in 9.16c is permissible with those standardised clause sequences that are not grammatically constrained, as 9.17 shows.

- 9.17 *Nu, jo namane s-aoro jo siror-ae=ri.*
 3S NEG IPL.EXC say.-SEQ.IR.IPL.DS NEG be.born-not.do=COP.AQ
 'Regarding him, it wasn't we that caused him to be born, not at all.'

When these sequences are negated, a discrepancy between their syntax and semantics occasionally occurs. Syntactically, the negative focus marker *jo* must precede V_1 and V_2 must be marked by *ae*. However, in these cases the semantics of the situation indicate that, while the event represented by V_1 did not happen, the event represented by V_2 did. In (9.18) the initial clause contains the negative focus marker and its verb is marked irrealis, and the second predication has the negative deverbal along with the copula.

- 9.18 *Jo nune genembo jigh-ari amb-ae=ri.*
 NEG 3S.ACT man hold.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS die.I-not.do=COP.AQ
 'It wasn't he that killed the man.'

In reality, the first event is the one that did not happen, but a death actually did occur. The one accused did not perform the sorcery, but the man did die.

In standardised clause sequences such as the one in 9.18, the speaker must make V_1 a final verb if he or she wants to negate one verbal constituent without negating the other, as example 9.19 illustrates.

- 9.19 *Nu genembo kae+jigh-ira, avata jo amb-ae=ri.*
 3S man poison+hold.I-TP.3S.FN that.CT.FRUS NEG die.I-not.do=COP.AQ
 'He performed sorcery on the man, but (the man) didn't die.'

9.2.2.2 POSITIONING OF ARGUMENTS IN STANDARDISED CLAUSE SEQUENCES

In sequences encoding generic cause-effect and change of location or state and transfer, NPs can intervene between V_1 and V_2 with any of a number of functions: to emphasise the

lack of control the subject of V_1 has over V_2 , to focus on the subject of V_2 as a volitional entity or a contrastive entity, to indicate an unexpected outcome, etc. In 9.20 the speaker is emphasising Lucas' lack of control in the situation.

- 9.20 *Lucas nu fuge-tiri voto jingabu=ghae karaje=da*
 Lucas 3S throw.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS net snake=COM.D salt.water=LOC

vovosu-sira.

descend.II-DP.3S.FN

'Lucas threw (the net away from himself in panic), and the net with the snake went down into the ocean.'

In 9.21a a sorcerer is merely reporting his accomplishment, but in 9.21b, he is issuing a veiled threat to the addressees.

- 9.21a. *Nu nane s-eteno amb-ira.*
 3S 1S.ACT say.I-SEQ.R.1S.DA die.I-TP.3S.FN

'It was I who caused him to die (lit. who spoke and he died).'

- 9.21b. *Nane s-eteno nu amb-ira. Erá*
 1S.ACT say.I-SEQ.R.1S.DA 3S die.I-TP.3S.FN do.SEQ.IR.SS

bun-eove!

not.know.I-NEG.H.2PL.CR

'I caused him to die. Don't you forget it! (lit. Don't be unaware!).'

However, in most instances of lexicosemantically constrained clause sequences, all overtly expressed NP arguments precede V_1 . In example 9.22, the object (*geka evia* 'this talk') of *saono* 'I will say' is also the object of *ningovo* 'you will hear', but it precedes V_1 along with the subject *na* 'I'.

- 9.22 *Na geka evia s-aono*
 1S talk this.CT say.I-SEQ.IR.1S.DS
 I will say this talk

ningovo=dae se-do...

hear.I=SEQ.IR.2PL.DS say.I-SEQ.SS

and you will hear, speaking on account of that

'Saying that I would say this matter for discussion and you would hear (it)...'

In grammatically-oriented clause sequences, when V_2 is the auxiliary verb, nothing intervenes between V_1 and V_2 .¹³ All arguments in the sequence obligatorily precede V_1 . In example 9.23 the sequence *bambudo ghuseri* 'they would catch from time to time' conveys

¹³ There is one grammatically oriented sequence in which V_1 is the auxiliary verb, encoding inchoative aspect. NPs can intervene between V_1 and V_2 in this sequence.

...*tuturo+e-do avaraka use-tira.*

...beginning+do.I-SEQ.SS fire blow.up.I-TP.3S.FN

'...she began to blow up the fire.'

an activity that is sporadically repeated. Example 9.23b is ungrammatical because the NP *oka teria o digarigo* 'a big fish or many fish' intervenes between *bambudo* and *ghuseri*.

9.23a. ...*oka teria o digarigo bambu-do ghu-seri*.
 fish large or many get.I-SEQ.SS do.again.I-DP.3PL.FN
 '...they would catch large fish or many fish from time to time.'

9.23b. *...*bambu-do oka teria o digarigo ghu-seri*.
 get.I-SEQ.SS fish large or many do.again.I-DP.3PL.FN
 '...they would catch large fish or many fish from time to time.'

9.2.3 STANDARDISED CLAUSE SEQUENCES THAT ENCODE CERTAIN SEMANTIC RELATIONS BETWEEN EVENTS

This section treats standardised clause sequences that encode a range of semantic relations, including equal distribution, cause–effect, change of location or state and transfer.

9.2.3.1 SEQUENCES ENCODING EQUAL DISTRIBUTION

Equal distribution of an item over all recipients or performance of an action equally for all members of a group is encoded by the following verb sequence:

(X) $V_1 = V_{ss} + V_2 = inono + e$ 'treat evenhandedly (lit. equivalence do)'.¹⁴

In example 9.24 *fitido inono eraera* 'put (them) equally (at each person's house)' is a token of this clause sequence type.

9.24 ...*ika bambu-do, uvu dimbu-do*
 wood get.with.effort.I-SEQ.SS water scoop.I-SEQ.SS
 they get firewood, fetch water, and
bu-do fo-a
 get.I-SEQ.SS come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
 bring (the firewood and water)
nati isambu fiti-do inono+e-raera.
 house all put.I-SEQ.SS enough+do.I-CUST.3PL.FN
 they put it (at) all houses making equal measures
 '...they get firewood, dip up water, bring it and put it at each house so they
 all receive equal portions.'

¹⁴ This type of distribution differs from the distribution encoded by combinations with *ge* 'do (FOCUS)'. With *ge*, things or events are distributed over all recipients or undergoers, but the portions are not necessarily equal. With *inono e* 'treat evenhandedly', both things and actions are distributed equally over all participants.

9.2.3.2 SEQUENCES IN WHICH V₁ IS LEXICALLY FIXED AND ENCODES GENERIC CAUSATIVE ACTIVITY

Korafe has three clause sequences that have as their first constituent a lexically fixed verb that expressed a generic causative activity, causation by an action, causation by a speech act, and causation by release or permission. They have the following syntactic structure:

(X) V₁=transitive verb_{SEQ.DS} + (X) V₂=intransitive or transitive verb.

V₁ has only three exponents: *e* ‘do/make’, *se* ‘say’, and *do* ‘leave off, let, allow’, but V₂ varies freely. In all clause sequences of this type, the referent of O or of the non-subject core argument in the initial clause is the referent of S in the second clause (O_x/S__V₁ = S_x/__(O)V₂).

The verb *e* ‘do, make’ occurs as V₁ in standardised clause sequences to indicate that the initiator does some causative action that brings about the resultant action. In example 9.25 the speaker hopes to spur his audience to action so that the school boundaries are clearly visible with no weeds anywhere. The resultant action is the intransitive nominal+verb combination *isagha aetira* ‘it should be clearly visible’.

- 9.25 *Ava+se-do, nanda natofo, totoi aovo boundary*
 that.CT+say.I-SEQ.SS IS.GEN people, quickly do.SEQ.IR.2PL.DS boundary
isagha+aetira.
 clear+do.CFAC.3S.FN
 ‘Therefore, my people, you should quickly make the (school) boundaries clearly visible.’

The verb *se* ‘say, utter’ is used as V₁ in standardised clause sequences to indicate that a speech act brings about the resultant action. In 9.26 the writer claims that the clan leaders bring about feasts, dances, and wars (intransitive verb-*sirorarira* ‘come into being’) by their speeches and also cause feasts, dances and wars to end (intransitive verb-*dadabarira* ‘end’) by their speeches.

- 9.26 ...*nene kirumo ã div-ari+fus-ari o ghoghora+tataya*
 3PL.ACT feast and dance.I-DVB+blow.I-DVB or fault.finding+fighting
s-aoro siror-arira, o s-aoro dadab-arira.
 say.I-SEQ.IR.3PL.DS be.born-F.3S.FN or say.I-SEQ.IR.3PL.DS end-F.3S.FN
 ‘...it is the leaders that convene (lit. speak and it comes into being) and terminate (lit. speak and it ends) feasts or dances or dissension and in-fighting.’

Example 9.27 describes the leader’s coordination of the hunting party’s attempt to catch lizards. V₂ heads a transitive clause: *isambu diti fangeraera* ‘they all open their eyes’.

- 9.27 ...*genembo bajari aimi diti+fange gi-do*
 man leader that.CEFF.T/F eyes+open see.I-SEQ.SS

s-eari isambu diti+fange-raera.
 say-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS all eye+open.I-CUST.3PL.FN
 ‘...that man in charge opens his eyes and sees (the lizards), and he tells
 (everyone) and all of them open their eyes.’

Combinations with the verb *se* occur in text and utterances much more frequently than combinations with *e*.

Some of the nominal+*e/se* combinations also encode cause–effect relationships. The combinations *katiyavara e* ‘force by terrorising’ and *avito se* ‘force’ occur in examples 9.28 and 9.29 respectively. In these examples, a transitive verb occurs in the reference clause, encoding effect.

- 9.28 V₁: Katiyavara+e-tiri, V₂: *ghambu-do*
 physical.menacing+do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS dig.I-SEQ.SS
vos+a-iri *jighi durege fit-iri* *viti*
 descend.I+go.NDUR-SEQ.R.3S.DS hold.I dig.up.I put.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS ascend.I
fas+e-tiri, *nunda bayau bu-do a-ira*.
 lie+do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3S.GEN food get.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN
 ‘He menacingly threatened (her, so) she dug going down and she held and dug
 up (the rotting fish) and put it up so it lay (there), and she took (it as) her food
 and went.’

- 9.29 *Genembo nunda mandi* V₁: avito+se-tiri, *enda*
 man 3S.GEN boy force+speaking.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS ground
 V₂: je-tira
 chop.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘The man forced his son to chop down the bush.’

A third type of clause sequences in which V₁ is lexically fixed encodes causation by release, allowing events to take their course without interference. It has the following structure:

(X) V₁=DS form of *do* ‘leave off, let, abandon’ + (X) V₂=V

Example 9.30 expresses the parents’ resignation to the *fait accompli* their daughter and her boyfriend have pulled off to get married.

- 9.30 *Avori, nangae gagara doy-oro* *vai+arira*.
 all.right 1D girl leave.I-SEQ.IR.1PL.DS marry+do.F.3S.FN
 ‘All right, we will let the girl get married.’

This sequence is often used to express relocation in which the verb *do* ‘leave off, allow’ signals the release of the object to assume a different position.

- 9.31 ...*nuvu sisoro dot-iri* *vose-tiri*
 3S.husband nipa.roofing.leaves leave.off.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS descend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS

ghaka sirege-do...

canoe launch.I-SEQ.SS

'...her husband let down the roofing leaves (on to the canoe) and launched the canoe...'

9.2.3.3 SEQUENCES IN WHICH THE LEXICAL EXPONENT OF V_1 COLLOCATES WITH A LIMITED SET OF VERBS TO ENCODE CHANGE OF LOCATION OR STATE

A number of standardised clause sequences in Korafe encode specific types of cause-effect in which the undergoer experiences a change of position or state. These sequences have the following syntactic structure:

(X) V_1 = transitive verb_{DS,SEQ} + (X) V_2 = intransitive verb

In this type, the referent of the object in the initial clause is also the referent of the subject in the second clause ($O_x/S_V_1=S_x/_V_2$). These sequences differ from the standardised sequences in which generic causation is encoded in the following ways (see also §9.2.3.2):

- (1) a transitive verb cannot expound V_2 .
- (2) V_1 is not limited to one lexeme, but it is restricted to a set of verbs limited semantically, lexically, and idiomatically.
- (3) V_2 does not vary freely, but is limited semantically, lexically, and idiomatically to a small set of verbs that collocate with the V_1 specified for the sequence.

V_1 encodes a specific action that precipitates the action encoded by V_2 . Some of the most common exponents of V_1 in Korafe are:

de 'hit', *dere* 'touch', *dirige* 'send off', *dunge* 'kindle, burn', *fati* 'press', *fiti* 'put', *fuge* 'throw', *gae* 'spear', *gambu* 'bite', *ghomumbe* 'dislocate', *jighi* 'hold', *je* 'chop', *iti* 'cook', *ondi* 'chase'

This list might possibly be further broken down into those actions which obligatorily encode 'hands on' manipulation versus those that do not.

However, the difference between those sequences that encode relocation or change of position and those that encode change of state lies more in the semantics of the verbs expounding V_2 . Some of the exponents of the semantic types of verbs (V_2) involved in sequences encoding relocation are listed below:

- (1) generic motion verbs:
fu 'come', *i* 'go', and *sumbu* 'run'
- (2) directional movement:
buvu 'move out' *save* 'move inland', *sembu* 'move across', *tere* 'enter', *viti* 'ascend', and *vose* 'descend'
- (3) assumption of stance or position:
anumbe 'sit' *buvu* 'arrive', *ere* 'arise', *fasa+e* 'lie down', *fete* 'stand', and *takegha+e* 'become stuck'

(4) stative verb: *iri* 'remain'

Some of the most common sequences encoding relocation or repositioning in Korafe are listed below with third person singular forms:

<i>deretiri eretiri</i>	'she woke her (lit. she shook her and she arose)'
<i>detiri duriri</i>	'he knocked it down on the ground (lit. he hit it, and it fell to the ground)'
<i>fitiri fasetiri</i>	'he put it and it lay (there)'
<i>fitiri iriri</i>	'he put it and it remained'
<i>fitiri vitiri</i>	'he put it up (lit. he put it and it ascended)'
<i>fitiri vosetiri</i> ¹⁵	'he put it down (lit. he put it and it descended)'
<i>diti fugetiri aira</i>	'he cast a glance (lit. he threw eye, it went)'
<i>fugetiri vosetiri</i>	'he threw it down (lit. he threw it and it descended)'
<i>fugetiri duriri</i>	'he threw it down to the ground (lit. he threw it and it fell to the ground)'
<i>jetiri gofetiri</i>	'he chopped it down (lit. he chopped it, and it toppled over)'
<i>jighiri eretiri</i>	'he lifted it up (lit. he held it and it arose)'
<i>jighiri takegha etiri</i>	'he tightened it (lit. he held it, and it became tight)'
<i>jumbiri vitiri</i>	'he pulled it up (lit. he pulled it, and it ascended)'
<i>jumbiri buviri</i>	'he pulled it out (lit. he pulled it and it came out)'
<i>jumbiri vosetiri</i>	'he pulled it down (lit. he pulled it, and it descended)'
<i>ondiri sumbiri</i>	'he chased him, and he ran' and
<i>ondiri airi</i>	'he chased him, and he went'

These sequences must be memorised. Most of them are not idioms in the sense of being malformed semantically, but they are *encoder idioms* in the sense that one cannot predict which lexical sequence the Korafe will use out of the range of possibilities. For example, syntactically and semantically both *jighiri eretiri* 'he raised it, he lifted it up (lit. he held, it arose)' and *jighiri vitiri* 'he raised it, he lifted it up (lit. he held, it ascended)' are well-formed, but the Korafe use *jighiri eretiri*; they do not use *jighiri vitiri*.

In example 9.32 the exponents of the verbs heading the clause sequence encoding relocation are the verbs *fiti* 'put' and *vose* 'descend.'

- 9.32 *Aya=é, na fit-ari*
 mother=this 1S put.1-SEQ.IR.3S.DS
 dear mother she will put me, and

¹⁵ The examples listed in this section are given in the realis sequencing, third person singular DS form. They could be given in an irrealis form with any person marking, as long as the referents marked in the two clauses are distinct.

vos-ono=dae *re-s-ira!*
 descend.I-SEQ.IR.1S.DS=PUR IPF-say.I-PRES.3S.FN
 I will descend, on account of that she is speaking
 'Mother dear, she is saying that she will put me down.'

In 9.33 two pairs of clause sequences encoding relocation are directly juxtaposed: *mandako Gajaride ghonumbetiri vosetiri* 'she dislodged the boy Gajaride and he came down' and *avarakada fugetiri vitido* 'she threw him on the fire and he went up (on it)'.

- 9.33 ...*mandako Gajaride ghonumbe-tiri vose-tiri*
 boy.DIM Gajaride dislodge.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS descend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
avaraka=da fuge-tiri viti-do av-ira.
 fire=LOC throw.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS ascend.I-SEQ.SS burn.I-TP.3S.FN3
 '...she dislodged the boy Gajaride and he came down, and she threw him
 up on the fire and he burned.'

Some of the exponents of V_2 when it encodes a change of state in an undergoer are:

ambu 'die', *avi* 'burn', *beje* 'break', *bunununghe* 'disintegrate', *degage* 'break off cleanly', *sarige* 'split', *sirore* 'be born'

Some of the most frequently used collocations of clause sequences encoding a change of state are:

<i>detiri ambiri</i>	'he killed him (lit. he hit him and he died)'
<i>detiri bejetiri</i>	'he smashed it (lit. he hit it and it smashed)'
<i>detiri degagetiri</i>	'he broke a straight, long object cleanly (lit. he hit it and it broke cleanly)'
<i>dungetiri aviri</i>	'she burned it up (lit. she burned (it), and it was consumed)'
<i>(fiyogha) fusetiri jebugetiri</i>	'he healed him (lit. he blew medicine and he got well)'
<i>gaetiri ambiri</i>	'he harpooned it (lit. he speared it and it died)'
<i>gaetiri basetiri</i>	'he punctured it (lit. he speared it and it was penetrated)
<i>itiri aviri</i>	'she cooked it and it cooked through';
<i>je basetiri ambiri</i>	'he hacked into him, and he died' and
<i>(kae) jighiri ambiri</i>	'he killed him by sorcery (lit. he held poison and he died)'

In 9.34 the girl *Savoe* is the undergoer of the sequence: *gambiri ambira* 'it bit (her) and she died'.

- 9.34 *Savoe=mo, sasingako=da jingabu+juumi gamb-iri amb-ira.*
 Savoe=T/F little.child=LOC snake+Papuan.Black bite.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS die.I-TP.3S.FN
 'Regarding Savoe, as a little child, she was bitten by a Papuan Black Snake and died.'

The collocated sequence in 9.34 denotes a common natural phenomenon. In 9.35 the clause sequence *itiri avisira* 'she cooked until it was done (cooked through)' is a conventional activity of the culture, performed daily by the women.

- 9.35 ... *ika fafore bayau it-iri avi-sira.*
 wood pile.crosswise food cook.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS burn.I-DP.3S.FN
 ‘...she piled the wood (forming a triangular nest for the pot to sit on) and
 cooked the food (until) it was done (cooked through).’

Relocation sequences can sometimes contain three basic constituents having this structure and semantic type components:

(X) $V_{1.DS}$ =causing event + (X) $V_{2.ss}=V_{MOTION}$ + (X) V_3 =assumption of position

Example 9.36 has the causing event: *fugetiri* ‘he threw’, direction+motion: *vos+ira* ‘it went down’ and the position assumed: *fetetiri* ‘it stood’.

- 9.36 *Anga fuge-tiri vos+ira*
 anchor throw.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS descend.I+go.DUR.SEQ.PAST.3S.SS
fete-tiri...
 stand.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 ‘He threw the anchor, it went down and held (lit. stood)...’

The causing event in 9.37 is *jumbiri* ‘he pulled’. The relocation of the *oka* ‘fish’ is expressed by a motion verb (*fira* ‘it came’) and a verb expressing assumption of final position (*buvuvurutu-sira* ‘it arrived’).

- 9.37 *Nu oka jumb-iri f-ira buvuvurutu-sira*
 3S fish pull.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS come.DUR-SEQ.PAST.3S.SS come.out.II-DP.3S.FN
ava, jo matoro ir-ae=ri...
 that.CT NEG trevally remain-not.do=COP.AQ
 ‘The fish that he pulled out was not a trevally...’

9.2.3.4 SEQUENCES IN WHICH THE LEXICAL EXPONENT OF V_1 ENCODES TRANSFER

Standardised clause sequences encoding transfer may have two different syntactic structures. Type one has this structure:

V_1 = di-transitive verb_{DS} + V_2 = transitive.

The following conditions hold for this type:

- (1) the referent of the recipient in the activity encoded by V_1 is the referent of the subject of the clause headed by V_2 , and the referent of the object in both clauses remains the same.
- (2) Both V_1 and V_2 are lexically restricted. Their exponents are:
 (X) V_1 = *mutu* ‘give’ + (X) V_2 = *bu* ‘get’ or *mind* ‘eat’ or
 (X) V_1 = *se* ‘say’ + (X) V_2 = *ningi* ‘hear.’

In 9.38 the recipient, the girl named *Deora*, is not mentioned until the clause where she is given subject role. The two verbs used in the sequence are *mutiri...bira* ‘he gave and she received’.

- 9.38 *Dogh-ari=mo mut-iri*
 wrap-DVB=T/F give.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 the package he gave
nunda gagara ambo Deora b-ira.
 3S.GEN girl last.born Deora give.I-TP.3S.FN
 his last-born daughter Deora got (it)
 'He gave the package (containing his magic-working articles) (to) his
 last-born daughter Deora (who) received (it).'

The two verbs in the clause sequence in 9.39 are *mutoro...mindae arera* 'we will not give and they will not eat'.

- 9.39 *Ainda okia=da jo bayau iti mut-oro*
 that.CEFF.GEN claypot=LOC NEG food cook.I give.I-SEQ.R.IPL.DS
Javosa+mesiri mind-ae+arera.
 Javosa+clan.members eat.I-not.do+do.F.3PL.FN
 'The Javosa clan members will not eat food that we cook in that pot and give
 them. (lit. In that pot, we will not cook and give food, and the Javosa clan
 members will not eat it.)'

In both these cases, the NP encoding the recipient is placed in the clause where it has subject role. In 9.38 this device allows the speaker to focus on the object transferred and the recipient equally. In 9.39 the speaker is focusing on the recipient, letting the addressee know that the Javosa clan adheres to certain cooking and eating taboos.

When the focus is on the recipient, but the transferred item is an utterance, the verbal constituents are *se* 'say' and *ningi* 'hear'.

- 9.40 *...nanda evetu tuka se-tiri ningi-do*
 1S.GEN woman explanation say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS hear.I-SEQ.SS
dubo+jama+u-seni.
 neck+cool+do.II-DP.1S.AQ
 '...my wife explained (what had happened to our village in the cyclone),
 and I heard and was relieved.'

When the focus is on the path the transfer takes rather than on the item transferred or the recipient of the transfer, this syntactic structure occurs:

$$(X) V_1 = \text{di-transitive verb}_{DS} + (X) V_2 = \text{intransitive verb.}$$

The lexical exponents of the verbs in this structure are

$$(X) V_1 = \text{mutu 'send' and } V_2 = V_{\text{MOTION}} \text{ (e.g. } i \text{ 'go' or } fu \text{ 'come').}$$

In these transfers, the referent of the object in the initial clause that becomes the subject referent of the second clause is either the animate recipient who carries the item to be transferred (*uvu aghi* 'the initial messengers' in 9.41) or the item being transferred (*voto seka beká ava* 'a brand new net' in 9.42).

- 9.41 ...*uvu+aghi* *mut-iari* *y-a* *se-do*
 water+messenger give.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS say.I-SEQ.SS
ghu-seri...
 do.again.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 ‘...he would send the initial messengers and they would go and say...’
- 9.42 ...*nunda mandi=imi* *voto seka beká* *ava* *ombu-do*
 3S.GEN boy=CEFF.T/F net new true that.CT buy.I-SEQ.SS
mut-iri *fu-sira.*
 give.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS come.DUR-DP.3S.FN
 ‘...his son bought the spanking new net and sent it here (lit. and it came).’

9.2.4 CLAUSE SEQUENCES ENCODING ASPECTUAL, TEMPORAL, AND MODAL NOTIONS

Certain clause sequences encode aspect or mood. In such cases, the head of one clause usually, the last one, is a generic or auxiliary verb, which supplies the aspectual or modal meaning to the sequence. Other than the terminal verb in the sequence, all the verbs must be marked morphologically as medial verbs, which primarily supply the lexical meaning of the sequence. In the clause sequence encoding continuous aspect in 9.43 the lexical meaning is provided by *kaifa use* ‘while he is caring for’ and the aspectual meaning by *irarira* ‘he will remain’.

- 9.43 *Kotofu, nu bate+foivo* *kaifa+u-se* *ir-arira.*
 leader 3S orphan+veil take.care+do.II-SIM.SS remain-F.3S.FN
 ‘The clan leader is the one who continually takes care of the orphans and widows.’

The verbs in such sequences are tightly bonded together. No argument, particle or pause may intervene between the auxiliary verb and the closest ‘lexical’ verb. The segment in the sequence that is phonologically accented is the stressed syllable of the auxiliary verb.

Each verb in the sequence heads a separate clause. The use of aspect-conveying clause sequences to signal multiple occurrences of a conceptual event is consistent with the semantic reality of the event situation.

9.2.4.1 ITERATION

Iteration expressed by imperfective markers was described in the introductory section (4) of Chapter 2 and iteration marked by *ge* ‘do (FOCUS)’ in §9.1.2.1. Here we treat iteration expressed by multiclausal sequences.

9.2.4.1.1 PROLONGED ITERATION

To emphasise an event that was repeated many times, a speaker repeats the verb stem with the same¹⁶ medial form two or more times in clause strings with this structure:

$$V_{m-i}^1 + V_{m-i}^2 \pm V_{m-i}^n$$

(where *i* marks identity of the medial verb form and subject reference)

It should be noted that the only verbs the Korafe appear to use with SS inflection are the motion verbs. All other verbs appear to be repeated with DS forms. In example 9.44, the SS sequencing medial form of the verb *era* 'they went' is repeated three times in a description of a handshaking ceremony, in which many dignitaries were involved.

9.44 ...*namane era* *tere, babojegari raini=da*
 IPL.EXC go.DUR.SEQ.IPL.PAST.SS enter.I leaders.RED line=LOC

fefetu-sera, ghabu jijighu-do era
 stand.II-DP.3PL.FN hand hold.II-SEQ.SS go.DUR.SEQ.IPL.PAST.SS

era era birurughe
 go.DUR.SEQ.IPL.PAST.SS go.DUR.SEQ.IPL.PAST.SS circle.I

f-era...

come.DUR-SEQ.IPL.PAST.SS

'...we went and entered, and we went along shaking hands and shaking the hands of the leaders who were standing in a line, until we came around...'

In example 9.45, the DS simultaneous medial form of the verb *fufero* 'we gathered (nipa roofing leaves) and' is repeated three times. Although DS verb forms usually signal a switch of subject, the identification of a new subject is suspended until the iterated sequence terminates.

9.45 ...*sifo+atai=ghae namanenda bayau iti mindi-do,*
 day+dawn=D.COM IPL.EXC.GEN food prepare.I eat.I-SEQ.SS

tere-do sisoro fuf-ero fuf-ero
 enter.I-SEQ.SS nipa.leaves gather.II-SIM.R.1PL.DS gather.II-SIM.R.1PL.DS

¹⁶ Some examples do occur in which the lexical verb is duplicated by different verb forms, rather than by the same medial form. In a description of Cyclone Hannah's activity, the following sequence occurred with two DS sequencing forms, one DS simultaneous form, and one stem form.

...*yaura sumb-iri+sumb-iri, +suf-iri, +sumbu,*
 wind run.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS+run.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS+run.I-SIM.R.3S.DS+run.I

haf+fas+siks iri...

half+past+six do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS

'...a wind blew and blew and blew and blew and at half past six...'

fuf-ero *tumba ji-r-iri* *buvurutu-seri*.
gather.II-SIM.R.IPL.DS night fall-EPEN-SEQ.R.3S.DS come.out.II-DP.IPL.AQ
‘...at daybreak, we prepared and ate our food, entered (into the swamp) and we
gathered (and gathered and gathered) nipa roofing leaves, until (while we were
gathering them) night fell, and then we came out (to our camp).’

9.2.4.1.2 ITERATION PERFORMED AT IRREGULAR INTERVALS

Iteration of the same event at irregular intervals is encoded by this syntactic structure:

((X) v⁽⁰⁻ⁿ⁾ = verb stem I-do or V_{SEQ.CUST.DS})_{OPTIONAL}
+ (X) v₁=verb stem I-do¹⁷ + v₂=*ghe* ‘do again’

The SS medial suffix *-do* arising from *do* ‘leave off’ signals the intermittent nature of the event sequence. The temporal period within which it is repeated is indicated by whatever tense or medial form is marked on *ghe*. It is understood that other activities can and do intervene. For instance, in example 9.46, it is understood that the speaker could walk during parts of his run for exercise.

9.46 *Na oroko tamo gasegi+u-se, sumbu-do gh-arena.*
IS today body exercise+do.I-SIM.SS run.I-SEQ.SS do.again-F.IS.FN
‘Today, while I am exercising, I will be running.’

This same construction with *ghe* is used to indicate customary activities of the ancestors. This is illustrated by example 9.47, which is taken from a text about trading trips. This construction differs from other standardised verb sequences, in that a series of lexical verbs, rather than just one, can occur before the auxiliary verb *ghe*. The rule that nothing can intervene between the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb applies only to the final lexical verb in the chain.

9.47 *Evetu+genembo=ghae... ya*
woman+man=COM.D go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
‘A man with his wife would go and
buv-eoro,
arrive.I-SEQ.CUST.3PL.DS
arrive and
nati+joká+de-do
village+inside+hit.I-SEQ.SS
(the villagers) would welcome and

¹⁷ The verbs *i* ‘go’, *fu* ‘come’ and *iri* ‘remain, be’ do not have a non-durative stem that combines with *-do* ‘leaving off’. The sequencing irrealis SS verb forms *ya*, *falfa*, and *iraliria* occur instead in combinations with *ghe* ‘do again’. When they do not directly precede *ghe*, the forms *yama*, *famalfaama*, and *iramaliriama* also occur in a sequence of several verbs with *ghe*.

unumbe bu viti
 escort.I get.I ascend.I
 escorting take them and go up and
kambo=da anumbe-do ghu-seri.
 house=LOC sit.I-SEQ.SS do.again.I-DP.3PL.AQ
 they would sit down at the house.'

Even though the tense marked on the final verb *ghuseri* is distant past tense and pertains generally to the ancestors' time frame, the SS medial verb *ya* is marked irrealis, and the DS medial verb *buveoro* 'they would arrive and' is marked customary, because customary activities are not anchored to a specific time.

Since legends are recounted in the today's past tense, which denotes only single instances of events, this sporadic iteration construction is used as the primary device to express iterated events in legends. In example 9.48, both protagonists, Soboko and Remukoe, are each reported as having repeated success in their role as shamans. Both sentences terminated by final verbs have the today's past tense forms. They are conjoined by *ā* 'and'.

- 9.48 [*Umbu mendeni, Soboko=da kae dika+e-do*
 knot some Soboko=GEN magic tooth+do.I-SEQ.SS
ghe-tira,]₁ *ā* [*umbu mendeni, Remukoe=da kae*
 do.again.I-TP.3S.FN and knot some Remukoe=GEN magic
dika+e-do ghe-tira.]₂
 tooth+do.I-SEQ.SS do.again.I-TP.3S.FN
 'Sometimes, Soboko's magic worked efficaciously, and sometimes,
 Remukoe's potions worked efficaciously.'

Example 9.49 encodes an entire routine sequence of events that is repeated as a composite unit many times. Both SS and DS verbs occur in this example.

- 9.49 *S-eari, nunda aki-mane vose-do*
 say.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS 3S.GEN older.sister-PL descend.I-SEQ.SS
 'She would speak and her sisters would come down and
nati+jughu ava
 village+underneath.house that.CT
 underneath the houses
nasara+tafono+eoro
 hand.broom+bark.dustpan+do.SEQ.CUST.3PL.DS
 they would sweep and
dadab-eari,
 finish-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS
 when that was finished
okia bu-do y-ama
 clay.pot get.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
 they would get clay pots and go and

uvu dimbu-do fo-ama fiti-do
 water dip.up.I-SEQ.SS come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS put.I-SEQ.SS
 dip up water and come and put it and

do-do y-ama ika bambu-do
 leave.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS wood get.I-SEQ.SS
 they would leave and go and fetch firewood and

fo-ama fiti-do do-do,
 come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS put.I-SEQ.SS leave.I-SEQ.SS
 they would come and put it and leave, and

ade+jamena amo, ne y-ama
 girl+PL that.T/F 3PL go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
 those girls, they would go and

bijo+Gharube aminda viti-do
 banana+Gharube that.CEFF.T/F.LOC ascend.I-SEQ.SS
 they would climb up into the Gharube banana tree

ir-ia+ghe-teri.
 remain-IR.SS+do.again.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 and they would remain and they kept doing (that).'

Syntactically, the auxiliary verb *gheteri* conjoins all the verbs in the routine together, coordinating the activities within its scope in iconic order, functioning rather like an assymetric 'AND'. But unlike the conjunction 'AND', *gheteri* also shares its own tense and illocutionary force with the entire sequence. However, it does not share its person and number of subject marking with the entire sequence. It has third person plural subject marking agreeing with *adejamena* 'girls', whereas the verb *dadabeari* has third person singular subject marking. Semantically, the auxiliary verb sequence *gheteri* indicates that the set of events it accompanies is repeated in its entirety from time to time.

In the examples above, the verb *ghe* has a combinatory function with all the verbs in the SRC. However, when *ghe* is a medial verb, it combines only with the verbs in the same rhythm unit with it. In example 9.50, the *gheoro* is underlined with the sequence of verbs it conjoins as a unit, those that indicate the activities of the dolphins.

9.50 *Binono+ari gi-do, totoruge-do y-ama*
 calm+do.SEQ.IR.3S.DS see.I-SEQ.SS assemble.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS

du-do fo-a du-do gh-eoro
 fall.I-SEQ.SS come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS fall.I-SEQ.SS do.again-SEQ.CUST.3PL.DS

g-ido, evetu+genembo koko+se-r-aera...
 see.I-SEQ.SS woman+man shout+say.I-IPF-CUST.3PL.FN
 'It is calm, so they get together and frolic (lit. go and fall and come and fall),
 and seeing (that), people shout...'

This aspectual SRC can be said to typify SRCs, in its combinatory nature, in sharing its tense and mood inflection (INFL) with the entire set of verbs it joins with, and in contributing its own lexical meaning to the sequence.

9.2.4.1.3 ITERATION PERFORMED AT REGULAR INTERVALS

Events repeated at regular intervals or repeated every time the opportunity occurs to perform them are encoded by:

(X) $V_1 = \text{stem II} + \text{-do} + V_2 = V_{\text{MOTION}}(i \text{ 'go' or } fu \text{ 'come'})$.

The stem II form of the initial verb indicates the overlapping relationship the first verb has with the subsequent motion verb. The *-do* 'leave off' signals that there are breaks between occurrences of whatever action is encoded by the verb it marks.

In example 9.51 the husband tracks his wife's footprints one by one in the sand until he finds her (*gosudo aira* 'he went along looking').

- 9.51 ...*kora=da* *ata+kotu* *aminda* *gosu-do*
 white.sand.beach=LOC leg+footprint that.T/F.CEFF.LOC see.II-SEQ.SS
 a-ira.
 go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN
 '...and he went, he went along the beach looking at the footprints there.'

Unlike the sporadic iterative sequences, this sequence consists of two clauses only. In the following example, the speaker spears a fish each time one comes along (*garudo fuseni* 'I came along spearing'), but his wife's action, *holding the palm torch*, is continuous.

- 9.52 ...*nanda* *evetu* *Rina+Sefana* *arivo* *bu* *jigh+ir-iri*,
 1S.GEN woman Rina+Sefana palm.leaf.torch get.I hold.1+remain-SIM.R.3S.DS
 oka *garu-do* *fu-seni.*
 fish spear.II-SEQ.SS come.DUR-DP.IS.AQ
 '...my wife Rina Sefana got a palm leaf torch and while she remained holding it, I came along spearing fish.'

This construction is used metaphorically to encode spans of time. Spans extending from the past toward the present are encoded with *fu* 'come', although third person allows either *fu* 'come' or *i* 'go'. Spans extending from the present into the future use *i* 'go'. In example 9.53, the succession of generations over time is encoded by the clause sequence *sirivo udo fuseri* 'they came along dying'.

- 9.53 *Avori,* *tano* *Abraham* *tano* *ghe* *f-ira*
 all.right marker Abraham marker continue.from.I come.DUR-SEQ.PAST.3S.SS
 David=kena *buvurutu-sira* *ainda* *soro* *aminda,* *Iesu=da*
 David=ALOC arrive.II-DP.3S.FN that middle that.T/F.CEFF.LOC Jesus=GEN

nombua-mane 14 ava sirivo+u-do fu-seri.

3S.grandfather-PL 14 that.CT die+do.II-SEQ.SS come.DUR-DP.3S.AQ

‘All right, marking the time of Abraham and coming along from that time point and arriving at David, within that time, there were 14 generations of Jesus’ ancestors (lit. the grandfathers along dying).’

9.2.4.2 TIME SPANS

As noted in the previous section, Korafe uses the motion verbs *fu* ‘come’ and *i* ‘go’ in constructions encoding time spans. The structure has the following form:

(X) V_1 = motion verb_{SS} + (X) V_2 = any semantically appropriate verb

In example 9.54, the motion verb SS form *fuse* ‘while I was coming’ is used to indicate a period of time in the speaker’s life.

9.54 *Na fu-se baji-do evetu e-teni.*

IS come.DUR-SIM.SS grow.I-SEQ.SS woman do.I-TP.1S.SS

‘While I was moving along (in my life), I grew up and became a woman.’

In 9.55, the motion verb *ira* ‘he went (along)’ is used with *darigusira* ‘he bypassed’.

9.55 *Nu ira numamo darigu-sira.*

3S go.DUR.SEQ.PAST.3S.SS 3S.father bypass.II-DP.3S.FN

‘He has grown taller than his father.’ or ‘He has surpassed his father as a leader.’

(lit. He went along and bypassed his father.)

Another construction encoding a temporal span has three components: (1) a DS verb encoding an event, (2) a SS medial form of a motion verb signalling that the event is temporally extended and (3) a terminal verb which indicates the endpoint of the sequence:

(X) V_1 :verb_{DS} + V_2 : motion verb_{SS} + (X) V_3

In (9.56) the DS medial verb *didiviri* ‘while he was dancing and dancing’ is duplicated to encode iteration. The use of the motion verb *aira* ‘it went’ emphasises that the dancing went on for an extended period of time. The terminal immediate future construction *atari dae etira* ‘it was about to dawn’ signals that the boy’s dancing activity continued right up until dawn.

9.56 (1) *Didiv-iri+didiv-iri*

dance.II-SIM.R.3S.DS+DUP

(2) *a-ira*

go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS

(3) *sifo at-ari=dae e-tira.*

day dawn.I-DVB=PUR do.I-TP.3S.FN

‘(1) He danced and danced while (2) the time passed and

(3) day was about to dawn.’

Motion verbs do not occur as V_1 in serial combinations, so when they do occur as V_1 in standardised clause sequences, they must occur with a SS medial form.

Korafe does not have ordinal numbers. Instead it uses two standardised clause sequences to encode the ordinal concept. The first sequence is rigidly constrained, with the following structure and fillers:

(X) $V_1 = i$ 'go' SS MEDIAL FORM $\pm umbu$ + [number] + $V_2 = e$ 'make'

This combination enables the speaker to assign an ordinal position to each member of a set of nominals that consecutively perform the same activity. Example 9.57 is from the Korafe translation of Revelation 8:8.

- 9.57 *Aneya eni ira etoto u-sira*
 angel a go.SEQ.PAST.3S.SS two do-DP.3S.FN
 An angel went and it made two
aimi, tavuya fusi-sira.
 that.CEFF.T/F conch blow.II-DP.3S.FN
 that one, blew a conch shell
 'A second angel, that one, blew a conch shell.'

A tripartite construction is used to indicate the number of times an event has been performed. It uses the previous structure but adds a lexically variable DS medial verb to encode the event that recurs, yielding this structure:

(X) $V_1 = \text{verb}_{DS} + V_2 = i$ 'go' SS MEDIAL FORM $\pm umbu$ + [number] + (X) $V_3 = e$ 'make'

- 9.58 *Tavuya fuse-tiri a-ira umbu ghabu+soveni*
 conch blow.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS knot/time wing+across
e-tira.
 do.I-TP.3S.FN
 'He blew the trumpet for the fifth time. (lit. He blew the conch, and it went and made five times.)'

9.2.4.3 CONTINUOUS ASPECT

The verb *iri* 'be, remain' is inherently durative, so it is often used in clause sequences that express continuous processes. The clause sequence has the following structure:

(X) V_1 : verb stem II-*se* (SS simultaneous form) + V_2 : *iri* 'remain, be'

At normal conversational speed, this combination apocopates, undergoing vowel gobbling at the sandhi, i.e. *use irena* → *us'irena*, but the non-apocopated sequence usually occurs in written texts. The tense marked on *iri* provides the time frame within which the process is carried out. The following example details the speaker's all-night reaction to a stonefish sting.

- 9.59 *Ava sorara+u-se ir-eno sifo atutu-sira.*
 that.CT cry+do.II-SIM.SS remain-SIM.R.1S.DS day dawn.II-DP.3S.FN
 'But (instead of sleeping) I remained crying (all night and while I was crying) day dawned.'

In cases where the initial verb encodes an inherently punctiliar event, the focus is on the continuous performance of the activity, rather than on its repetition, even though individual instances of the act are occurring. Example 9.60 does not encode just one act of digging, but the author of the text is emphasising the continuity of the activity (not its repetition) over a period of time until the actor was exhausted.

- 9.60 *Nuvu, nu enda ghafu-se ir-ara ambu-do...*
 3S.husband 3S ground dig.II-SIM.SS remain-SEQ.NP.3S.SS die.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘Their husband, he remained digging up the ground until he was exhausted...’

In example 9.61, the clause sequence indicating continuous aspect (*si-se ir-á* single-underlined) combines with a sporadic iterative clause sequence (*[ir-á]+ghe-do gh-arira* double-underlined).

- 9.61 *Nu genge+gavi bu-do, geka+vironu si-se*
 3S limepot+limestick get.I-SEQ.SS talk+speech say.II-SIM.SS
ir-á+ghe-do gh-arira.
 remain-SEQ.IR.SS+do.again.I-SEQ.SS do.again-F.3S.FN
 ‘He will get the limepot and limestick (his signs of authority) and he will continue to direct the people by giving speeches throughout his lifetime.’

The continuous sequence *sise irá* ‘he will remain saying’ suggests that the leader’s *modus operandi* is to give speeches during his entire adult lifetime. The sporadic iterative sequence *irághedo gharira* ‘he will continue to (give speeches)’ indicates that he actually will only be involved in giving speeches at irregular intervals in time.

In order to indicate a state connected with the occurrence of an event, Korafe speakers use the following structure:

V₁: verb stem I-*do* (SS sequencing form) + V₂: *iri* ‘remain, be’.

Example 9.62 is from a legend about the origin of coconuts.

- 9.62 *Amo, usu sirere-do ir-ira.*
 that.T/F coconut be.born.I-SEQ.SS remain-PRES.3S.FN
 ‘Regarding that, the coconut came into being and is there today (lit. remains).’

In 9.63 the sequence *ombudo iriri* ‘it got caught and remained’ describes the entangled state of the snake when the owner of the net becomes aware of it.

- 9.63 *...jingabu teria ava voto=da ombu-do ir-iri*
 snake large that.CT net=LOC catch.itself.I-SEQ.SS remain-SIM.R.3S.DS
gosu-sira.
 see.II-DP.3S.FN
 ‘...a huge snake got itself caught in the net and he saw it entangled (there).’

9.2.4.4 COMPLETIVE ASPECT

To focus on the termination of an event (which often involves its completion) the Korafe employ the following construction:

(X) V₁: medial V_{SEQ.DS} + V₂: 3S form of *dadabe* ‘finish’.

The subject NP coreferenced as third person singular is not uniquely recoverable but apparently corresponds to the event or event sequence encoded by the previous clause(s). In example 9.64 the speaker insists that her move is completed; there will be no further moves to accommodate anyone else.

- 9.64 *Oj-eno* *dadabe-tira.*
 come.NDUR-SEQ.R.1S.DS finish.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘I’ve come for good; it’s over and done with.’

In 9.65 the two clauses preceding *dadabetiri* ‘it finished’ refer together to getting decorated for a dance. These event(s) are jointly completed.

- 9.65 *...f-era* *nati=da* *gogho+e-do*
 come.DUR-SEQ.PAST.1PL.SS house=LOC decoration+do.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘...we came and decorated (ourselves) at the house,
rika+digh-ero *dadabe-tiri.*
 bird+tie.I-SEQ.R.1PL.DS finish.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 tied on our feathers until (the decorating) was completed,
jovereghe-do *era...*
 turn.around.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-SEQ.PAST.1PL.SS
 and turned around and went...’

This construction frequently encodes the completion of a significant stage within a complex cultural routine. The following example is taken from an article on how to make a garden. It has two instances of the DS customary medial form *dadabeari* ‘it gets finished’. The initial *dadabeari* signals the completion of clearing away the underbrush. Later on in the process, it marks the completion of cutting up the charred remains of the trees and brush.

- 9.66 *Giti, oto+ghojaba* *bu-do* *y-ama*
 first stone.axe+bone.knife get.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
 ‘First, we get an axe and a knife and go and
enda *andagho+eoro*
 ground clear.brush+do.SEQ.CUST.1PL.DS
 we clear the ground and
dadab-eari,
 finish.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS
 (that task) gets finished and
j-eoro
 chop.I-SEQ.CUST.1PL.DS
 we chop (the trees) and
fase *iji+av-iari* *gi-do,*
 lie.I sun+dry.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS see.I-SEQ.SS
 they lie and they dry in the sun and seeing (that)

avaraka=i dung-eoro
 fire=CEFF burn.I-SEQ.CUST.IPL.DS
 we burn (the dried stumps, etc.) with fire, and

avi-raira. Av-iari
 burn.I-CUST.3S.FN burn.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS
 it gets burned. It gets burned

ainda ambo=da, oto bu y-ama
 that.CEFF.GEN behind=LOC stone.axe get.I go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
 after that, we get the axe and go and

gaf-eoro
 cut.I-SEQ.CUST.IPL.DS
 we cut the grass and

dadab-eari...
 finish.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS
 (that task) gets finished, and...'

9.2.4.5 INCHOATIVE ASPECT

An essential constituent of inchoative expressions is the complex expression made up of the nominal+verb *tuturo+e* 'beginning do/make'. Korafe has two separate structures used with *tuturo+e*. The first is:

(X) V_1 : *tuturo+e*_{SS,SEQ} + (X) V_2 : appropriate form of any verb

A nominal which encodes the undergoer of the specific activity, encoded by V_2 occurs as the object of the clause, predicated by *tuturo e*. Examples 9.67 and 9.68 illustrate this construction.

9.67 *Namane era [enda eni] tuturo+e-do*
 we.EXC go.DUR.PAST.3PL.FN ground.plot a beginning+do.I-SEQ.SS

andago+u-seri.
 underbrush.clearing+do.II-DP.IPL.AQ
 'We went and began (to) clear away the underbrush on a plot of ground.'

9.68 *Ar-ioro dadab-eari gi-do,*
 roll.together.strands-SEQ.CUST.IPL.DS finish-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS see.I-SEQ.SS

ati tuturo+e-do gembu-raera.
 stringbag beginning+do.I-SEQ.SS weave.I-CUST.IPL.FN
 'We roll the strands (into three-ply string) until it is finished, seeing (that),
 we begin (to) weave the string bag.'

Or the construction encoding the activity can be deverbalised and placed before an inflected form of *tuturo e* as the subject complement. It has this structure:

V_1 : deverbal form + V_2 : appropriate form of *tuturo e*

- 9.69 ...*na=mo anakora diti+baingh-ari tuturo+er-ir=are*
 1S=T/F already eye+nod-DVB beginning+IPF-do.PRES.3S.FN=that.CR
 ‘(Here I am) my eyes are already beginning to close. (lit. regarding me the eyes are already beginning to close.)’

9.2.4.6 ABILITATIVE MOOD

The nominal+verb combination *inono e* ‘become sufficient (lit. equivalence do)’ is also used in the following structure:

(X) V₁: medial V_{DS,SEQ}+ V₂: appropriate form of *inono e*

This construction encodes ability with future tense forms (9.70) and accomplishment of a task with past tense forms (9.71).

- 9.70 *Esa+embo nanjogo furarera amo, namane*
 voyage+people how.many come.DUR-EPEN-F.3PL.FN that.T/F 1PL.EXC
b-aoro inono+arira.
 get.I-SEQ.IR.1PL.DS enough+do.F.3S.FN
 ‘However many travellers come, we will be able to accommodate (them).’
- 9.71 *O Iesu=mo, nu umbu dabako*
 or Jesus=T/F 3S time one
 Or regarding Jesus, he one time
tofo+mandi numoá mutu-do,
 self+boy 3S.T/F.that give.I-SEQ.SS
 he gave himself
ari ekoko=da mino mut-iri
 do.DVB(deed) bad.RED=GEN payback give.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 he gave the payback for bad deeds and
inono+u-sira.
 enough+do.II-DP.3S.FN
 it was enough
 ‘Or regarding Jesus, he gave himself once and for all and paid in full the debt for bad deeds.’

9.3 THEMATIC CLAUSE-CHAIN UNITS (TCCUs)

Pawley and Syder (1983:191) examine two linguistic capacities that are at the beck and call of a mother-tongue speaker: *nativelike selection* and *nativelike fluency*. Beyond knowing the grammatically correct sentence strings, a mother-tongue speaker also knows which of those strings are natural and which are marked and uses them appropriately. Not

only that, but the speaker is able to produce partly novel strings in pause-free fluent chunks with up to ten words. Pawley and Syder (1983:202) term these chunks ‘fluent units’.¹⁸

Chafe (1986:217, 1987:22ff.) identifies a similar unit, which he terms an ‘intonation unit’. This unit contains a sequence of about five or six word words combined under a single, coherent intonation contour and usually preceded by a pause. Intonation units contain information that is “activated” and in the speaker’s current focus of consciousness.¹⁹

The Korafe version of such units is called here a *thematic clause chain unit* (TCCU). TCCUs may consist of (a) one or more NPS/PPs, (b) a clause, or (c) a string of clauses. It is the multiclausal character of so many of these units in Korafe that led to the name adopted here, which focuses on the difference between English ‘fluent units’ and a significant number of these Korafe units.²⁰ All TCCUs are defined by semantic and phonological criteria. Multiclausal TCCUs are also defined by specific grammatical criteria.

Let us examine in more detail the features of TCCUs.

(1) Each TCCU is a thematic unit. It focuses on a certain limited amount of information, a cluster of events that are held together semantically by a common theme. This is illustrated by the thematic units (labelled ‘Unit’ in the examples in this section) in example 9.72.

9.72

Unit 1:

Kamuse-do,

card.I-SEQ.SS

‘We will card the (inner bark of the *songa* vine) into strips,

¹⁸ Pawley and Syder define ‘fluent unit’ as “a technical term to refer to a stretch of pause-free speech uttered at or faster than normal rate of articulation—about five syllables per second in English”. They claim that “the largest unit of novel discourse that can be fully encoded in one encoding operation is a single clause of eight to ten words...fluent talkers regularly pause or slow down at the end of each clause of four to ten words...”

¹⁹ Chafe says that information is presented at the rate of “one new concept per intonation unit. He posits three activation states for concepts: “active,” “semiactive,” and “inactive”. An active concept is currently in “a person’s focus of consciousness”. A semiactive concept is “one that is in a person’s peripheral consciousness, a concept of which a person has a background awareness”. Inactive concepts are concepts that are “currently in a person’s long-term memory” but not in his or her current awareness.

²⁰ Other researchers have noted the existence of clause sequences that function as coherent units in chaining structures. In his chapter on clause chaining and hierarchical structures, Longacre (1972:26-50) draws on the field notes of several linguists studying Papuan languages to give examples of breakdowns of SRCs into multiclausal build-up units (BU).

Olson (1981:286, 300-306) describes four thematic topic marker suffixes (-ga, -moga, -koga and -gana) that interact with the switch-reference system of Barai.

Woodbury (1983:299-300) discusses units of rhetorical structure that interact with the syntactic switch-reference inflectional system in Central Yup’ik Eskimo. His unit termed ‘LINE’ bounded by pauses resembles the phonological definition of TCCUs.

Unit 2:

bu-do *fu-a,* *iji=da* *dend-oro* *av-ari,*
 get.I-SEQ.SS come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS sun=LOC hang.I-SEQ.R.1PL.DS dry-SEQ.IR.3S.DS
 bring it and hang it in the sun and it will dry, and

Unit 3:

ghaito *ruve-do* *fit-oro* *ir-ari,*
 pandanus.strips coil.I-SEQ.SS put.I-SEQ.IR.1PL.DS remain-SIM.IR.3S.DS
 we will coil the (dried) pandanus leaves, put them away (where) they will
 remain, and

Unit 4:

ava *bu-do* *vose* *besug-edo,*
 that.CT get.I-SEQ.SS descend unfold.I-SEQ.SS
 we will get those (pandanus leaves and the *songa* vine) descend and uncoil
 them, and

Unit 5:

tuturo+e-do *gemb-arera.*
 beginning+do.I-SEQ.SS weave.I-F.1PL.FN
 we will begin to weave the mat.'

The first unit recapitulates the final verb of the previous sentence, maintaining temporal continuity between the two SRCs involved. The focus of unit 2 is the movement and preparatory processing of the raw materials to be used in making a pandanus mat. Storage of these raw materials is the objective in unit 3, and retrieval of them is the objective in unit 4. The mat manufacturing process begins in unit 5.

(2) All TCCUs are defined by phonological criteria. TCCUs are bounded by silence, discourse or utterance initially, and by pauses at other initial and terminal boundaries. They are associated with one rhythm unit,²¹ which is composed of one or more intonation contours and is bounded by pauses or silence. Most TCCUs range from 1 to 2.5 seconds in length and from three to ten words.²² When the thematic clause chain unit does not terminate an SRC, the intonational contour at the terminal border of the TCCU manifests a downglide and then a slight glide up to a mid pitch followed by a pause.

Example 9.73 was processed by the CECIL program, which graphed its frequency and amplitude contours and the length of segments. The TCCUs average 2.32 seconds in length and approximately 5 words per unit. The longest TCCU (unit 7) lasts for 3.76 seconds. The largest TCCU (unit 6) contains 10 words. The TCCUs average 2.3 clauses; unit 4 contains 5 clauses.

²¹ In written texts, punctuation is intended to indicate the pauses. Korafe editors mostly agree about placement of punctuation, but many texts are written without adherence to the rules the editors postulate.

²² In introductions to a discourse or when introducing a new topic in the discourse, the Korafe sometimes utter each NP as a separate phonological unit between pauses. In these cases, it is possible to get one-word TCCUs.

9.73

Unit 1 (1.7 seconds):

Edo sumb-iri

and run.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS

And it ran (blew)

bune+jare-do

(0.9 pause)

not.know.I+despair.I-SEQ.SS

and despairing,

Unit 2 (.3 second):

na

(0.2 pause)

IS

I,

Unit 3 (3.4 seconds):

nanda afa Mota=mo,

1S.GEN father Mota=T/F

regarding my father (named) Mota

Michael=da nati=da ava,

(0.7 pause)

Michael=GEN house=LOC that.CT

Michael's house that one,

Unit 4 (3.4 seconds):

vit+ena

ascend.I+go.DUR.SEQ.R.PAST.1S.SS

I went up and

asa+e-do

piggyback+do.I-SEQ.SS

carried (him) piggyback and

bu+f-ena,

get.I+come.DUR.SEQ.R.PAST.1S.SS

I brought (him)

nanda nati=da fit-eno

1S.GEN house=LOC put.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS

I put (him) at my house and

anumbe-tiri

(0.64 pause)

sit.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS

he sat (there) and

Unit 5 (2.8 seconds including pause):

namane Michael noaro=ghae, (0.1 pause) isambu

1PL.EXC Michael 3S.wife=COM.D

all

we, Michael and his wife, all (of us)

nanda nati=da ir-ero,
 IS.GEN house=LOC remain-SIM.R.IPL.DS
 while we were remaining at my house

Unit 6 (3.6 seconds):

yaura tutur(o+e devoiced)
 wind beginning(do.I)
 the wind began and

*suf-iri+sumb-iri+sumb-iri+sumbu,*²³
 run.II-SIM.R.3S.DS+run.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS+DUP+run.I
 it ran and ran and ran and ran and

haf fas sikisi iri (0.4 pause)
 half past six do.SIM.R.3S.DS
 while it was becoming half past six

Unit 7 (3.76 seconds including pause):

Daphne=da nati du-r-iri (0.16 pause)
 Daphne=GEN house fall.I-EPEN-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 Daphne's house fell and

usu tuturo(e devoiced)
 coconut beginning(do.I)
 the coconut trees began to

duduru-g-er-ir=a(si devoiced). (0.15 pause)
 fall.RED-do.F-IPF-PRES.3S.=that.say.II
 be falling over, that's true.

Unit 8 (.8 second):

E-tiri... (1.2 pause, probably a paragraph break)
 do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 (That) happened and...

'(1) And it blew, and despairing, (2-3) I, my father Mota (I) climbed up onto Michael's house, got (my father) on my back, brought (him piggyback), and put him (down) at my house, and he sat (there) and (4) we, Michael with his wife, all (of us) were remaining at my house (and while we were there), (5) the wind began and it blew and blew and blew and blew, and at half past six, (6) Daphne's house fell, and (7) the coconut trees began to fall and they are certainly falling. (8) That happened and...'

Pauses are the most reliable indicator of TCCU boundaries. However, there are other prosodic and grammatical criteria that also play a role. For instance in 9.73 repeated from 6.53, the 0.1 pause in unit 5, the 0.16 pause in unit 7 and the 0.15 pause between units 7 and

²³ Warrington Isari, who went over this text, said that the verbs *sufiri* and *sumbu* should be replaced by *sumbiri*.

8 are not long enough to interpret them as marking a TCCU boundary.²⁴ And there are no significant other features in unit 5 to interpret the material before and after the 'pause' as separate TCCUs. In unit 7, the material before the pause does not share any arguments with the material after the pause, and it might be possible on those grounds to split them, but the prosodic features do not justify the split.

However, grammatical and prosodic features other than the pause do constitute the segmentation of units 7 and 8. Unit 7 terminates with a final verb and a fall in amplitude (to 1.2 (-38.4dB)) and pitch (86.0 Hz) and devoicing of the final syllable. Unit 8 begins at an amplitude of 17.0(-15.4dB) and a frequency of 109.9 Hz. The pause between a final verb and its recapitulation need not be great, because the speaker does not need to concentrate on new information to present until after uttering the recapitulated verb. The break between unit 8 and the following segment is very long, 1.2 seconds.

(3) From the examples above which are SRCs and others, it can be seen that many TCCUs in SRCs tend to have a preponderance of verbs as their constituents. The longest unit (unit 2) in 9.72 has five words, four of which are verbs. In 9.73, unit 1 has four words, all verbs. Of the eight words in unit 4, six are verbs. Many of the verbs are inflected forms that constitute clauses. In fact, most TCCUs segmenting SRCs contain two to four clauses. Some have more, e.g. unit 4 in 9.73 with five clauses and unit 6 with six clauses. Averaging in the TCCU in 9.73 that contains only one clause (unit 5) and those that contain only NPs/PPs (units 2 and 3), the TCCUs in 9.73 still contain 2.2 clauses per unit. Likewise, the TCCUs in 9.72 average 2.6 clauses per unit.

Pawley and Syder (1983:202, 204, 208-209) document instances where the 'one clause at a time constraint' is also contravened in English. They note (p.208) that speech containing more than one clause per intonation unit typically describes "familiar experiences or activities in familiar phrases". These familiar expressions include the individual's stock of memorised clauses and clause sequences. Korafe TCCUs make heavy use of familiar SVS terms (§9.1) and standardised clause sequences (§9.2). For instance, in 9.72 we find Korafe speech formulas that express relocation (*fitoro irari*), cause-effect (*dendoro avari*), and inchoative aspect (*tuturo edo gembarera*). And example 9.73 contains terms such as *bune Jaredo* 'not knowing and despairing', *vitena* [*viti+ena*] 'I went up', *asa edo* 'carry piggyback' and *bu fena* 'bring (lit. take and come)'. And there are other formulaic indicators discussed below. All components of such a conventional verb sequence must belong to the same TCCU.²⁵

However, Korafe TCCUs not only make use of formulaic sequences; they may also contain novel sequences. Packaging SRCs and CRSs in TCCUs is a creative process, which allows for innovation. The speaker has a number of devices at his or her disposal to aid in the process of making 'bite-sized' chunks which all participants in the speech event can cognitively process.

²⁴ Pawley suggests that pauses under 0.2 second should not be considered as markers of TCCU boundaries.

²⁵ Multiclausal sequences that encode iteration at irregular intervals are an exception to this rule. They may form several TCCUs.

(4) Even though TCCUs in SRCs are multiclausal, like clauses, they are restricted to having three unmarked or core arguments. Clauses typically have one to three arguments that are not obligatorily marked. These are the syntactic core arguments, subject and object, and the pragmatic topic (P_1) argument. These arguments are realised as overt NPs and/or by the subject marker on verbs within the chain. TCCUs are also limited to three core arguments that are not obligatorily marked.

However, TCCUs contrast with clauses in their assignment of arguments. In any given clause, each core argument may be assigned only one syntactic role. In TCCUs, core arguments may have object role in one clause and subject role in a subsequent clause. For instance *ghaito* in unit 3 of 9.72 is an overt NP object of the first clause *ghaito ruvedo* 'they coil up the pandanus', the referent of the ellipsed object of *fitoro* 'they put (it)', and the referent of the ellipsed subject of *irari* 'it remains'. Peripheral arguments, such as *ijida* 'in the sun' in unit 2 of 9.72, are realised as overt PPs wherever they are needed within the unit.

(5) When the scope of negation extends over more than one TCCU, the negative focus marker *jo* 'not' must be repeated. In 9.74 the *jo* appears in the second unit before *nunda dombuda* 'before him' and is repeated in the third unit before the negative deverbal form *sae* 'not saying'.

9.74

Unit 1:

E-do *ainda* *sifo=da*,
do.I-SEQ.SS that.CEFF.GEN day=LOC

Unit 2:

namane jo nunda dombu=da fete-do kori+se-do,
1PL.EXC NEG 3S.GEN face=LOC stand.I-SEQ.SS shout+do.I-SEQ.SS

Unit 3:

jo s-ae arera...
NEG say-not.do do.F.3S.FN
'(1) And on that day, (2) we (will) not stand in front of his face and shouting,
(3) say (lit. we will not say)...

(6) Discontinuity-signalling devices define initial and terminal boundaries of TCCUs.²⁶ The linguistic evidence at TCCU boundaries suggests that focused or activated concepts in the speaker's short-term memory shift slightly. This cognitive shift appears to be registered by a shift to a less continuous referential coding device on the topic continuity continuum, e.g. a shift from using verb agreement markers alone to using NPs. In fact, the primary

²⁶ Longacre (1972:26-50) in conjunction with several others, notes the existence of "devices which break up chains into subchains" in many of the chaining languages in Papua New Guinea. He uses Scott's material on Fore as an example (pages 27-29). Suffixes which mark verbs that define significant multiclausal sub-chains in Fore SRCs include: (1) three morphemes which indicate that the verbs in the chain in which they occur have the same set of participants, (2) the <-oga> set marking DS verbs, (3) the suffix <-nta>, which splits up a chain of SS medial verbs, and (4) two other 'focal' suffixes that embed a string which has a different subject.

signalling device at TCCU onsets is the occurrence of one to three overt NPs or PPs. Not every TCCU must begin with an NP, but there appears to be a strong preference for having an NP at the beginning of the first TCCU in a sentence after the recapitulating TCCU. Sometimes, NPs are placed in their own rhythm group (TCCU), preceding the TCCU that details the interaction of their referents. When this happens, NPs may be copied by a pronoun within the following TCCU. Pronouns may occur as an initial NP, even when they are not copying an NP in the previous TCCU.

Discontinuity at the terminal border of TCCUs may be signalled by any of the following:

- (1) the pause indicator *avo/avori* ‘all right’;
- (2) a terminal clause encoding a temporal notion or followed by a temporal conjunction, such as *ainda amboda* ‘after that’, *ainda gitida* ‘before that’, *ainda jokáda* ‘within that span’, and *ainghae dabade* ‘at the same time’;
- (3) a determiner (e.g. *amo* ‘that.T/F’, *ava* ‘that.CT’) or a conjunction (e.g. *aindae (sedo)* ‘on account of that’ and *gido* ‘so/seeing’) following the terminal clause;
- (4) a final verb;
- (5) a DS sequencing medial verb predicating an intransitive clause and expressing a resulting effect; or
- (6) a DS simultaneous medial verb, except when followed by a perception verb (e.g. *gido* ‘seeing’, *ningido* ‘hearing’, *bune Jaredo* ‘not knowing and despairing’, *itatamedo* ‘feeling’, *bune Jaredo* ‘not knowing and despairing’ or *tambudo* ‘finding’).

More than one discontinuity signalling device may occur at the terminal boundary of a TCCU. In one oral text, the following combination terminates a thematic clause chain unit: *dadabetiri ainda amboda, avo...* ‘it finished and after that, all right...’

The following examples illustrate the use of some of the TCCU indicators listed above. Example 9.75 was segmented into TCCUs by three men, who broke the sentence up at my request. I expected that they would give me clauses, but they gave me a segmentation by TCCUs. Although they did break it down into clauses after some discussion, it seems that the TCCU segmentation was the natural one for them.

9.75

Unit 1:

<i>Eke</i>	<i>dung-eoro</i>	<i>avi-do</i>
kunai.grass	burn.I-SEQ.CUST.IPL.DS	burn-SEQ.SS
‘We burn the kunai grass, and it burns and		
<i>i-r-ureari</i> ²⁷	<i>gi-do,</i>	
go.DUR-EPEN-SIM.CUST.3S.DS	see.I-SEQ.SS	
goes along, and seeing (that),		

²⁷ In the process of segmenting this sentence, the men regularised the DS irrealis form *irurari* ‘while it will be going’ in the original sentence to the DS customary form *irureari* ‘while it goes’ to operate in concord with the customary form of the sentence final verb, *mindiraera* ‘we eat’.

Unit 2:

egi amo jorujorughe-do ghurughurugh-eari,
 wallaby that.TF leap.DUP.I-SEQ.SS hop.DUP-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS
 the wallabies hop along bobbing through (the grass) and

Unit 3:

genembo gi-do goroba=i afe gae-do ã
 man see.I-SEQ.SS spear=CEFF hurl.I spear.I-SEQ.SS and
 (one) man sees (that), and hurls his spear (spearing one)
ghamana=i je bas-eari amb-eari,
 rock=CEFF gash.I bore.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS die.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS
 and bludgeons (it) with a rock, and it dies, and

Unit 4:

bu-do y-ama kambo=da buvu-do,
 get.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS house=LOC arrive.I-SEQ.SS
 and he gets (it) goes and arrives at home,

Unit 5:

bore-do oje-do mindi-raera.
 roast.I-SEQ.SS cut.in.chunks.I-SEQ.SS eat.I-CUST.1PL.FN
 he roasts it, cuts it up and we eat (it).'

In example 9.75, the first 3 units commence with an overt NP. The perception verb *gido* 'seeing' terminates unit 1. Units 2 and 3 terminate with an intransitive different subject medial verb. Each unit also has its own theme. In unit 1 the kunai grass is burned. The movement of the wallabies in response to the fire dominates unit 2. In unit 3, a man kills a wallaby. The coordinated structure *gorobai afe gaedo ã ghamanai je basedo* 'throw a spear and pierce and bludgeon with a stone' encodes two methods used in accomplishing the kill. Unit 4 encodes a movement sequence, expressed by the verbs *budo-yama-buvudo* 'get-go-arrive'. In unit 5, the wallaby is roasted, cut and eaten.

Example 9.76 is from the legend *Jaruga Roro*.

9.76

Unit 1:

Evetu+genembo isambu oju beká ava e-do,
 woman+man all fear true that.CT do.I-SEQ.SS
 'All the people became terrified, and

Unit 2:

beka+baka do-do anoseg+ir-ero
 mouth+ADUP leave.I-SEQ.SS settle+remain-SIM.R.3PL.DS
 stopped (all their) chatter, and remained seated, and

Unit 3:

nu divu savi+y-a
 3S sing.I go.inland+go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
 she repeatedly sang and went inland (west) and

buvu+fo-a *ghu-se,*
 come.out.I+come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS do.again.I-SIM.SS
 came back out (east and while she was doing that),

Unit 4:

munda ruka digh-era=da asi, ava
 3S.GEN older.brother tie.I-TP.3PL.FN=GEN vine(s) that.CT
 the vines with which they had bound her older brother

divege-do ghe-tira.
 saw.do.FOC.I-SEQ.SS do.again.I-TP.3S.FN
 she was repeatedly sawing through.'

Each one of the units in this example commences with an overt NP. In fact, the first unit contains two internal NPs initially: *evetu genembo isambu* 'all the people' with subject function and *oju beká ava* 'very great fear' with object function. An NP with object function *beka baka* 'chatter' is the initial component in unit 2. In unit 3, the initial core NP in a TCCU is realised by just a pronoun, *nu* 'she'. The NP in unit 4 has an embedded clause *munda ruka dighera* 'her brother that they had tied' within it. The embedded clause is in a possessive relationship (indicated by *da* 'of') with the head noun *asi* 'vine rope'. There is a slight pause between this NP and the rest of TCCU.

In 9.76 unit 1 has just one clause. Unit 2 terminates with an intransitive DS verb form. Unit 3 is an aspectual clause sequence conveying sporadic iteration of the entire series, marked by *ghuse* 'while doing again'. It includes two standardised SVSS direction + motion verb combinations *savi+ya* 'go in' and *buvu+foa* 'come back out' within it.

Thematically, unit one in 9.76 encodes an emotion, not an action. The state of the participants involved is the primary semantic focus of unit 2. Unit 3 details the movements of Jaruga Roro's sister, and unit 4 details the rescue operation she mounts for her brother.

The previous examples have been SRCs. Example 9.77, which is from a sermon given by an Anglican evangelist, Oscar Done, exemplifies TCCUs that operate over non-chaining structures. It contains simple sentences (e.g. units 10 and 14), chaining sentences (e.g. units 4–8 and unit 9) and co-ranking sentences (e.g. units 1–3 and 11–13). None of the sentences is conjoined by tail-head linkage. The length in seconds of each TCCU and pause is given in the parentheses.

9.77

Unit 1 (1.6):

Namonde kote simbug-arera, (0.3)
 1PL.INC think.I prepare-F.1PL.FN
 'We will think intelligently and clearly,

Unit 2 (1.5):

jo tamó vanembo kot-ae arera, (1.7)
 NEG body CT.only think-not.do do.F.1PL.FN
 we will not think only about (our) bodies,

Unit 3 (1.2):

tamo vanembo kot-ae. (1.4)
 body CT.only think-not.do
 not think about (our) bodies only!’

Unit 4 (0.4):

God (0.5)
 God
 ‘It’s God,

Unit 5 (1.0):

God koti-se... (0.4)
 God think.II-SIM.SS
 while thinking about God...

Unit 6 (0.9):

ni tamoe=dae (0.6)
 2S body=BEN
 you on account of (your) body(‘s desires),

Unit 7 (0.95):

oka+bayau=dae
 fish+food=BEN
 (that is) on account of food

Unit 8 (1.58):

asug-ari eveva aindae er-esi=ta. (0.64)
 dress-DVB good that.CEFF.BEN IPF-do.2S.AQ=FRUS
 (and) those nice clothes you’re concentrating (all your efforts), I’m afraid!’

Unit 9 (0.9):

S-aon’ ning-areva. (1.0)
 say-SEQ.IR.IS.DS hear.I-F.2PL.FN
 ‘I’ll speak and you will listen.’

Unit 10 (1.4):

Ni nanjigo amb-aresi? (0.8)
 2S when die.I-F.2S.AQ
 ‘When will you die?’

Unit 11 (1.25):

Ninda embo+boka eveva (0.8)
 2S.GEN laplap+loincloth good
 ‘Your stylish clothes,

Unit 12 (1.2):

ninda isia eveva (0.75)
 2S.GEN taro good
 your succulent taro

Unit 13 (2):

ambu-do ainghae y-aresa,
 die.I-SEQ.SS that.CEFF.COM.D go.DUR-F.2S.FN
 when you die, will you go with those (things),

amb-aresa ainghae? (2.0)
 die.I-F.2S.FN that.CEFF.COM.D
 will you die with them?’

Unit 14 (0.7 second):

A kote simbuge!
 that think.I prepare.I.IMP.(2S.AQ)
 ‘Think carefully about those things!’

In contrast with example 9.73 exemplifying an SRC, in which TCCUs average 2.32 seconds in length and five words per unit, the TCCUs in example 9.77 average 1.17 seconds and three words per unit. The longest unit (unit 13) is two seconds and contains five words comprising two clauses, juxtaposed with each other and predicated by final verbs. No unit contains more than two clauses, and some contain only NPs or PPs (units 4, 6, 7, 11 and 12). Other than the SRC in unit 8 and the CRS in unit 13, all the units are clauses or fragments of clauses. This is typical of simple sentences and CRSs which tend to obey the general ‘one clause at a time constraint’ operative in the delivery of spontaneous connected discourse in English (Pawley and Syder 1983:202).

TCCUs provide thematic packaging for and thematic continuity in discourses.

CHAPTER 10

INTRODUCTION TO KORAFE DISCOURSE

Pike (1954:33, 57) defined a 'discourse' as a "behavioreme", a chunk of human behaviour that has internal structure and a definite beginning and end, recognised by the cultural community using it. Crystal (1985:96) gives several definitions of 'discourse' ranging from "a behavioural unit which has a pre-theoretical status in linguistics", to "a set of utterances which constitute any recognisable speech event".

The discussion of Korafe discourses in the next two chapters is restricted to internally connected and bounded multisentence utterances and written texts and their features. Although the features to be described can also be observed in conversations involving several Korafe participants, I will concentrate on monologues and written texts, from here on termed 'texts'. To treat conversations would take us well beyond the limits imposed on this study.

A text may be a story that involves participants interacting with each other in events that build up to a crisis and then are resolved. Or it may expound a theme giving supporting arguments. It may be a sermon, a letter or an encyclopedic description. Other possibilities for it exist as well.

The Korafe employ two basic strategies in their organisation of discourses: (1) tense-iconic ordering and (2) thematic organisation. Discourses that have narration of events or listing of procedures as their basic communicative goal are primarily ordered tense-iconically. Discourse segments that are tense-iconic have chaining structures as their primary components. At sentence junctures, they commonly manifest tail-head linkage. Discourses that illustrate or support themes and topics manifest thematic organisation. Thematically oriented discourse segments make use of all sentence structures, but are characterised by frequent use of co-ranking structures, which are linked by juxtaposition or conjunction.

These two organisational strategies are useful in differentiating two types of paragraphs and types of discourses. Section 10.1 describes a prototypical chaining paragraph, distinguishing it from a thematic one. Section 10.2 treats discourse structure rules that operate across all discourse genres. Discourse structure rules that apply more specifically to discourses with tense-iconic ordering or thematic organisation are presented in §10.3. Included in the discussion are speech formulas that signal specific discourse genres.

The conventional knowledge a speech community shares about the routine activities its members engage in is often encoded in discourse by structures which represent appropriate sequences of events in given contexts. These structures are termed *scripts*. Section 10.4

introduces the notion of scripts, outlining the types of scripts and their standard components and how they are invoked. Several Korafe scripts with their component parts are then delineated.

10.1 PARAGRAPHS: CHAINING VS. THEMATIC PARAGRAPHS

Discourse texts may consist of a hierarchical series of thematic levels with a ‘global theme’¹ overarching the entire text. Within the text, a series of sentences may operate as a thematic unit. Thematic units may be integrated around a topic, a setting, the activities of a discourse participant, or some other significant element. In thematic units, each sentence contributes one feature or one argument that develops or supports the theme under discussion, henceforth called ‘local theme’. Local themes support the global theme either directly or through intermediate thematic units.

Thematic units correspond to Van Dijk’s (1977:6-7, 158) ‘macro-structures’,² Lowe’s (1981a:3) ‘focus spaces’³ and Chafe’s (1987:42-43, 47) ‘paragraph’.

The term ‘paragraph’ will be used to label thematic units in Korafe. According to Chafe (1987), paragraph junctures represent a cognitive shift, which is often manifested by the following criteria: “a significant change in scene, time, character configuration, event structure, and the like...” Lowe (1981a:6) mentions the following indexes of paragraph juncture: change in the kind of activity, topic, coherence relationship and depth of focus. Although such semantic and pragmatic criteria often indicate paragraph junctures in Korafe discourses, Korafe speakers additionally employ a grammatical linking device which serves to differentiate two types of paragraphs: chaining paragraphs and thematic paragraphs. In a prototypical chaining paragraph, the device of tail-head recapitulation of lexical verbs across sentence margins signals paragraph-internal sentence junctures. Paragraph junctures are indicated by suspension of tail-head verb recapitulation or by generic verb recapitulation of the ‘tail’ verb. To get a better idea of the differences between chaining and thematic paragraphs, let us compare a chaining paragraph with a thematic paragraph.

A good example of the former is the initial paragraph of a section of narrative (sentences 11-15) embedded in the descriptive discourse text *Kunita* (Appendix 4).

¹ Grimes (1975:367) defines ‘global theme’ as the “overall theme for the entire narrative”. See also fn.6 in this chapter.

² Van Dijk (1977:6-7) sees the semantic organisation of a discourse as potentially hierarchical, stating, “This notion of macro-structure is RELATIVE with respect to underlying semantic levels. The rules should be such that they operate on a sequence of macro-structures to yield still more macro-structures until the most general macro-structure of a discourse is reached.”

³ Lowe (1981a:3) defined a ‘focus space’ as “a subspace of the total knowledge space containing those items that are the focus of attention during the current part of the discourse (or dialogue)...a segmentation of the total knowledge space into a unit containing those items that are currently relevant in the discourse”.

10.1 sentences 11-15 of Kunita:

11. *Giti ruka ghasovu=ghae*
 first brother sister=COM.D
 'Long ago a brother together with his sister
oka garu-do f-era
 fish spear.II-SEQ.SS come.DUR-SEQ.R.PAST.3PL.SS
 came along spearing fish
reighi javo Jojo aminda ujave+e-do
 place name Jojo there swim+do.I-SEQ.SS
 they were swimming at that place called Jojo and
semb-ari=dae ero,
 cross.I-DVB=PUR do.R.3PL.DS
 as they were about to cross,
kunita aimi viti-do sandi bu-do
 octopus that.CEFF.T/F ascend.I-SEQ.SS catch.I get-SEQ.SS
 that octopus came up, grabbed them and
kafuru joka=da vovos-usira.
 deep.water inside=LOC descend.II-DP.3S.FN
 dived into the deep water.'
12. *Vose bu jigh+ir-iri*
 descend.I get.I hold+remain-SIM.R.3S.DS
 'It descended and held them while
karaje mindi ambududuru-seri.
 salt.water eat.I die.II-DP.3S.FN
 they drowned (lit. ate salt water and died).'
13. *Amb-ero gi-do,*
 die.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS see.I-SEQ.SS
 'Seeing they had died,
bebesuge-tiri eroru-seri.
 open.up.RED.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS arise.II-DP.3PL.FN
 it opened out its tentacles and they floated up.'
14. *Ere-do, feeghe viti+f-era*
 arise.I-SEQ.SS float.I ascend.I+come.DUR-SEQ.R.PAST.3PL.SS
 'Their bodies arose, floated and came up and
founa=da dekesa+ero, nenda totofo
 reef=LOC pound+do.SS.3PL.DS 3PL.GEN self.RED
 as they pounded on the reef, their kinsmen

f-era *gi-do* *ruru-seri*.
come.DUR-SEQ.R.PAST.3PL.SS see.I-SEQ.SS get.II-DP.PL.AQ
'came, saw them and got them.'

15. *Bu-do* *era,*
get.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR.SEQ.R.PAST.PL.SS
'They took the bodies and went and
beku *joká=da* *fit-ero* *iri-se*
cave inside=LOC put.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS remain-SIM.SS
put them inside a cave, where they remained until
bete-do *dadabe-tiri,*
soften.I-SEQ.SS end.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
they finished decomposing,
nenda *etu* *oroko* *ir-ira.*
3PL.GEN bone now remain-PRES.3S.AG
and the bones are still there today.'

This paragraph demonstrates the three formal criteria that define chaining paragraphs.

- (1) Switch-reference constructions (SRCs) are their only constituents. The focus of SRCs is the event sequence. NP ellipsis and the chaining of verbal predicates one after another maintains this focus. In the first paragraph of the narrative from the *Kunita* text, there are 33 verbs and 30 clauses in five SRCs. 16 clauses have no overt NPs and 8 clauses have only one overt NP. Only the paragraph-initial and -final clauses have two arguments.
- (2) All sentences must terminate with final verbs having the same tense or an iconic progression in tense. Sentences 11, 12, 13, and 14 in *Kunita* terminate with final verbs in the distant past tense. Sentence 15 follows iconic ordering, allowing the progression of events to terminate with the present tense-marked final verb *irira* ‘(their bones) remain’.
- (3) Sentence junctures are characterised by tail–head recapitulation of the lexical verb. Each sentence in this paragraph in *Kunita* is linked to the previous one by lexical verb tail–head linkage: 11-12: *vovosusira* → *vose* ‘it descended’, 12-13: *ambududuruseri* → *ambero* ‘they died’, 13-14: *eroruseri* → *eredo* ‘they rose (to the surface)’, 14-15: *ruruseri* → *budo* ‘they got’.

The paragraph in 10.1 is a good example of the chaining paragraph. Many paragraphs with a primarily chaining structure deviate in some way from the prototype. Some give background information that breaks tail-head linkage paragraph-internally. Others may be instantiated by a single Korafe SRC,⁴ linked to previous and subsequent SRCs by generic

⁴ Some Korafe writers go to the opposite extreme and eliminate all paragraph breaks, using lexical verb recapitulation throughout the text. When the recorder of the legend *Yodiyodi Mose Nengae Sifia Gimasaghae* edited the text several years after his initial writing, he put in paragraph breaks, e.g. ...*viteri. Vitido*... '...they went up. Having gone up...' → ...*viteri. Aminda*... '...they went up. There...'

verb tail–head recapitulation. There is a trend in the developing Korafe literary style to edit out or avoid some of the instances of tail–head linkage in written texts.⁵

Thematic paragraphs using co-ranking structures primarily are typified by the concluding thematic paragraph (sentences 20–27) of the legend, *Bijo Gharube da Geka* (Appendix 1).

10.2 sentences 20–27 of Bijo Gharube da Geka:

20. *E-do oroko+mo, reighi Kitava aminda, evevetu=va nembo*
do.I-SEQ.SS now+T/F place Kitava there women.RED=CT only
ir-era.
remain-PRES.3PL.FN
'And even now at that village of Kitava there are only women.'
21. *Ava+se-do, gegenembo aminda tefo=ri.*
that.CT+say.I-SEQ.SS men.RED there none=COP.AQ
'Therefore, there are no men there.'
22. *Evevetu nenda diti=imi genembo g-arera amo, nu*
women.RED 3PL.GEN eye=CEFF man see.I-F.3PL.FN that.T/F 3S
amb-arira.
die.I-F.3S.FN
'If the women so much as set eyes on a man, he'll die.'
23. *Amo evevetu=da vasa=ri.*
that.T/F women.RED=GEN place=COP.AQ
'That is the women's place.'
24. *Gavana ava kasama+e-tiri ir-ira.*
government that.CT know+do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS remain-PRES.3S.FN
'The government knows about that.'
25. *Ava+se-do, ne mandi fumbu-raera amo, fati*
that.CT+say.I-SEQ.SS 3PL boy bear.I-CUST.3PL.FN that.T/F press.I
git-ioro ambu-raira.
squeeze.I-SEQ.CUST.3PL.DS die.I-CUST.3S.FN
'So if they bear a boy baby, they strangle it, and it dies.'

⁵ When the revision team were editing the Korafe New Testament, they eliminated some of the tail–head lexical verb recapitulations, saying they made the structure too "heavy".

About one third of the legends the Korafe have published have some extended sections which lack tail–head linkage. The legend *Usu da Kiki* 'The story of the coconut' has almost no tail–head linkage. The basic story is narrated in what one would presume is principally iconic order. Twelve of the 22 sentences are SRCs. But there are only four instances of lexical verb recapitulation and one generic verb recapitulation in the entire discourse.

26. *Gagara ava undu-raera.*
 girl that.CT care.for.I-CUST.3PL.FN
 'A girl they nurture and raise.'
27. *Oroko emo, ava u-se ir-era.*
 now this.T/F that.CT do.II-SIM.SS remain-PRES.3PL.FN
 'And even now at this time, they still remain doing the same thing.'

- (1) Thematic paragraphs freely admit all sentence types as their constituents. This paragraph has eight sentences. Four sentences have only one clause. Sentence 20 is composed of a theme with its rheme filled by a stative existential clause. Sentences 21 and 23 are topic-comment clauses terminated by copulas. Sentence 26 has a transitive clause as its constituent. Three are multiclausal. Sentence 22 is a conditional sentence with two bases. Sentence 25 is an antecedent-consequence sentence involving the universal quantifier. The second base of sentence 25 is an SRC. So are sentences 24 and 27.
- (2) The number of NPs per verb is much greater in thematic paragraphs than in chaining paragraphs. Discounting the two verbs that are grammaticised conjunctions in this context (*edo* 'and' and *ava sedo* 'therefore'), there are 12 verbs and two copular predicates comprising 13 clauses. Only four clauses do not have arguments: *irira* (sentence 24), *fati gitiro* and *amburaira* (sentence 25), and *irera* (sentence 27) and they are constituents of the three SRCs in this paragraph. Of the 18 NPs, three are left-dislocated. The rest are arguments in clauses, with one clause having three NPs, four clauses having two NPs, and four clauses having one NP.
- (3) Thematic paragraphs can have final verbs that differ from each other in tense marking. Sentences 20, 25, and 27 terminate with final verbs having the present tense. Sentence 22 has future tense final verb forms, and sentences 25 and 26 have customary final verb forms. Sentences 21 and 23 terminating with copulas are realis, but not tense-specific.
- (4) Thematic paragraphs are semantically configured to communicate a dominant theme or a proposition with its supporting arguments. They accomplish this by:
- (a) repeating a key word or idea. The initial and final sentences in this paragraph in *Bijo Gharube da Geka* have a thematic NP with similar content: *oroko mo* 'at this time', *oroko emo* 'here and now'.
 - (b) juxtaposing sentences or groups of sentences that convey parallel notions. Sentences 20, 24, and 27 all end with forms of *irari* 'remain'. Together with the two tenseless copular sentences 21 and 23 and the customary tense bases 25 and 26, they build up a picture of the 'as is' situation in the women's village now.
 - (c) heading sentences with conjunctions that signal a rhetorical relationship with the preceding sentence(s). Sentences 20, 21, and 25 begin with conjunctions. None of the sentences are linked by tail-head verb recapitulation.

The thematic paragraph in 10.2 is typical of thematic paragraphs in its structure, but it manifests only one of many semantic configurations possible for thematic paragraphs.

Some other semantic configurations found in thematic paragraphs are described in the material given in §10.3.2.

10.2 GENERAL DISCOURSE STRUCTURE RULES

All discourses occur in a deictic context. This includes the speaker, the addressee(s), the world view(s) of the speech act participants, the setting within which the speaker is communicating the information, his or her reason for communicating it, and the appropriateness of the information for the occasion.

Discourse structure rules specify the things that may be said and the order in which they may be said. In this section, we focus on the general set of constituents, which are part of all oral discourses and texts.

All oral discourses and texts have an introduction, a plot or a theme with its supporting arguments, and a conclusion. Many also have a final formulaic closing statement. Legends and letters have in addition formulaic introductory words which signal the discourse onset, called 'apertures'.

10.2.1 INTRODUCTIONS IN KORAFE DISCOURSES

At least one of the following elements is present in all introductions:

- (1) acknowledgment of the addressee(s),
- (2) the speaker's self-identification,
- (3) an introduction to the content to be presented, and
- (4) the context within which it is communicated including the reason for its presentation.

The introduction to the content can take the form of (a) an abstract, (b) an expression stating the global theme, which is the general topic for the entire discourse,⁶ (c) a temporal and/or spatial setting, and/or (d) an introduction of the principal participants.

Acknowledgment of the addressee(s) is a regular feature of hortatory discourses and letters. Example 10.1 is the initial sentence in a hortatory discourse.

⁶ Grimes (1975:103, 324) describes *theme* as a "partitioning principle for some languages". *Global themes* give the topic for the entire discourse. *Local themes* are the material the speaker continues talking about as long as he remains within one segment of the text.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the *theme* in P2 position is the topic, setting the stage for the main predication, which is realised as an NP or PP sentence-initially and phonologically set off from the rest of the sentence (Chafe 1976:50; Dik 1981:19-21). In Chapter 8, *theme* is described as a proposition which encodes the "point of departure" for the rheme material which follows (Halliday 1985:38-39) in CRSSs.

In Korafe, *themes* that are normal topics at any level (sentential, discourse segment, global, i.e. encompassing the entire text) are marked by *mo* or *amo*. Contrastive themes that mark an entity or proposition that is not controlling are marked by *va* and *ava*. Contrastive themes that mark an entity or proposition that is controlling are marked by *ilimi* and *ailaimi*.

- 10.3 *Ade+jamena, vide+jamena, dengoro afige-vu!*
 young.lady+PL young.men+PL ear open.I-2PL.IMP
 ‘Ladies, gentlemen, pay attention (lit. open your ears)!’

Non-fiction narrative, procedural, explanatory, descriptive, and hortatory discourse genres use a quotation introducing the theme and explaining the deictic setting. Example 10.4 is the initial paragraph in a travelogue of the Milne Bay provincial capital, Alotau. The speaker introduces himself and then states his theme in two ways, with an indirect quote (Base 2) and with a topic-comment clause (Base 3).

10.4

Base 1: *Na Simon+Peter+Goto...*

1S Simon+Peter+Goto

‘I, Simon Peter Goto...

Base 2: *Alotau=da kiki ava s-ari=dae er-ena.*

Alotau=GEN story that.CT say-DVB=PUR IPF-do.PRES.1S.FN

am about to tell the story about Alotau (what Alotau’s like).

Base 3: *Alotau=da kiki=mo evi=ri.*

Alotau=GEN story=T/F this.CT=COP.AQ

This is Alotau’s story.’

Example 10.5 is taken from the introduction to an explanation of why the people should pay taxes. After introducing himself together with the context in which the discourse is given, the speaker launches into a lengthy orientation, giving the reasons he feels it is necessary to address this issue. He then explicitly states his theme, *takesi da kiki* ‘the custom of (paying) taxes’.

- 10.5 *Avori, oroko emo, na council=da president, Simon+Peter+Goto*
 all.right today this.T/F 1S council=GEN president Simon+Peter+Goto

Edo council=da takesi bu-raera ainda beká, beká=mo
 and council=GEN tax get.I-CUST.3PL.FN that.CEFF.GEN reality reality=T/F

reju=ri, evetu+genembo isambu bune-raera...

what.SPEC=COP.AQ woman+man all not.know-CUST.3PL.FN

‘All right, at this time, I am the council president, Simon Peter Goto. And all the people don’t know what is the reason (the council members) collect the council’s tax....’

Avori=ta, oroko, oroko takesi=da kiki s-ari=dae er-ena

all.right=FR today today tax=GEN story speak-DVB=PUR IPF-do.PRES.1S.FN

amo evi=ri.

that.T/F this.CT=COP.AQ

‘All right, frustrated as I am, today, yes today, I am about to tell the custom behind taxes, which is this.’

In the introduction from a non-fiction narrative given in example 10.6, the narrator introduces himself as well as giving an abstract of the content.

- 10.6 *Namane, Baga+reighi, yaura=i ruru-muta, ava*
 1PL.EXC Baga+village wind=CEFF take.forcibly.II-YP.3S.FN that.CT
s-ari=dae er-ena. Nanda javo Kenneth, Kenneth Mota=ri.
 say.I-DVB=PUR IPF.do.PRES.IS.FN IS.GEN name Kenneth Kenneth Mota=COP.AQ
 ‘Regarding us, Baga village, a wind took (us) by force. I am about to talk about that.
 My name is Kenneth, Kenneth Mota.’

Here and in many discourses, the abstract is given in the form of a quotation.

Examples 10.3 to 10.6 are from oral texts that were taped. Written texts often have much less of an introduction. Instead of giving an abstract, the speaker may just introduce the global theme at the beginning of the first sentence as a thematic sentence constituent marked by topic markers *mo* or *ava* and/or by a pronominal copy. Example 10.7 is the initial sentence in a written description of the common housefly. The theme is an NP marked by the topic marker *mo*, and the rheme is a copular clause, that commences with a pronoun that refers anaphorically to the theme.

- 10.7 *Soini=mo, ne digarigo=ri.*
 housefly=T/F 3PL many.CPAR=COP.AQ
 ‘Regarding the housefly, there are lots of them (lit. they are plentiful).’

In other written examples, the global theme is a phrase or short expression which is introduced in a purpose construction. Example 10.8 is part of the first sentence in a personal experience narrative. The writer mentions himself with a pronoun, gives the temporal setting, and then presents the global theme (underlined) in a purpose construction.

- 10.8 *Na iji eni, tumba ji-r-iri, na oka ga-y-ari=dae*
 IS day one night fall.I-EPEN-SEQ.R.3S.DS IS fish spear.I-EPEN-DVB=PUR
se-do, Tilley+lamp dunge-do bu-do vose i-se...
 say.I-SEQ.SS Tilley+lamp light.I-SEQ.SS get.I-SEQ descend go.II-SIM.SS
 ‘I, one day, when night fell, saying that I would spear fish, I lit a Tilley lamp, took it, and while I was going down...’

In the following example, the writer also filled in the deictic context, giving the participants, the time and a spatial orientation. The global theme is stated in a purpose construction here as well.

- 10.9 *Namonde oroko amundu ari=dae vos'+aera.*
 1PL.INC today mumu make.DVB=PUR descend+go.NDUR.TP.IPL.FN
 ‘Today we went down to make a mumu (a feast cooked over hot stones in an earth oven).’

Legends with their formulaic apertures do not need a separate statement of theme, but they may use a purpose clause to state the main activity the participants are to engage in, as example 10.10 illustrates.

- 10.10 *Kiki! Jaruga+Roro nunambo=ghae sifo=ghae ere-do*
 story Jaruga+Roro 3S.brother.in.law=COM.D day=COM.D arise.I-SEQ.SS

taima=da ambe je-do d-ari=dae se-do a-era.
 bush=LOC sago chop.I-SEQ.SS hit.I-DVB=PUR say.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.3PL.FN
 ‘Story! Jaruga Roro and his brother-in-law arose in the morning, and saying that
they would chop down a sago tree in the bush and make sago, they went.’

The principal participants in narratives are typically mentioned as the topic of a SS SRC which terminates with some form of the verb *iri* ‘remain, be’ (usually the enduring past tense form). Example 10.11 introduces the participants and their initial location in the story of the Korafe migration. It follows the statement of the theme as the second sentence.

- 10.11 *Korafe tomanako=é, isambu Ghoru dighi-do ir-iari.*
 Korafe large=this all Ghoru tie.I-SEQ.SS remain-EP.3PL.AQ
 ‘The majority of these Korafe people had all settled at Ghoru and were living (there).’

The introduction may include a bit of the family history of the principal characters, as example 10.12 illustrates. Even though the rest of the legend is narrated in the today’s past tense, the enduring past form of the stative verb terminates the SS SRC in which the family progenitor is introduced.

- 10.12 *Kiki! Genembo eni baji-do ir-eira, evetu fiti-do*
 story man one grow.I-SEQ.SS remain-EP.3S.FN woman marry.I-SEQ.SS
vide+jamena etoto siroru-sera, ade+jamena etoto siroru-seri.
 boy+PL two be.born.II-DP.3PL.FN girl+PL two be.born.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 ‘Story! A man grew up and lived as a single man until he married a wife; and then two sons were born, (and) then two daughters.’

Legends sometimes introduce participants as the subject of a clause predicated by a today’s past form of the verb *avi* ‘sleep’. In example 10.13 from the legend *Furoime*, the initial temporal setting immediately follows the introduction of the main participants in a clause predicated by *avi* ‘sleep’.

- 10.13 *Kiki! Ghato ghato=ghae, nengae r-av-ara sifo*
 story cousin cousin=COM.D 3D IPF-sleep-TP.3PL.FN day
ate-tiri, ghato se-tira...
 dawn.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS cousin say.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘Story! (Regarding) two cousins, they were sleeping and day dawned, and (one) cousin said...’

10.2.2 DISCOURSE BODY AND LINKAGE DEVICES

Narrative discourses and legends have a plot for the main body of the discourse. Other discourse genres have a set of supporting points or arguments centred around a macro-theme. Although a part of every discourse, this plot or outline of significant points can be explained better in relationship to specific texts, not in this section on general features.

Cohesive devices the Korafe use to link sentences, paragraphs and episodes in discourse are also outlined in sections on discourse genres and in the next chapter.

10.2.3 FIXED AND PRODUCTIVE FORMULAIC CONCLUSIONS IN KORAFE DISCOURSES

Most Korafe discourse genres conclude with formulaic closing words or expressions such as: *avori* ‘all right’, *avakori* ‘that’s truly all’, *tano* ‘boundary marker’, (*eminda*) *tano+erena* ‘(here) I am making an end’, and (*eminda*) *geka dotuterena* ‘(here) I am leaving (my) talk.’ Examples 10.14a, b, c, d give some samples.

10.14a. *Sokeya noaro=ghae=da kiki tano evi=ri.*
 Sokeya 3S.wife=COM.D=GEN story end this.CT=COP.AQ
 ‘This is the end of Sokeya and his wife’s story.’

10.14b. *Avori, tano eminda er-ena.*
 all.right end this.T/F.CEFF.LOC IPF-do.PRES.IS.FN
 ‘All right, I’m ending here.’

10.14c. *Eminda geka dotut-er-ena.*
 this.CEFF.T/F.LOC talk leave.II-IPF-PRES.IS.FN
 ‘I’m leaving off the discussion here.’

10.14d. *Ava-ko-ri!*
 that.CT-INT-COP.AQ
 ‘That’s truly all!’

Conclusions in legends usually take the form of fixed speech formulas, and letters conclude with a salutation to the addressee and his or her loved ones. (For more information and examples, see §10.3.1.1 and §10.3.2.4 and Appendices 1, 2, and 6.)

In some cases, no formulaic expressions are used, but the speaker terminates with a fitting denouement, e.g. returning to the village, resolution of a problem, or even advice to the addressee. Example 10.15 at the conclusion of a legend gives this advice to the addressee if he sees an egret: kill it and bring it home to eat.

10.15 *Ava+se-do, ni y-a rika orue g-aresa a=mo,*
 that.CT+say.I-SEQ.SS 2S go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS bird egret see.I-F.2S.FN that=T/F
de-do bu-do fu mind-ase!
 hit.I-SEQ.SS get.I-SEQ.SS come.DUR.IMP eat.I-H.2S.CR
 ‘Having said that, if you go and see an egret, kill (it) and bring (it home) and eat (it)!’

In example 10.16, the orator addresses his audience, politely suggesting that they now have the ‘inside information’ on payment of taxes and cannot claim ignorance in the future.

10.16 *Ava+se-do natofo, er-á bune-do*
 that.CT+say.I-SEQ.SS my.people IPF-SEQ.IR.SS not.know.I-SEQ.SS
gh-eove! Takesi=da kiki=mo, avo=ri.
 do.again-NEG.H.2PL.CR tax=GEN story=T/F that.CT=COP.AQ
 ‘Therefore, my people, don’t be ignorant! That is the explanation about taxes.’

10.3 DISCOURSE STRUCTURE RULES THAT DISTINGUISH DISCOURSE GENRES

Korafe discourse genres are broadly differentiated by which organising strategy characterises them: chaining or thematic.

If the speaker's communicative goal is to narrate or list a series of events, he or she uses chaining structures that reflect tense-iconic ordering. Chaining paragraphs, spatial and temporal settings, and participants are significant elements in these discourses. They are characterised by the use of one principal tense throughout them. Chaining paragraphs are frequently linked by generic verb recapitulation.

Descriptions, explanations, or motivational discourses are arranged thematically. Letters also tend to be presented in paragraphs centring around themes. Thematic paragraphs, key thematic words and thematic propositions are primary components of these discourses.

Discourses usually manifest elements of both strategies, even though tense-iconicity or thematicity is the primary organising strategy.

10.3.1 DISCOURSE GENRES PRIMARILY FOLLOWING TENSE-ICONIC ORDER

Tense-iconic discourse genres are:

- (1) narratives which include
 - (1a) non-fiction accounts and
 - (1b) fiction stories (legends and spontaneously generated 'tall-tales'), and
- (2) accounts of recurrent events, which include
 - (2a) traditions (habitual activities) of the ancestors and/or the culture today,
 - (2b) repeated events encoded by today's past and other non-imperfective paradigms, and
 - (2c) procedures.

Table 10.1 sets out in diagram form the correspondences between genres and tenses. The genre of each iconically ordered discourse is easily recognised by the tense inflection on the final verbs terminating its SRCs.

TABLE 10.1: TENSES OF ICONICALLY ORDERED DISCOURSE GENRES

GENRE	TENSE OF SRC TERMINAL VERB	STATUS OF MEDIAL VERBS	DURATIVE TENSE [+IPF]
NARRATIVES:			
NON-FICTION	Distant past/		
	Yesterday's past	Realis	EP/DP/YP
	Today's past	Realis	Near past
	Present	Realis	Near past
LEGENDS	Today's past	Realis	Near past
ACCOUNTS OF RECURRENT EVENTS:			
HABITUAL	Distant past with sporadic iteration	Customary/ Irrealis	Customary/ Irrealis
REPEATED	TP/YP with sporadic iteration	Customary/ Irrealis	Customary/ Irrealis
PROCEDURAL	Customary/ Future	Customary/ Irrealis	Customary/ Irrealis

10.3.1.1 DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF NARRATIVE DISCOURSES: NON-FICTION AND LEGENDS

Non-fiction narratives (*kiki* or *geka*) are narrated in whatever tense or tenses aptly define the time of occurrence, usually distant past tense. The medial verbs in the SRCs of this genre are marked for realis status. The imperfective near past, yesterday's past, distant and enduring past tense paradigms of the SS sequencing durative medial forms also occur SRC-internally. The term *kasia* 'parable' refers to discourses that are story pictures of a secret reality that the addressee must figure out. They are generally told, using the today's past or distant past tense. They have the same features as non-fiction narratives.

Legends, both traditional and spontaneously generated, are termed *kiki aghata bamba* 'tall tales'.⁷ They are told in the today's past tense. Near past forms express durative processes, and the medial verbs within its SRCs all have realis status.

Legends are distinguished from all other discourse genres by their fixed formulaic apertures and closings. They traditionally begin with the speaker's call, *Kiki!* '(Here's a) story!', which is uttered with a sharp rise in pitch and then a gradual fall on the final syllable. The audience responds: *M-m-m!*

⁷ The expression *kiki aghata bamba* comes from three words: *kiki* 'story, tradition', *aghata* referring to the inner coconut shell (*agha*) when it is in the process of forming, and *bamba* describing underdeveloped or stunted limbs. The combination together means: 'make-believe tales, spontaneously spun by the narrator'. All *kiki aghata bamba* are originally spontaneous creations, but those that are well-told get institutionalised in the Korafe community's repertoire of *kiki aghata bamba*.

Legends terminate with the phrase *Kiki aghata bamba!* ‘tall tale!’. A formulaic outcome often occurs in legends just before the formulaic closing. It has the following sequence of verbs: *bambu* ‘get with effort’, *ri* ‘eat’, and *sirivo+e* ‘die’. It is the equivalent of the formulaic prescription in English fairy tales: “*and they lived happily ever after*”. The form of the verbs varies slightly, as examples 10.17a, b, c illustrate.

- 10.17a. ...*bambu-do* *ri-do+er-ara* *sirivo+e-teri*.
 get.with.effort.I-SEQ.SS eat.II-SEQ.SS+IPF-go.NP.3PL.FN dying+do.I-TP.3PL.AQ

Kiki aghata bamba!

story forming underdeveloped

‘...and they gathered (food) and went along (in life) eating (it) and they died.

Tall tale!’

- 10.17b. *E-do* *bambu-do*
 do.I-SEQ.SS get.with.effort.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘And they gathered (food) and
ri-se+ir-ara *sirivo+e-teri*.
 eat.II-SIM.SS+remain-NP.3PL.FN dying+do.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 continued to eat (it) and they died.’

- 10.17c. ...*bambu* *ri-do+re-f-ara* *sirivo+e-teri*.
 get.with.effort.I eat.II-SEQ.SS+IPF-come.DUR-NP.3PL.FN dying+do.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 ‘...and they gathered (food) and came along (in life) eating (it) and they died.’

Both Appendices 1 and 2, *Bijo Gharube da Geka* and *Jaruga Roro* contain examples of legends that have been passed down for several generations.

10.3.1.2 SEMANTIC CONTENT OF NARRATIVE DISCOURSES: NON-FICTION AND LEGENDS

The basic components of narrative discourses are participants, temporal and spatial settings, and their actual structuring, which includes an introduction, a plot, and a conclusion.

Both non-fiction narratives and legends introduce the principal participants and usually include the initial spatial and temporal settings in the introduction, as shown in examples 10.11, 10.12 and 10.13 in §10.2.1 above.

10.3.1.2.1 PLOT

The plot is composed of a number of episodes, encoded by paragraphs. The boundaries of episodes (or paragraph junctures) are indicated by two or more of the following: (1) change of main participants, (2) change of spatial setting indicated by motion verbs and the verb *buvu* ‘arrive at’ the new setting, (3) change of temporal setting expressed by temporal noun phrases and postpositional phrases and/or the occurrence of the verb *iri* ‘remain’, *avi* ‘sleep’ or *deinghe* ‘travel about’, (4) switch in tense or aspect, (5) lack of tail-head verb

linkage and (6) use of a demonstrative connective (*avori* ‘all right’, *avata* ‘that (contrastively and frustratingly), but’).

The plot⁸ has the following semantic components: a build-up of events, a crisis (complicating action), a reaction, a plan, an action and a resolution. The event line which primarily communicates these components is encoded by SRCs that are linked to each other by tail-head linkage. Example 10.18 from the legend *Jaruga Roro* (Appendix 2) illustrates the use of SRCs as build-up, crisis segments, reaction, and action segments.

10.18 Build-up segments:

- 3c. ...*se-tiri*, *Jaruga+Roro a-ira*
 say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS Jaruga+Roro go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3PL.SS
 ‘After he said (that), Jaruga Roro went and
gitofu=da usu ava viti-do
 enemy=GEN coconut that.CT ascend.I-SEQ.SS
 climbed a coconut belonging to their enemies,
usisi gafe-do
 porous.bark cut.I-SEQ.SS
 he cut off the fibrous bark cloth,
usu beká etodaba ava tosembe-do,
 coconut true three that.CT twist.off.I-SEQ.SS
 then twisted off three coconuts, and
eni dika=i gambu-do,
 another teeth=CEFF bite.I-SEQ.SS
 biting the stem of one with his teeth
etoto ungo=i bu-do vose+oj-ira,
 two arm=CEFF get.I-SEQ.SS fall.I+come.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS
 he took two in the crook of his arm, came down,
 COMPLICATING ACTION:
soró+da kosasaghe-tiri
 middle+LOC fumble.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 partway down he fumbled one and

⁸ This organisation proposed for Korafe narratives draws on the ideas of Labov and Fox. According to Labov (1972:363), the components of a fully formed narrative are:

(1) abstract, (2) orientation, (3) complicating action,
 (4) evaluation, (5) result or resolution, and (6) coda.

Fox (1987:167-168) lists the following elements in a ‘story grammar paradigm’:

(1) background information (e.g. setting), (2) initiating event,
 (3) reaction, (4) plan, (5) action, and (6) outcome.

Elements 2 to 6 may occur iteratively in Korafe discourses.

enda=da du-do dukughe-tira.
 earth=LOC fall.I-SEQ.SS thud-TP.3S.FN
 it fell and thudded on the ground.'

REACTION:

- 4a. *E-tiri, gitofu ningi-do se-teri,*
 do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS enemy hear.I-SEQ.SS say.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 'When that happened, their enemies hearing that said,

PLAN:

- 4b. *"Namonde=da usu mave ere-ifi?"*
 IPL.INC=LOC coconut who IPF-climb.II-PRES.3S.AQ
 "Who is climbing our coconuts?"

ACTION:

- 4c. *...se buvu usu susu=da kosege-do*
 say.I approach.I coconut base=LOC block.I-SEQ.SS
 they said (that), approached and surrounded the base of the coconut tree,

OUTCOME:

de-tero amb-iri bu-do
 hit.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS die.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS get.I-SEQ.SS
 they hit and Killed Jaruga Roro, and took him off

a-era, mind-ari=dae.
 go.NDUR-TP.3PL.FN eat.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS=PUR
 and they went to eat him.'

Many legends contain more than one plot cycle—build-up through to reaction or resolution. In the case of *Jaruga Roro*, one other plot cycle occurs that involves the entrance of Jaruga Roro's sister and her rescue and resuscitation of him.

Some plots have one basic cycle of events that is repeated with slight shifts in the participants, props, or settings. This is the case in the legend entitled *Matana Kuku*. The only participants are a boy and a stonefish. Each episode is almost the same with a build-up, the complicating action, and the reaction or outcome. In the build-up, the boy goes along the ocean's edge, spear-fishing. The crisis involves the stonefish's stinging a part of his anatomy: a foot, a hand, an eye, an ear, and finally his mouth. In reaction, he says, "Matana Kuku, it's not my (other) foot/hand/eye/ear". The final episode differs from the others, in that it has an outcome rather than a reaction. Silence and death follow the stonefish's stinging of his mouth.

Some information in the narrative is not part of the main event-line. For instance, the plan segment 4b in 10.18 above is given in a quotation which is background information. Both 'on-line background' which is temporally sequenced with the main event line and 'off-line' background which is not, are used to supply orienting information in the build-up, to highlight crisis points, to encode plans, to explain resolutions, etc.

10.3.1.2.1 BUILD-UP AND ORIENTATION SEGMENTS

The build-up may include one or more orientation background segments. Orientation segments⁹ communicate events that are not part of the main event line and not temporally sequenced with the main event line (termed ‘off-line background’ in §7.5). These segments orient the addressee(s) to the main participants and to the events that involve the participants and in some way affect the narrative being told.

A rather lengthy orientation segment occurs in the legend about the sorceress Soboko, *Soboko da Kosi* ‘Soboko’s White Magic’. Example 10.19 is one paragraph from this introduction. It includes two topic–comment constructions (sentences 2 and 3) and four SRCs. The first SRC (sentence 1) is manifested by a realis DS medial verb and a final verb having the enduring past tense. The other three are bases 4a, 4b and 4c conjoined by *ã* in sentence 4. They are manifested by medial verbs that are irrealis or customary forms and final verb complexes that encode sporadic iteration.

10.19

1. *Soboko nu taima ã eva embo isasambu kasama+e-tero*
 Soboko 3S bush and sea people all.RED knowledge+do.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS
irei.
 remain.EP.3S.AQ
 ‘Soboko was known by all the bush and coastal peoples.
2. *Nunda kosi=mo, dikago=ri.*
 3S.GEN white.magic=T/F tooth.CPAR=COP.AQ
 Her magic was strong (sharp like teeth).
3. *Jo mave nunda kosi mino+ari=da kaugo*
 NEG whoever 3S.GEN white.magic repayment+do.DVB=GEN kind.CPAR
ir-ae=ri.
 remain-not.do=COP.AQ
 No one was able to counteract her magic.
- 4a. *Soboko bagia+kakato ava isagha osa+se-do*
 Soboko steal+much.doers.RED that.CT openly report+say.I-SEQ.SS
ghe-tira,
 do.again.I-TP.3S.FN
 Soboko would openly reveal those who were stealing,

⁹ Labov (1972:364) uses the term ‘orientation’ to refer to the introduction of participants, initial temporal and spatial settings and past progressive clauses. Here, it is limited to segments that record habitual or repeated activities. Like the past progressive clauses, Korafe sporadic iterative periphrastic combinations encoding habitual/iterative aspect sketch “the kind of thing that was going on before the first event of the narrative occurred or during the entire episode”. These may actually be placed at “strategic points later on” as well as discourse initially.

- 4b. *aturu ava s-eari, beká+e-do ghe-tira,*
 dream that.CT say.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS truth+do.I-SEQ.SS do.again.I-TP.3S.FN
 she would report her dreams, and they would come true,
- 4c. *ã isoro+tataya kosi+eari, fakina+e*
 and war+battle white.magic+do.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS strength+do.I
kokomana de ond-eoro sumbu y-a
 friend.RED hit.I chase.I-SEQ.CUST.3PL.DS run go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
ghe-teri.
 do.again.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 and she would make war magic, and they would become strong, attack and
 pursue and kill their “friends”, and the “friends” would run away.’

In order to introduce the snake in the story from which 10.20 is taken, the narrator uses a flashback, which states the position of the snake she killed. It commences at the dependent final verb *buvutusena*.

FLASHBACK

- 10.20 *Buvutu-sena, jingabu, katiki+jingabu, gifua*
 arrive.II-DP.IS.FN snake Green.Tree.Python+snake head
ira ekeroro=da teteru-sira aimi
 go.DUR.SEQ.PAST.3S.SS kunai.grass=LOC enter.II-DP.3S.FN that.CEFFF.T/F
embo koseghe-do fas+u-sira.
 path block.I-SEQ.SS lie+do.II-DP.3S.FN

BUILD-UP:

Fas+ir-iri gosu-seni.
 lie+remain-SIM.R.3S.DS see.II-DP.IS.AQ

‘I arrived, and a Green Tree Python with its head in the kunai grass was lying there blocking the trail. It was lying (there), and I saw (it).’

The event-line is reinstated at the juncture of the recapitulated verb, *fasiriri* ‘while it was lying’, and *gosuseni* ‘I saw it’.

In example 10.21, quotations are used as part of the build-up. The formulaic quote words are part of the main event line. The underlined quotations are off-line background, encoding the plan the protagonist has made and his prediction of the outcome.

- 10.21 *Se-tiri, noi se-tira,*
 say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3S.mother say.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘He spoke, and his mother said,
 “Rejo ava aresi?” *se-tira.*
 what.SPEC that.CT do.FUT.2S.AQ say.I-TP.3S.FN
 “What will you do?” she said.’
Se-tiri, nunda mandi se-tira,
 say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3S.GEN boy say.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘She spoke, and her son said,

"*Asi, namo y-a, ghato=da ambo=da amb-ari=dae*
 damn.it 1S.T/F go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS cousin=GEN back=LOC die-DVB=PUR

er-en=asi." *A se-do...*

IPF-do.PRES=that.say.II that say.I-SEQ.SS

"Damn it, I'm going to go and die after my cousin, (that's what he certainly said)."

He said that and...'

In 10.22 the speaker uses two off-line background segments to build up suspense to the crisis point in the legend: (1) the underlined purpose clause, *futo ari* 'to go hunting with pig nets' and embedded under *dae* and (2) the negated SRC expressing reversal. The conjunction *ava* 'but (reversal)' signals a contrast between what the protagonists declared they would do and what they did not do, the underlined negated construction, *Ava ne jo yama futo aeri* 'But they didn't go and hunt pigs with nets'. What they actually did is foregrounded information, signalled by the verb *aera* 'they went'.

10.22 ...*sifo ate-tiri, ne futo+ari=dae se-do*
 day dawn.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3PL pig.hunt+do.DVB=PUR say.I-SEQ.SS

a-era. Ava ne jo y-ama
 go.NDUR-TP.3PL.FN that.CT 3PL NEG go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS.T/F

futo+ae=ri. Ne a-era taima=da junge-do...
 pig.hunt+not.do=COP.AQ 3PL go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3PL.SS bush=LOC hide.I-SEQ.SS
 '...when day dawned, they went off, saying they would hunt pigs. But they did not go and hunt pigs. They went and hid in the bush...'

The Korafe often use the same verb to signal the onset and the terminus of 'off-line' background information. Here, the initial *aera* 'they went' signals the story's departure from the event line and the second *aera* its resumption.

Two good examples of orientation segments that serve as build-ups are found in the legend, *Bijo Gharube da Geka* (Appendix 1). After the aperture formula and the two participant groups are introduced within their settings, their habitual activities are detailed tense-iconically (using clause sequences encoding sporadic iteration) in an orientation segment that extends from sentence 4 to sentence 7. It conveys the initiating actions of the young men and those of the young women and the men's reaction to it. The actual story line (sentence 8) is narrated, using today's past forms. It conveys the young men's plan, action and the outcome. The author again returns to recounting habitual activities of the two groups in an orientation episode in sentences 9 to 11. The build-up in this legend includes the two orientation episodes and the actual story given in sentence 8.

The men's activities in the second orientation episode precipitate the crisis in the legend recorded in sentences 13 to 14.

10.3.1.2.2 CRISES (COMPLICATING ACTIONS) AND REACTIONS

Example 10.23 expresses the crisis in the legend *Bijo Gharube da Geka*, namely the complicating action performed by the younger sister. This action is encoded by an on-line background mismatched clause.

- BUILD-UP: COMPLICATING ACTION:
 10.23 *Aera,* *nenda gagarako aimi uvu dimbu*
 go.SEQ.R.TP.3PL.SS 3PL.GEN younger.sister that.CEFF.T/F water dip.up.I
 r-iri,
 eat.II-SEQ.R.3S.DS

 REACTION:
 nunda aki+mane gi-do se-teri,
 3S.GEN older.sister+PL see.I-SEQ.SS say.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 ‘They went, and their younger sister dipped water, and while she was drinking,
 her sisters saw (her) and asked,’

Although the ‘older sisters’ are the subject of *aera*, marked for SS, their ‘younger sister’ is in fact the subject of *riri*. This mismatch in the switch-reference tracking system marks a crisis point in the discourse. The action encoded in this clause and the reason for it sets in motion the older sisters’ reaction and the events that lead to their departure.

The mismatch also distinguishes the older sisters and their activities from the younger sister and her activity. Although the separate agency of the younger sister is maintained by referencing her by an NP having subject role, rather than object role, in the clause where it occurs, this is the turning point in the story after which the younger sister ceases to control the actions of her older sisters. The older sisters perform their actions front and centre stage; the younger sister’s action is narrated from the perspective of her older sisters, as the verb *gido* ‘(they) saw’ indicates. The younger sister is only overtly mentioned and marked as subject in that mismatched clause, whereas the older sisters are the subjects of the other three clauses. (Refer to §11.2.1.3.1 and §11.2.1.3.2 for rules governing the use of overt NPs to register agency.) This mismatch device also highlights the crisis event. Referential mismatches between clauses are often used to signal crisis points in legends.

In other legends the crisis is encoded by off-line background information, which is signalled by the suspension of tail–head verb linkage. In 10.24 from the legend about the egrets and the turtle, the complicating action is signalled by the non-recapitulation of *buv-eri* ‘they arrived’.

- 10.24 ...*nunda ghato=mane... uvu=da buv-eri.* (BREAK)
 3S.GEN cousin+PL water=LOC arrive.I-TP.3PL.AQ

 COMPLICATING ACTION:
 Igho du fas+e-tiri,
 turtle fall.I lie+do-SEQ.R.3S.DS

REACTION:

evetu+genembo ai sandi-do bunde-teri.

woman+man that.CEFF grab.I-SEQ.SS bind.I-TP.3PL.AQ

‘...his cousins...arrived at the watering place. The turtle fell and lay prone, and the people captured and bound it.’

A co-ranking construction that encodes a temporal contingency is sometimes used to communicate a complicating action.¹⁰ In 10.25 the parents’ decision to treat their girl as if she were a boy is the crucial event on which the rest of the discourse hinges.

10.25 ...[Base 1a: *gagaraka baji tambuno etoto ava dadabe-tiri*
girl.DIM grow.I moon two that.CT finish.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS

noi+numamo g-era amo,]1a

3S.mother+3S.father see.I-TP.3PL.FN that.T/F

‘...the little girl grew until she was two months old, and when her parents looked at her,

[Base 1b: *gagara=da kau=go ava g-eri.]1b*
girl=LOC kind=CPAR that.CT see.I-TP.3PL.AQ
they saw that she was like a girl.’

[Base 2a: *Nunda diti beka g-era amo,]2a*
3S.GEN eye real.part see.I-TP.3PL.FN that.T/F
‘When they looked at the reality in her eyes,

[Base 2b: *mandi=da kau=go ava g-eri.]2b*
boy=LOC kind=CPAR that.CT see.I-TP.3PL.AQ
they saw that she looked like a boy.’

Gi-do...

see.I-SEQ.SS

‘Having seen that...’

In some non-fiction narratives, the crisis and the reaction are indicated by a switch from the distant past tense to the present tense. In 10.26 tail–head linkage is suspended, and present tense verbs together with the current relevancy marker *are* terminate the two sentences encoding the crisis: *ererurirare* ‘here it is striking’ and the reaction: *viti refirare* ‘here it is coming up’. The author then returns to narrating the story in the distant past tense with *gosuseri* ‘we saw’.

CRISIS:

10.26 ...*anumbu-seri. Matoro=da teria eni aimi buvutu-se nanda*
sit.II-DP.IPL.AQ trevally=GEN huge one that.CEFF.T/F arrive.I-SIM.SS 1S.GEN

¹⁰ Reesink (1987:244-248) suggests that this type of construction encodes peak information or contrastive information.

asi=da ere-rur-ir=are.

line=LOC IPF-get.II-PRES.3S=that.CR

REACTION:

B-iri jumb-ero viti+re-f-ir=are.

get.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS pull.I-SEQ.IPL.DS ascend.I+IPF-COM.DUR-PRES.3S=that.CR

Viti+f-iri ... gosu-seri.

ascend.I+come.DUR-SEQ.R.3S.DS see.II-DP.IPL.AQ

‘...we sat. A huge version of the trevally came up and here it is striking my line. It got the line and we pulled, and here it is coming up. It came up...and we saw (it).’

Similar structuring marks the final build-up segment and the crisis in example 10.27, in which the author dozes off and ends up in the ocean. Even before the crisis occurs, the author presages it by using the present tense verb form *erenare* ‘here I am going along’ in a build-up SRC. The crisis is indicated by the segment beginning with *avidegiteghedo* ‘fell sound asleep’ and terminating with *dadorerenare* ‘here I am blowing (bubbles)’. He returns to the distant past tense when he expresses his reaction: *yaura etiri itatamuseni* ‘I felt cold’. In all these instances, the sentences terminating with present tense forms are all SRCs with clauses in temporal sequence.

BUILD-UP:

10.27 *Sire gembu-do er-en=are;*

extend.I pole.I-SEQ.SS IPF-go.PRES.IS=that.CR

‘Here I am poling (the canoe);

na ghaka giti eminda fet+iri-se

IS canoe front that.T/F.CEFF.LOC stand.I+remain-SIM.SS

here I am standing on the (gunwales) at the front of the canoe and

COMPLICATING ACTION:

avi+degiteghe-do anakora teteghumbu-se

sleep.I+do.well.I-SEQ.SS already slip.off.RED.II-SIM.SS

falling into a sound sleep, already slipping off the canoe and

eva joká eminda

sea inside that.T/F.CEFF.LOC

here in the ocean

suvinno dambo dator-er-en=are.

bubbles straight set.in.place.II-IPF-PRES.IS=that.CR

I am blowing bubbles straight up.’

REACTION:

E-do vos+ena eva joká...

do.I-SEQ.SS descend.I+go.DUR-SEQ.R.PAST.IS.SS sea inside

‘Having done (that), I went down, and inside the ocean...

yaura e-tiri itatamu-seni.

cold do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS feel.II-DP.IS.AQ

I felt cold.’

In some narratives, the crisis is not particularly marked, but occurs within the normal chain of events. The emotional or physical reaction following it helps to mark it as a crisis. The crisis in example 10.28 occurs when the narrator falls asleep and falls into the water. His and his son's reactions follow immediately.

CRISIS:

- 10.28 ...*gifo* *eva=da* *gogoghu-seni.* *Amingu-se,*
 head.CEFF sea=LOC plunge.II-DP.IS.AQ do.thus.II-SIM.SS
 '...I plunged headlong into the sea. Acting that way,

REACTIONS:

javi *futo* *e-teno,* *mandi* *dudukughe*
 movement too.much do.I-SEQ.R.IS.DS boy be.startled
 I was thrashing, and (my) son was startled,

ere-do *beka+si-sira,* "Afa, afa!"
 arise.I-SEQ.SS mouth+say.II-DP.3S.FN father, father
 got up and said, "Dad, Dad!"

The complicating event or crisis in the following example is the pigs' treeing the author. His reactions, both physical and emotional, immediately follow in the same sentence.

CRISIS:

- 10.29 *E-do,* *na* *gamb-ari=dae* *ond-iri*
 do.I-SEQ.SS IS bite.I-DVB=PUR chase.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 'And (four pigs) chased me in order to bite me, and

REACTIONS:

ika, *javo* *gauya,* *aminda* *umbu* *eto=da* *ava*
 tree name gauya that.T/F.CEFF.LOC knot top=LOC that.CT
 there on top of the knot a gauya tree

viti-do, *na* *oju* *beká* *ava* *u-seni;*
 ascend.I-SEQ.SS IS fear true that do.II-DP.IS.AQ
 I climbed up, and I was terribly frightened and

ungo+ata *dadara+garu-seni.*
 hand+foot shake+spear.II-DP.IS.AQ
 I shook all over.'

10.3.1.2.3 RESOLUTIONS

Resolutions can be encoded by SRCs and chaining paragraphs and/or by CRSSs and thematic paragraphs.

The resolution segment in *Jaruga Roro* (Appendix 2) involves his final success in knocking down the banana tree after his resuscitation. It is encoded by sentences 27, 28a and 28b, which are SRCs and quotation CRSSs.

In the resolution of *Bijo Gharube da Geka* (Appendix 1) the sisters end up settling at a place called Kitava. It is encoded by the thematic paragraph in example 10.2 above.

10.3.1.2.4 CONCLUSIONS

In addition to a closing statement, some conclusions include a coda,¹¹ explaining the relationship of the narrative to an existing situation. Example 10.30 is the final paragraph in *Ribere Genembo Fitira* ‘The Flying Fox Married a Man’. It recaps the legend, by explaining that the reason the flying fox makes such a flapping noise at night is that she still wears the tapa cloth she used to carry the man she married.

- 10.30 *Avori, ribere bovodu b-ira a=mo, oroko*
 all.right flying.fox paper.mulberry.tapa get.I-TP.3S.FN that=T/F today
tumba ji-r-ari, bu aimi.
 night fall-EPEN-SEQ.IR.3S.DS get.I that.CEFF.T/F
bon+bon+ghu-se deinghe-raira
 flapping.sound+DUP+do.again.II-SIM.SS travel.I-CUST.3S.FN
Ainda+tuka=mo: nu embo+bovodu
 that.CEFF.GEN+point=T/F 3S laplap+paper.mulberry.tapa
bu av-ira.
 get.I wrap.around-TP.3S.FN
 ‘All right, since the flying fox got that paper mulberry tapa cloth, now when
 night falls, it takes it and travels around flapping with it. Because (lit. the point
 of that) it got the paper mulberry tapa cloth and put it on.’

The final paragraph in *Usu da Kiki* ‘The origin of the coconut’ links the story to the origin of three coconut types. The final paragraph in *Bijo Gharube da Geka* (example 10.2 and Appendix 1, sentences 20-27) explains the current situation of the women, living in an all-female village.

10.3.1.3 DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF CUSTOMARY DISCOURSES AND PROCEDURES

Customary or habitual activities the ancestors engaged in (*avia abua da kiki*) are presented in a clause sequence with the auxiliary verb *ghe* ‘do again’ which encodes the notion of sporadic iteration (see §9.2.2.1.4 for examples). Repeated activities in legends are also expressed by this clause sequence with *ghe* marked for the today’s past tense. Events in SRCs terminating with this periphrastic combination are encoded by SS sequencing, SS and DS irrealis and DS customary medial verb forms.

¹¹ Labov (1972:365-266) suggests that “codas may also contain general observations or show the effects of the events on the narrator...codas close off the sequence of complicating actions and indicate that none of the events that followed were important to the narrative”.

Procedures are explained using customary medial and final paradigms of verb forms. Although the customary set of medial verbs is the preferred paradigm for use SRC internally, sometimes the irrealis (future)¹² paradigm occurs instead.

10.3.1.4 SEMANTIC CONTENT OF CUSTOMARY DISCOURSES AND PROCEDURES

The significant elements in customary and procedural discourses are the materials used, the products, and the steps involved, which serve as the plot. Participants are a non-specific, generic set of actors whose role is to perform the customary activities or procedures (e.g. the ancestors, we, the Korafe women).

Customary discourses tend to put more emphasis on the various steps involved, the customary activities, than they do on the products or outcomes. Procedural discourses focus fairly equally on the products and the process. This emphasis is reflected in the way they are introduced. Examples 10.31 and 10.32 occur at the onset of customary discourses.

- 10.31 *Anakora avia+abua=da kiki, nenda saramana o*
 long.ago grandmother+grandfather=GEN tradition 3PL.GEN work or
ir-ari eminge-do ghu-seri.
 remain-DVB do.this.way.I-SEQ.SS do.again.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 ‘Long ago, according to the ancestors’ traditions, they repeatedly carried out
 their work or their lifestyle this way.’

- 10.32 *Giti afa=mane saini+e-do, y-a+ghe-do*
 first father=PL sign+do.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS+do.again-SEQ.SS
ghu-seri, teseni=da kobara o raba saramana ari=dae.
 do.again.II-DP.3PL.AQ station=LOC copra or rubber work do.DVB=PUR
 ‘(In the years) before (our) fathers would sign on and go to work copra or rubber on
 a station/plantation.’

The product and the process are both mentioned in the introduction to procedural discourses, which usually takes the form of an abstract given in an indirect quote. The process is typically alluded to by the interrogative-indefinite pronoun *nange/nanange* ‘do how’. In example 10.33, the narrator also details the circumstances that have led up to her presenting this explanation.

- 10.33 *Korafe+evevetu ati nanange gembu-raera*
 Korafe+women.RED stringbag do.how.RED weave.I-CUST.IPL.FN
ava, Cindi s-aono ning-ari se-tiri, ava
 that.CT Cindi say-SEQ.IR.IS.DS hear.I-DVB say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS that.CT

¹² Those Korafe speakers who are purists about grammatical structures claim that only customary final and medial verb forms should be used here, not future final and irrealis medial verb forms.

tuturo+e-do *s-ari=dae* *er-ena.*
beginning+do.I-SEQ.SS say.I-DVB=PUR IPF-do.PRES.IS.FN
'Cindi said that I should say so she could hear, how Korafe women
weave stringbags, (so) I am getting ready to talk about that.'

As mentioned in §10.3.1.2, discourse segments encoding sequences of events that are habitually performed often provide orientating background information important to the plot in narrative discourses. Sentences 4.7 and 9.11 in Appendix 1 are examples of these orientation segments.

For an example of a complete procedural discourse, see *Ambe Dari* in Appendix 3.

10.3.1.5 DEVIATIONS FROM ICONIC ORDERING IN TENSE-ICONIC DISCOURSES

Deviations in iconic ordering in tense-iconic discourses have been illustrated in §10.3.1.2 and its subsections. Off-line background can be used in introductions, orientations and conclusions, and at other points in the story where deemed necessary. Both on-line and off-line background segments highlight crises.

Evaluations are another form of off-line background.¹³ Event-line narration is suspended wherever the speaker chooses to encode evaluations. In an account of what happened when Cyclone Hannah hit Tufi in 1972, Michael Mota breaks off detailing his activities during Cyclone Hannah to evaluate how everyone was feeling, which is given here as example 10.34 records this. The generic verb *edo* ‘do (SEQ.SS)’ marks the onset of this background paragraph.

10.34 ...*si-sira*. *Edo* *ainda+joká=da*, *namane* *eveva* *eni* *jo*
say.II-DP.3S.FN and that.CEFF.GEN+inside=LOC 1PL.EXC good any NEG

fu-r-ae *ã* tamb-ae=ri.
come.DUR-EPEN-not.do and find.I-not.do=COP.AQ
'...he said, "(quote)". And within that time frame, nothing good happened to us
and we didn't meet up with anything good.'

Namanenda *dubo+joká=da*, *amb-ari* *ava* *fu-sira*.
1PL.EXC.GEN neck+inside=LOC die.I-DVB that.CT come.DUR-DP.3S.FN

Edo fu-sira. E-tiri...
and come.DUR-CP.3S.FN do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
'Inside our hearts, it was death that stalked us. And (that feeling) came again.
(That) happened and...'

Mota's narrative resumes with the generic recapitulating verb *etiri* 'that happened and'.

¹³ Labov (1972:366) defines the *evaluation* of the narrative as “the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative, its *raison d’être*: why it was told and what the narrator is getting at”. Evaluations can occur nearly anywhere in the narrative without changing the meaning of it.

Discourses often have more than one communicative function. Shifts from chaining structures to co-ranking structures signal shifts in communicative function. For example, the procedural discourse *Ambe Dari* 'Sago Processing' (Appendix 3) has two communicative purposes: (1) to explain the sago processing procedure and (2) to list the standard products produced. These purposes are reflected in the structure. The two chaining paragraphs relate the steps involved in processing, and the two thematic paragraphs focus on the products arising from the process. It is classed as a procedural discourse, because all but four of its sentences conclude with a final verb marked for the customary aspect and thirteen of its twenty sentences are SRCs.

10.3.2 DISCOURSE GENRES PRIMARILY ORGANISED THEMATICALLY

10.3.2.1 GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

Thematically organised discourses and texts include descriptions, expositions, hortatory discourses and letters. They all make extensive use of co-ranking structures.

Rather than centring around the activities of participants, they centre around a global theme supported by local topics. For instance, example 10.35a gives the global theme of a descriptive discourse: *rika kafu* 'the bird (called) an owl'. It is the topic sentence of the initial paragraph, which describes the owl's habitat, food, and reproduction pattern. The topic sentence for the next paragraph, which tells about the owl's role as a harbinger of death, is given in example 10.35b. Example 10.35c is the closing sentence in the discourse.

10.35a. *Dangio ere-gos-eva emo, rika+kafu=ri.*
 shadow IPF-see.II-PRES.2PL.FN this.T/F bird+owl=COP.AQ
 'This picture that you are looking at is the bird called an owl.'

10.35b. *Avori=ta, rika+kafu, nunda saramana=mo evi=ri.*
 all.right=FRUS bird+owl 3S.GEN work=T/F this.CT=COP.AQ
 'All right now, the owl's work is this.'

10.35c. *Avori, kafu=da kiki eminda tano+er-ena.*
 all.right owl=GEN story this.T/F.CEFF.LOC end+IPF-do.PRES.IS.FN
 'All right, I am concluding the description of the owl here.'

Although thematic information is primarily presented by co-ranking structures, chaining structures are often used when the speaker switches to relating a sequence of events. In the text *Kunita* 'The Octopus' (Appendix 4), two chaining paragraphs comprise a background story that illustrates the main theme of the final paragraph, namely that the octopus is dangerous.

Tense marking on verbs is not a unifying feature of thematically-oriented discourses. The following free translation of four consecutive sentences in the description of Alotau contains four tense alternations. The narrator alternates between the today's past, present, and immediate future tenses which he uses when he makes himself the centre of movement, and the future tense when he makes the addressee the centre of movement.

10.36 (TODAY'S PAST TENSE: *ojeghena*.)

'And again, I have turned around and come,

(TAIL-HEAD LINKAGE:

PRESENT TENSE: *buvuruterena*.

and am approaching the main thoroughfare.

SS.SEQUENCING MEDIAL VERB: *Buvudo*)

Having reached it,

(TAIL-HEAD LINKAGE

IMMEDIATE FUTURE: *savi+yari=dae erena*.

I am about to move inland on the main thoroughfare.

(NO TAIL-HEAD LINKAGE)

FUTURE TENSE: *garesa*)

On that road you will see,

(TAIL-HEAD LINKAGE:

FUTURE TENSE: *savi yaresa*.

you will travel inland for 3 or 4 miles.

SS, SEQUENCING IRREALIS MEDIAL VERB: *Savi yama*)

You will travel inland and

FUTURE TENSE: *buvaresa*.

arrive at the Gurney airstrip.'

In this description of Alotau, the narrator's movements allow for a sequencing interpretation, which is encoded by his use of tail-head linkage at three of the four sentence junctures. He signals the shift from speaker orientation to addressee orientation by suspending tail-head linkage.

Since they manifest the same organisation structure (i.e. global theme supported by arguments), descriptions, expositions and hortatory discourses are primarily differentiated semantically, both in their content and in the goals the speaker or author has for them. Descriptions detail the characteristics of directly observable entities or events. Expositions explain more abstract concepts. The goal of both descriptions and expositions is to enlighten the addressee with new information. The goal of hortatory discourse is more ambitious: to cause the addressee(s) to alter some thinking pattern or behaviour. These differences are evidenced by some differences in the prevalent clause and sentence structures and linkage devices used in the discourses.

10.3.2.2 DESCRIPTIVE DISCOURSES

The global theme in descriptive discourses is a directly observable entity (i.e. person, place, animal, or thing). It is introduced in theme-rheme constructions in many descriptive discourses, with the theme manifested by a left-dislocated NP and the rheme by a simple sentence. In example 10.37, the global theme is encoded by a left-dislocated NP marked by

the topic marker *mo*. The pronoun *nu* ‘it’ copies the theme and is the initial constituent of the rheme, a stative clause which details the parrot’s habitat.

- 10.37 *Rika+vaikira=mo, nu taima=da ir-ia+ghe-raira.*
 bird+Crested.Parrot=T/F 3S bush=LOC remain-SEQ.IR.SS+do.again.I-CUST.3S.FN
 ‘Regarding the bird called the Crested Parrot, it lives in the bush.’

Topic–comment clauses and theme–rheme constructions are regular components of descriptive discourses. The topic comment clauses are used to encode permanent characteristics of the featured entity in descriptions. Stative clauses that function as the rheme in theme–rheme constructions indicate its habitat. Customary verbs encode life habits in the rheme of theme–rheme constructions. This is evident in the description of the Southern Bare-Eyed Cockatoo (*Foya*) in example 10.38. Sentences a, b, and d are theme–rheme constructions indicating its habitat and instinctive behavioural patterns. Its permanent colouration¹⁴ is expressed in the topic–comment clause in sentence c.

- 10.38a. *Rika+foya, nu taima=da*
 bird+Southern.Bare.Eyed.Cockatoo 3S bush=LOC
ir-ia+ghe-raira.
 remain-SEQ.IR.SS+do.again.I-CUST.3S.FN
 ‘The bird called the Southern Bare-Eyed Cockatoo, it lives in the bush.’
- 10.38b. *Nunda av-ari=mo, nu ika+fatu=da avi-raira.*
 3S.GEN sleep-DVB=T/F 3S tree+branch=LOC sleep-CUST.3S.FN
 ‘Regarding its sleeping place, it sleeps on the branch of a tree.’
- 10.38c. *Nunda tamu=mo foyago=ri.*
 3S.GEN body=T/F white=COP.AQ
 ‘Regarding its body, it is white.’
- 10.38d. *Nunda bayau=mo, jingabu kikitako, karata bonou*
 3S.GEN food=T/F snake small.RED Ground.Skink Mueller’s.Skink
sis i ava mindi-raira.
 grasshopper that.CT eat.I-CUST.3S.FN
 ‘Regarding its food, it eats worms, skinks, (and) grasshoppers.’
- 10.38e. *Rika+foya=da geka tano evi=ri.*
 bird+Southern.Bare.Eyed.Cockatoo=GEN talk end this.CT=COP.AQ
 ‘This is the end of the discussion about the bird called the Southern.Bare-Eyed Cockatoo.’

Out of the eleven sentences which encode the descriptive material in the *Kunita* ‘The Octopus’ text (Appendix 4), seven have a theme–rheme format with the theme marked by *mo* or *imi* (sentences 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, and 11). Topic comment clauses are found in sentences 1, 3, 4, and 9.

¹⁴ This bird is used to define the colour ‘white’ in Korafe: *foyago* ‘white (lit. like the Bare-Eyed Cockatoo).

10.3.2.3 EXPOSITORY DISCOURSES

Expositions convey reasons, goals, conditions with their consequences, contrasts, and comparisons. Theme-rheme sentences in expositions are frequently complex sentences with co-ranking sentence bases in hypotactic relationship with each other, rather than NPs. These propositional bases manifest themes as well as rhemes as their exponents. The theme-rheme example 10.39 is a complex sentence expressing a contingency with the universal quantifier. It comes from an explanation of why Korafe women tattoo their faces.

10.39 THEME: *Edo evevetu mendeni boare jo d-ae*
and women.RED some tattoo NEG hit.I-not.do

e-raera amo,
do.I-CUST.3PL.FN that.T/F

‘And when some women don’t tattoo their faces,

RHEME: *evevetu=da kokomana mendeni gi-do*
women.RED=GEN friends.RED some see.I-SEQ.SS

se-raera, “O nanange nuvu=ghae
say.I-CUST.3PL.FN that.D2 how.RED.do.FOC.I 3S.husband=COM.D

inono+inono er-ir=asi!
equal+DUP IPF-do.PRES.3S.FN=that.say.II
some of the women’s friends see (them) and say, “How is it that that
(woman) is exactly the same as her husband, that’s what they say!’

Avose, o isambu gegenembo=r=asi!” se-raera.
perhaps that.D2 all men.RED=COP=that.say.II say.I-CUST.3PL.FN
‘Perhaps, those are all men, that’s what they say!’ they say.

The theme (or antecedent) in this example is a dependent proposition, which contains a negated clause. The rheme encoding the independent consequence has three bases as its constituents: two quote bases framing the quotation. The quotation has two sentences within it.

One way the speaker maintains global and local themes (defined in fn.6 in this chapter) is by repeating keywords, such as *takesi* ‘taxes’ and *moni* ‘money’ that are underlined in the following example.¹⁵ In the text from which this example is taken, Simon Peter Goto, the Tufi council president at the time (1981), compares fishing with bait to giving taxes. He reckons that the tax money is an inducement to the national and provincial government to provide the major funds for development projects.

¹⁵ The Korafe have long used the words *takesi* for ‘tax’, *moni* for ‘money’, *gavana* for ‘government’ and ‘government officer’, and *frovensi* for ‘province’. Simon Peter Goto who gave this explanation is well-educated in English and used the words *tax* and *gaveman* rather than the customary Korafe transliterations, but I have used the transliterations here to show what the general population does. The convention of transliterating in the text and putting the English word in parentheses following it, e.g. *raiyoni* (lion), was used in the New Testament to cater to the Korafe preference to use English spelling in written texts. Other words, ‘independence’ and ‘development’, they insist on English spelling.

10.40 (number) represents a base terminating with an independent or a dependent final verb or a topic comment construction. However, bases 1, 9, and 10 correspond to TCCUs.)

1. *Takesi susu fet-ari gi-do,*
taxes base stand.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS see.I-SEQ.SS
'When they see that a tax base stands,
2. *nasenal+gavana o frovensal+gavana moni mut-arera.*
national+government o provincial+government money give.I-F.3PL.FN
the national government or provincial government will give money.'
3. *O takesi tefo,*
or tax nothing,
'Or if there are no tax funds (forthcoming),
4. *frovensal+gavana jo mut-ae arera.*
provincial+government NEG give.I-not.do do.F.3PL.FN
the provincial government will not give (money).'
5. *Edo nasenal+gavana jo mut-ae arera.*
and.then national+government NEG give.I-not.do do.F.3PL.FN
'And then, the national government will not give.'
6. *Takesi bu-raera amo,*
Tax get.I-CUST.3PL.FN that.T/F
'If they get the tax,
7. *amo takesi kaunsel nenda bet o nenda bani avavaga,*
that.T/F tax council 3PL.GEN bait or 3PL.GEN bait.fish that.RED.CPAR
that, the tax, is like the council's bait or their bait fish,
8. *aindae takesi bu-raera.*
therefore tax get.I-CUST.3PL.FN
therefore they collect taxes.'
9. *Caunsel takesi moni ai jighi fete-do benunu+s-aoro,*
council tax money that.CEFF hold stand.I-SEQ.SS request+say-SEQ.IR.3PL.DS
The council will hold the tax money and stand and then they will ask,
10. *frovensal gavana o nasenal gavana moni*
provincial government or national government money
mut-oro gi-do,
give.I-SEQ.IR.3PL.DS so
and the provincial government or the national government' will give money so
that the area's development will come,
11. *reighi=da developmen bu fu-r-ari=dae*
place=GEN development get.I come.DUR-EPEN-DVB=GEN

aindae+si-se *e-raera.*
 on.account.of.that+say.II-SIM.SS do.I-CUST.3PL.FN
 speaking on account of that, they do (collect taxes).'

Evaluations which include the speaker's commentary on ideas being presented and defence of beliefs as well as reasons for taking a particular line of argument are expressed in expositions. In expository discourses, the speaker merely presents his or her views as statements of personal opinion, in contrast to hortatory discourses, where he or she gives suggestions and issues commands. In example 10.41, the author (a coastal Korafe speaker) concludes a text detailing the lifestyle of a New Guinea Highlands man with this expression of disbelief.

- 10.41 *Na gosu-sena, jo tumond-ae=ri.*
 1S see.II-DP.1S.FN NEG believe-not.do=COP.AQ
Ainda+tuka=mo: genembo dabako=mo jo evevetu
 that.CEFF.GEN+point=T/F man one=T/F NEG women.RED
 15 *avava=go ava jo fit-ari ir-ae=ri.*
 15 that.CT.RED=CPAR that.CT NEG marry.I-DVB remain-not.do=COP.AQ
Amo teria amb-ari=ri.
 that.T/F great die.I-DVB=COP.AQ
 'I saw (it, but) I didn't believe (it). The point of that is that one man just doesn't marry something like 15 women. That's way too many!'

10.3.2.3 HORTATORY DISCOURSES

Hortatory discourses (*vironu*) resemble expositions in that they are organised thematically and contain sentences that are not ordered iconically and often terminate with final verbs in different tenses. However, expository discourses are not punctuated with commands, and their purpose is to clarify reasons for engaging in the events described, explain points of information or give the speaker's viewpoint, etc. Hortatory discourses are punctuated at various intervals (often at paragraph breaks) by value judgments, commands, suggestions using hortative forms and assertions. Evaluations in hortatory discourse are designed to modify the addressee's thinking and/or behaviour. Example 10.42 contains excerpts from Mackenzie Ruaba's plea to the church congregation to pay the evangelist's salary. It gives only the Korafe text and the free translation.

10.42

1. *Gode amo makasi, kitakatako muturaera.*
 'God is a poor person, we give (him) very little indeed!'
2. *Father jo bagiakato iraeri. Father jo gungubokato iraeri.*
 'Father is not a thief. Father is not a liar.'
3. *Amo, namondeda darari. Jo maveda dara iraeri.*
 'That (problem about the evangelist's pay) is our fault. It's not anyone else's fault.'

These evaluations are intended to shame the congregation, modify their beliefs about the head priest and persuade them to alter their level of giving.

Example 10.43 contains excerpts from the sermon Oscar Done delivered on the the ‘wedding banquet’ parable. Line (1) contains his introduction. The second excerpt follows his outline of the parable. He initiates and punctuates each section with mild suggestions, such as: *kotarera* ‘we will think’ and *namonde ava kotarera* ‘we will think about that’. In the final section of the sermon, he applies the parable to the parishioners’ lives. He switches from mild suggestions to rhetorical questions and commands (excerpts 3–7). His closing command is the last excerpt. Only the Korafe text and the free translation are given in the following excerpts.

10.43

1. *Oroko, Sunday nunda geka namonde kena ijugerira, kotarera.*
‘Today, we will think (about what this) Sunday’s talk is teaching us.’
2. *Avori, namonde kasia ava ijugerira, namonde ava kotarera.*
‘All right, we will be thinking about those (things) that parable is teaching us.’
3. *Ninda embo boka eveva, ninda isia eveva, ambudo ainghae yaresa, ambaresa ainghae? Ava kote simbugarera.*
‘Will you die and go with your nice clothes, your succulent taro, will you die with it? We will think carefully about that.’
4. *Ni oroko ambaresa, evetu eveva, gagara eveva budo ainghae yaresa? Kote simbugevu! Ava sedo, God bu foa ambokena fitiove!*
‘If you die today, will you get your lovely wife (or) a pretty girl and go with her? Think carefully! Therefore, don’t take God and put (him) last!’
5. *Ijuga eni bu ojeni. Ava sedo, erá ‘darige yaone’ seose! God bu foa ambokena fitiose! God dombuda irare!*
‘I have brought (you) a teaching. Therefore, don’t say, “excuse me!” Don’t take God and put (him) last! Let God stay first (lit. in front)!’
6. *Aya afa, emboro esimbuguruvu, sasingu amboda sirore refirore!*
‘Mothers (and) fathers, be preparing the way well, (your) children born after (you) are coming along that way now.’
7. *Asisidae esimbugarera, imemesiri win arera, sasingu win arera. Ava kote simbugevu!*
‘If we prepare thoroughly for our spirits, the grandchildren will come out ahead (lit. win), (and) the children will come out ahead (lit. win). Think about that!’

The above example was given during a church service with a formal structure set in place, so the evangelist did not formally acknowledge the audience. At the onset of other orations, such as the hortatory discourse given in Appendix 5, the various groups present in the audience are specifically addressed.

10.3.2.4 LETTERS

Personal letters have several features which distinguish them from other thematically organised texts. They have five parts: (1) the formulaic aperture, (2) the introductory greetings, (3) the body of the letter, (4) the concluding greetings, and (5) the closing, which has the writer's signature. The Korafe use this structure for writing personal letters to each other. Business letters, they (or some knowledgeable person that they enlist) write in English.

The aperture for letters is an endearment address, *Arie!* kin relationship + name of addressee '(you are) esteemed, _____'.

The introductory greetings include enquiring about the recipient's health, his or her family's health, and giving a rundown on the health of the people in the community. When the Korafe ask their recipient to greet other people, they use the formulaic expression in 10.44.

- 10.44 *Se* *ning-are/ning-ore!*
 say.IMP(2S.AQ) hear.I-H.3S.CR/hear.I-H.3PL.CR
 'Tell him/them (the news) so he hears (it)/they hear (it)!'

The Korafe often punctuate paragraphs, especially at the onset of the letter, with a formulaic expression that includes the perception verb, *gi* 'see, look at':

- 10.45 *Yari budo gi!*¹⁶
 '(The letter) will go, receive (it) and look at (it)!'

This form may be shortened to *budo gi* 'getting (it), look at (it)!' or just *gi* 'look at (it)'. Trivial information is given first; the weighty important news is often saved until the last paragraph.

The concluding greetings are a shortened version of the initial greetings; they focus primarily on the recipient and his or her family.

The formulaic closing includes a short greeting in Korafe (I'm greeting you again.) or in English (e.g. 'Love,', 'Sincerely,') and the writer's signature.

An example of a Korafe letter is given in Appendix 6.

10.4 SCRIPTS

Meaning is communicated and interpreted within a context. We have already touched on syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic contexts within which Korafe discourses are framed and

¹⁶ The letter writer may replace the singular command form *gi* with the stentorian form *giyo* or the plural command form *givu*.

the discourse rules that apply. This section focuses on scripts¹⁷ and the role they play in the cognitive organisation of meaning.

As part of their theory that human “memory is organised around personal experiences (episodes) rather than around abstract semantic categories” (p.17), Schank and Abelson (1977:11, 17-18, 36-45) posit the concept of scripts. In their view, a script is “a predetermined, stereotyped sequence of actions that defines a well-known situation” (p.41). It covers several similar episodes and can be economically stored in the memory. The script is a convenient tool, like a template in a computer program, that can be manipulated to suit the speaker’s purposes. Scripts are conceptual constructs that get instantiated in the stories speakers tell and authors write.

Schank and Abelson appear to extend their definition of ‘script’ beyond a mental construct to discourse structure rules which specify the things to be said and the order in which they must be said. They view scripts as rule-ordered causal chains in which each new action must be completed satisfactorily before the next action in the sequence. They maintain that scripts are composed of “slots and requirements about what can fill the slots. The structure is an interconnected whole and what is in one slot affects what can be in another...Scripts allow for new references to objects within them just as if these objects had been previously mentioned; objects within a script may take ‘the’ without explicit introduction because the script itself has already implicitly introduced them...A script must be written from one particular role’s point of view”. It is probably more accurate to associate discourse structure rules with what Schank and Abelson call ‘script application’.¹⁸

The information in this section is garnered from linguistic representations of scripts (or script applications) in Korafe. Schank’s and Abelson’s outline of the components associated with scripts is utilised to discuss what appear to be some of the Korafe scripts. In addition to the event sequence that is the backbone of the script, the roles the actors assume, props, preconditions, and results are also associated with the script. Mechanisms must also exist for invoking a script (termed ‘headers’) and for recovering steps left out in the particular account (termed ‘script appliers’).

For example, a restaurant script can be activated by mentioning a header such as the word ‘restaurant’ and a precondition header such as ‘Susie was hungry’. Roles associated with a restaurant script include the waiter, the cook, the patron, the cashier, and the owner.

¹⁷ The term ‘frame’ is often used instead of the term ‘script’. Taylor (1989:89) uses Beaugrande and Dressler’s ideas to describe frames: “frames constitute ‘global patterns’ of ‘common sense knowledge about some central concept’, such that the lexical item denoting the concept typically evokes the whole frame”. He differentiates frames from scripts, stating that frames are “static configurations of knowledge”, but scripts are “more dynamic”, “associated with ‘basic level events’, such as ‘do the washing’ or ‘visit the doctor’”. Scripts involve “temporal sequencing and causal relations which link events and states”. Taylor’s differentiation of ‘frame’ and ‘script’ is not clearly maintained by others. This section focuses on ‘scripts’, following Schank’s and Abelson’s definition, which basically coincides with Taylor’s event sequence conceptualisation of ‘scripts’.

¹⁸ Schank and Abelson used a computer program called SAM (‘Script Applier Mechanism’), which was built at Yale. It appears to contain the elements that constitute discourse structure rules.

Props include tables and chairs, the menu, food, the check, and money. Preconditions on the instantiation of a restaurant script include the patron having money and the restaurant being open for business. Among the possible results are the following: the patron has less money and the owner has more.

Although the speech community recognises a basic sequence of events as delineating the conventional script, the speaker is free to deviate from the script and to select the events he or she wishes to focus on. Props and roles belong to the script and can be focused on or avoided at will. The actual participants performing the roles and other circumstantial entities, however, shift from context to context. The addressee, with his or her internal knowledge of the script, should be able to fill in the details skipped and also to recognise the idiosyncrasies and the deviations of any particular rendering of the script. The narrator is also free to have two or more scripts active at once, but this may interfere with the addressee's processing of the information.

Schank and Abelson (1977:61-66) distinguish three basic types of scripts, labelling them: (1) situational, (2) personal, and (3) instrumental. In **situational scripts**, the situation is specific, the actors have interlocking roles, and they share an understanding of the correct sequence of events. **Personal scripts** reflect stereotypical roles people find themselves in, such as the 'jilted lover', the 'village drunk', the 'good Samaritan', the 'beggar' or the 'swindled businessman'. Unlike situational scripts, the participant in personal scripts may not be aware of his or her role. **Instrumental scripts** prescribe a sequence of actions, as do situational scripts. However, instrumental scripts have only one participant or set of participants, every event is obligatory, and the order of events is more rigid.

Script types may also be subdivided into script tracks. For instance, the RESTAURANT situational script in Western culture might be subdivided into the FAST FOOD track, the COFFEE SHOP track, and the FANCY HOTEL BALLROOM-DINING ROOM track.

10.4.1 CHARACTERISING KORAFE SCRIPTS

A number of the script types that the Korafe have in their cultural repertoire are instantiated in texts that they have told or written. A partial list of labels for these types, with some examples, is provided below.

Some Korafe **situational script** types: feasts, trading trips, fishing trip to the mouth of the Musa River, football matches, mortuary rituals including divination inquests, making gardens, warfare, holding a community planning meeting, various types of hunting trips, spear fishing with lanterns at night, dancing, and courting customs.

The feast script is divided into two basic tracks: *kirumo* 'exchange feasts' and *gumema* 'extended family dinner get-together'. The *kirumo* has several tracks: *vasai* 'trading partner clan' feasts, *evetu fitari* 'marriage' feasts, feasts to give a child his or her first clothes and the special necklace, *vujari* 'coming of age' feast, and the feasts connected with death (coming-out-of-the-house feast, and the official end-of-mourning feast). Most *gumema* family get-together dinners have the same format, but the *gumema* accompanying a woman's labour and baby's birth is distinctive, warranting its own track. Appendix 2

includes several tokens of situational scripts (e.g. brothers-in-law processing sago, sister reviving her brother). Some scripts can be either situational or instrumental scripts.

Instrumental scripts detail procedures. Korafe instrumental scripts usually have one actor marked only by first/third person plural subject marking on the verbs. Common Korafe instrumental scripts include: making shell jewelry, sago processing, weaving fishnets, butchering a pig, making fish spears, producing lime, preparation and cooking of starchy vegetables, making pandanus mats, producing string bags, production of outrigger canoes, building houses, preparing feather headdress for dancing. Instrumental scripts may focus on the production of an instrument, as example 10.46 illustrates.

- 10.46 *Bere ã orara ari=mo, ika berebere ava*
 large.shield and small.shield make.DVB=T/F tree poinciana that.CT
je-do, bu fo-a keve-do ghu-seri.
 chop.I-SEQ.SS get.I come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS carve.I-SEQ.SS do.again.II-DP.3PL.FN
 ‘To make large and small shields, they would chop down a poinciana tree, bring it
 and carve it.’

Example 10.47 illustrates an instrumental script that explains the use of two instruments.

- 10.47 *Misi... ã gandigha=mo...*
 pineapple.club and disc.club=T/F
 ‘Regarding pineapple clubs...and disc clubs...

Aimi afe-do
 that.CEFF.T/F throw.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘They would throw them and

je base-do ghu-seri.
 chop.I bore.in.I-SEQ.SS do.again.II-DP.3PL.FN
 gash open (enemies’ heads).’

The Korafe have stereotypical expectations of certain roles and how they are to be performed by the people who assume them. Among these **personal scripts** are: *kotofuko* ‘the leader’, *aya afa* ‘parents’, *imboti atovo* ‘mother-in-law and father-in-law’, *aki koro* ‘older sister and older brother, the socialisers of their siblings’, garden magicians, *roriri kukumboro* ‘widows and widowers’, and *kae jighari embo* ‘sorcerers’. Situational scripts often include a stock character whose role is ‘the informer.’ This character is either a young girl who accompanies her mother to another village or a young boy who is sick or covered with sores and consequently stays home from the hunt. Upon his or her father’s arrival home, this child insists that he carry him or her into the bush for a ‘pit stop’ and then informs him of his wife’s illicit sexual behaviour.

Korafe headers invoking a script are usually formulaic phrases. They have three possible structures: (1) nominal + verb, (2) verb + verb (having the same form or stem + SS medial) or (3) noun (+ noun). Verbs in these units can have the form of deverbalised nominals, verb stems or medial verbs. Examples of the first type include: *oka bambari/bambudo* ‘catching fish’, *ambe dari/dedo* ‘processing sago’, *vare govari/govedo* ‘plant garden’, *aja jigharil/jighido* ‘local village women’s announcement of a new bride’s arrival’, *kambo*

itarilitido ‘housebuilding’, and *bayau itari/itido* ‘food preparation’. Examples of the second type are: *divu fuse* ‘celebrate (lit. sing/dance blow)’, *dimbudo barido* ‘catching (fish) (lit. dipping and snaring (with nets))’, *jedo govedoljari govare* ‘make (garden) (lit. chopping planting)/making (garden) (lit. chopping planting)’, *sari ningari* ‘jurisdiction (lit. saying hearing)’. The third type includes such labels as *kirumo* ‘feast’, *aya afa* ‘parents (lit. mother father)’, *isoro tataya* ‘warfare’, and *embo boka* ‘clothes (lit. lavalava loincloth)’.

SVCs can compress a series of scripts into one unit, using headers. The following example comes from a written text in which the focus is on the leader’s role in convening and preparing for the feast. Two preparatory activities (taro cake production and firmly tethering domesticated pigs so they are readily available) are relegated to headers in the underlined SVC.

- 10.48 *Kirumo tuturo+e-do, isia+bondo dari-do,*
 feast begin+do.I-SEQ.SS taro+display.latticework anchor.I-SEQ.SS
fafara fofonghe fuka sandi ningoningo+e-do...
 sago.cake mould.I pig catch tether+do.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘They would begin the feast, set up the taro display framework firmly, catch
 pigs, and tether them...’

Both headers—*fafara fofonghe* ‘(they) moulded sago cakes’ and *fuka sandi ningoningo edo* ‘they caught pigs and tethered them’—subsume other processes, which cultural insiders can readily list.

SRCs can contain the entire sequence of salient actions in a script. In example 10.49, the header clause *egi fuka eregarua* ‘they would be spearing wallabies and pigs’ invokes the Korafe game hunting script.

- 10.49 *Avori ne y-ama, egi+fuka ere-gar-ua*
 all.right 3PL go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS.T/F wallaby+pig IPF-spear.II-SEQ.IR.SS
 ‘All right, they would go, they would spear wild game (wallaby+pig),
bu-do y-ama,
 get.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS.T/F
 get it and go, and
avaraka=da kusia+e mindi dadabe-do,
 fire=LOC roast.illicitly+do.I eat.I finish.I-SEQ.SS
 roast the game illicitly over the fire and totally consume (it), and
gegenembo amo nenda gika+futo
 men.RED that.T/F 3PL.GEN pig.spear+pig.net
 those men (would shoulder just) their spears and nets
ava nembo fumbu-do fo-ama
 that.CT only shoulder.I-SEQ.SS come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS.T/F
 they would shoulder just (those) and come

nati=da buvu-do ghe-teri.
 village=LOC arrive.I-SEQ.SS do.again.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 and arrive back in the village.'

The salient events or the slots of this hunting script are realised by medial verbs on the main event-line: (*yama*) – *eregarua* – *budo* (*yama*) – *kusia e* – *mind*i [*dadabedo*] – *fumbudo* (*foama*) – *buvudo*. The motion verbs¹⁹ detailing the movement from the site of the hunt to the cooking site and from the cooking site to the 'homefront' are placed in parentheses, because they routinely mark movement of characters from one place to another in all scripts where they occur.

The participants are the men (*gegenembo*) and the animals *egi fuka* 'wallabies and pigs'. The instruments *avaraka* 'fire' and *gika futo* 'spears and pig nets' are closely linked with the verbal predicates in the clauses they occur in.

In 10.49 the narrator omits many of the events in the conventional script for hunting pigs and wallabies, such as various steps the hunters used in killing the animals. Although wallabies are one of the quarries, the author makes no mention of the hunters setting fire (*dunge*) to the kunai field grass. He does mention that the hunters are using a pig net (*futo*), but he skips the whole process of setting up and using the pig net.

In addition to omitting events, the author departs from the conventional script, using two separate mechanisms. First, he re-orders the sequence of events, so that the consumption of the game precedes the men's return home. The conventional hunting script prescribes that the events encoding bringing the game home (*fumbudo foama* – *natida buvudo* 'taking the game – arriving at home') precede the cooking and eating events (*boredo* – *ojedo* – *ingedo/itido* – *mindido* 'singeing hair – butchering – roasting/boiling – eating'). Secondly, he substitutes the lexical item, *kusia edo* 'illicitly roast' for *ingedo* 'roast'. He modifies *gika futo* 'spears and pig nets' with *ava nembo* 'only those', giving it contrastive focus. These two mechanisms produce an unexpected twist in the script.

When a script does follow the prescribed routine, the structure consists of a string of verbs sprinkled with just enough nouns to invoke the script and identify the main participants. The following example gives the sago processing segment of the story of *Jaruga Roro*.

¹⁹ Pawley (1987:346) notes that the Kalam, living in the Schrader Range of Madang Province, utilise an event sequence for reporting a deliberate action. The central action component cannot stand alone as a well-formed independent chunk of discourse. Instead, it occurs within the following schema:

1	2	3	4
MOVEMENT TO SCENE OF FIRST ACTION	ACTION	MOVEMENT FROM SCENE OF 2 TO PRESENT OR FINAL SCENE	ACTION(S) AT PRESENT OR FINAL SCENE

Events encoding motion (go or come) are regular slots in situational scripts and in many instrumental scripts; they occur occasionally in personal scripts. The use of *fu* 'come' and *i* 'go' in marking deictic centres is discussed in §11.2.2.

- 10.50 *A-era, je-tero dur-iri*
 go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3PL.SS fell.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS fall.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 'They went, cut down a sago tree, and
nengae nunambo=ghae gafuge-do tika
 3D 3s.brother.in.law=COM.D cut.I-SEQ.SS dibble.stick
 together with his brother-in-law they cut a dibble stick and
bu-do feghe-tero fase-tira.
 get.I-SEQ.SS husk-SEQ.R.3PL.DS lie.down-TP.3S.FN
 took it, peeled back the the bark from the trunk.
E-tiri, kaira bu-do de fati
 do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS sago.scrapers get.I-SEQ.SS hit press
 The sago lay (there), and he got a sago scraper and hit and pressed down
 on (the sago) and
do-do... Jaruga+Roro a-ira
 say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS Jaruga+Roro go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3PL.SS
 they left it...Jaruga Roro went and
gitofu=da usu ava viti-do usisi
 enemy=GEN coconut that.CT ascend.I-SEQ.SS porous.bark
 climbed the enemies' coconut tree, and a coconut branch strainer
gafe-do... (buvu-do) nengae ambe fos-edo
 cut.I-SEQ.SS arrive.I-SEQ.SS 3D sago squeeze-SEQ.SS
 he cut down...and (Jaruga Roro's spirit arrived back with his brother-in-law)
 and the two of them processed the sago and
jigh-ero dadabe-tira.
 hold.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS finish.I-TP.3S.FN
 kneaded (it) until it was finished.
E-tiri, nengae bore-do digh-eri.
 do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3D roast.I-SEQ.SS lash.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 After that, they roasted and tied up the sago (in bundles).'

In this instance of sago processing, nineteen verbs track the expected sequence of events, and nine NPs occur, only five of which indicate props in the script. In contrast, when the sago processing procedure is detailed in an instrumental script (Appendix 3), sixty distinct verbs delineate the process carried out in the bush. The procedure lists 23 props (15 instrument NPs and 8 other prop NPs) as compared with five in the situational script (two instrument NPs and three other prop NPs). The situational script has two participants specifically referred to in four NPs, but the instrumental script signals a generic first person plural subject, marked only on the finite verbs.

When the situational script deviates from the expected script, the novel variations effecting the non-stereotypic events are specified, and one finds more NPs. The NPs contextualise the script, orienting it to the specific framework of the discourse text. In example 10.51, which is the segment of *Jaruga Roro* that intervenes between the initial

sago pounding and working the sago in a trough, there are 18 NPs/PPs with 24 verbs (excluding the head of tail-head links and the purpose construction).

- 10.51 ...*Jaruga+Roro a-ira gitofu=da usu*
Jaruga+Roro go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS enemy=GEN coconut
viti-do usisi gafe-do usu
ascend.I-SEQ.SS coconut.inner.bark.strainer cut.I-SEQ.SS coconut
beká etodaba ava tosembe-do, eni dika=i gambu-do,
true three that.CT pluck.I-SEQ.SS one teeth=CEFF bite.I-SEQ.SS
etoto ungo=i bu-do vose+oj-ira
two hand=CEFF get.I-SEQ.SS descend.I+come.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS
soro=da kosasaghe-do enda=da du-do
middle=LOC fumble.I-SEQ.SS ground=LOC fall.I-SEQ.SS
dukughe-tira. E-tiri, gitofu ningi-do
make.noise.I-TP.3S.FN do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS enemy hear.I-SEQ.SS
se-teri, "Namonde=da usu mave
say.I-TP.3PL.AQ 1PL.INC=LOC coconut who
ere-ifi?" se buvu usu
IPF-knock.down.II-PRES.3S.AQ talk.I approach.I coconut
susu=da kosege-do de-tero amb-iri
base=LOC block-SEQ.SS hit.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS die.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
bu-do aera, mind-ari+dae.
get.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR.TP.3PL.FN eat.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS+PUR
 '...Jaruga Roro went and climbed the enemies' coconut tree, cut down a coconut branch strainer, he plucked three actual coconuts, he bit one with (his) teeth, and he held two in (his) hand, and he came down, he fumbled midway, and he fell to the earth and made a big noise. When he did that, their enemies hearing it said, "Who is knocking down our coconuts?" Saying (that), they approached and surrounded the base of the coconut tree, hit and Killed Jaruga Roro, and took him off to eat him.'
- 10.52 *E-tero, nunda dangio idevi+ igi=imi*
do.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS 3S.GEN soul heliconia.tree+ leaf=CEFF.T/F
foiya ombu-do a-ira, nunambo=kena
head.covering put.on.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS 3S.brother.in.law=ALOC
buvu-do...
approach.I-SEQ.SS
 'They did that, and his shadow (spirit) got a heliconia leaf for his head covering, went and approached his brother-in-law...'

In this segment, the coconut climbing script is alluded to by the header *usu vitido*, but this version is idiosyncratic, in that the actor carries the coconuts down. In the usual script, he knocks (*imbu*) them down. In the segment of this example which details another quite

predictable script, e.g. the murder of Jaruga Roro by his enemies (*detero...mindari dae*), there are no overt NPs with the four verbs, other than the deverbal *mindari* in a purpose construction.

As demonstrated by these excerpts from *Jaruga Roro*, a discourse can contain several scripts within it. Like non-stereotypical events, scripts with a more central role in the discourse are more fully outlined (principally by verbs) than those that are just alluded to. For instance, the dancing script in *Jaruga Roro* is not nearly as clearly detailed as the sago-making process. In fact, it is basically signalled by a header, the verb (*divu* 'dance': three instances of *didivero* and two instances of *didiverara*) which occurs five times (in sentences 12a, 13, 14, and 16). The dancing activity basically serves as a backdrop against which Jaruga Roro's sister moves from mountain range to mountain range, singing her spirit song.

10.4.2 DISCOURSE STRUCTURE RULES FOR THREE INSTRUMENTAL SCRIPTS IN KORAFE

Discourse structure rules for three instrumental²⁰ scripts in Korafe have been synthesised from several accounts of the same script. The general headers, typical participants, object props and instrument props, and event slots are given below. In the event slots, the stem form of the verb is given. Parentheses () are placed around objects or locations, etc. that normally accompany the verb and brackets [] around movements. When a switch of subject is necessary, the verb is marked DS.

Discourse structure rules for script one

Headers: *jughu de* 'sweep under house', *nasara tafono e* 'act with broom and dustpan'

participants: *evevetu* 'women'

props-instruments: *nasara* 'broom', *tafono* 'bark dustpans', *gatega* 'large dustpan'

slots: (*nasara*) *bu* 'get' – *vose* 'descend' – *jughu de/nasara tafono e* 'sweep grounds around house' – *dorege* 'sweep in pile together' – (*tafono*) *bu* 'get' – *dimbu* 'dip up (rubbish in pile)' – (*gategada*) *vendi* 'put inside' – *bu* 'get' – [*ya*] 'go' – *fuge* 'throw (usually at base of tree)' [*foa*] 'come'

(Starting at (*tafono*) *bu* 'get', the sequence may be repeated several times.)

Discourse structure rules for script two

Headers: *voto(i) barari/bari* or *dimbu bari/dimbari barari* 'seine net fishing' or 'dipping and snaring (with nets)'

²⁰ Instrumental scripts were chosen, because it is easier for a cultural outsider to obtain a more complete list of the action slots from instrumental scripts than from situational or personal scripts. Some event components that belong to the Korafe conventional script may be inadvertently omitted, because of idiosyncratic source texts, which only list the event slots the narrators regarded as salient to their account.

participants: *gegenembo* ‘men’, *oka* ‘(reef) fish’²¹

props: *oka* ‘(reef) fish’, *imanga* ‘derris root’

props-instruments: *voto* (*beká* – *ghaveesi*) ‘(true) seine fish net (medium mesh net)’, *saghi/auri* ‘traditional fish spear, spear with metal prongs’, *kasoko* ‘dip net’, *ghaka* ‘canoe’, *ghanda* ‘paddle’

preconditions: mend nets (*voto dimbu*)

go dig derris root (*ya imanga ghambu*)

soak derris root overnight in swamp (*savada fati*-DS-*iri*)

(These activities immediately precede net fishing: [*ya*] ‘go’ (*imanga*) *bu* ‘get’ – [*foa*] ‘come’ (*voto*, *kasoko*, *auri*) *fumbu* ‘(nets, dipnets, spears) carry’ [*vosiya*] ‘go down’ – (*ghaka*) *jumbu* ‘pull (canoes)’ – *vose* ‘descend (into canoe)’ – *dave/gembu* ‘paddle/pole (canoe)’ – (*sekarada*) *buvu* ‘arrive (at coral heads)’.)

slots: (*voto*) *fuge* ‘throw (nets)’ – (*voto*) *bari* ‘arrange nets for snaring (leaving open side) – *divu gugugughe/kausi divuljoghelragho e* ‘splash the water on the open side (to scare fish into net)’ – (*voto*) *gaje* ‘close nets’ – (*voto*) *joká ghe foka ghe* *jimbe* ‘surround an area with nets having an inner and outer circle of nets’ – (*imanga*) *bete* ‘pulverise (derris root)’ – *bu* ‘get’ *vose* ‘(some of the men) go down (into water) [others stay on canoe]’ – (*sekarada*) *sire*-DS ‘slip derris root into coral head crack)’ (*oka votoda*) *ombu* ‘(fish) get caught in net’ or (*oka*) *ambu* ‘(fish) are stunned’ and *feghe*-DS ‘float’ – (*kasokoi*) *dimbu* ‘dip up (with dip net)’ or (*saghiil/aurii*) *gae* ‘spear’ or (*ungoi*) *bu* ‘get (with hand)’ – (*ghajughuda*) *fendi* ‘put (fish in bottom of boat)’ – (*voto*) *timbu* ‘pull (nets)’ – (*faforoda*) *fiti* ‘place (on canoe platform)’

(Other events which also are part of many of the fishing stories include: (*ghaka*) *ejel/dave* ‘paddle (canoe)’ – [*ya*] ‘go’ – *buvu* ‘arrive’ – (*fafoda ghaka*) *dari* ‘moor canoe’ – *vitiya* [‘go up’] – *soro e*-DS ‘share out’ – *inono e*-DS ‘making sufficient portion for each one’ *iti/ingi* ‘cook/roast’ – *mindí* ‘eat’.)

Discourse structure rules for script three

Headers: *vare govel/govari* ‘plant/planting a garden’, *jedo govedo* ‘chopping and planting’

participants: *evetu genembo*, *sasingu* ‘men and women, children’

props: *veka* ‘seeds’

props-instruments: *oto* ‘axe’, *ghojaba/kaiya* ‘bush knife/modern steel machete’ (*tika* ‘dibble stick’ was used in the past; spades are used nowadays as well.)

²¹ Some fish put up a fight; others like sharks and sawfish tear nets. These are participants rather than just objects in the net fishing script.

slots: [ya] ‘go’ – (*enda*) *andago e* ‘clear away (underbrush)’ – [*fua*] ‘come (home)’ – [ya] ‘go’ (on another day) – (*enda/ika*) *je*-DS ‘chop down (trees)’ – *fase* ‘lie’ – (*iji*) *avi*-DS ‘sun dries’ – [ya] ‘go’ – *dunge* ‘set fire to (it)’ – [*foa*]²² ‘come (home)’ – [ya] ‘go’ – *dive/gafe* ‘saw up/cut up burnt rubbish’ – [*foa*] ‘come (home)’ – [ya] ‘go’ – *ghambu* ‘dig’ – [*foa*] ‘come (home)’ – [ya] ‘go’ (*veka*) *bu* ‘get’ – [*foa*] ‘come (home)’ – (*veka*) *bu* ‘get (seeds, seedlings)’ [ya] ‘go’ *gove* ‘plant’ – [*foa*] ‘come (home)’ *iri*-DS ‘remain’ – *viti beká+e* ‘(plants) grow and become ripe’

(The Korafe sometimes associate this script with scripts for doing garden magic (pouring a potion with leaves and barks over the seeds and seedlings before planting), making fences, making pits and traps to catch marauding pigs, and weeding and harvesting.)

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The motion verbs are not used at every juncture where it is possible to include them. In the most detailed narrative about making a garden, *Emo, namane aya afade vare govedo, furu didighuseri*. ‘This (story is about) Mom, Dad, and me, we planted a garden (and) tied a fence’, the writer included the motion away from the village, represented as [*era*] ‘we went’ here, but did not mention motion toward the village [*fera*] ‘we came (home)’.

CHAPTER 11

COHESION, PROMINENCE AND DOMINANCE IN KORAFE NARRATIVE DISCOURSES

In discussing relationships that underlie discourse, Grimes (1975) distinguishes three sets: (1) the cognitive and referential relationships that comprise content organisation,¹ (2) cohesion relationships, “which relate what is being said at the moment to what has been said” (p.112), and (3) staging relationships, “which indicate the speaker’s perspective on what is being said” (p.113).

In Chapter 10, the focus was on the content organisation, in particular the organisational strategies (chaining and thematic), the discourse rules and the information packaging used in five types of Korafe discourses. In this chapter, we will examine cohesion and staging relationships in Korafe narratives.

Cohesion has to do with the establishment of links between units expressing significant information in the discourse, such as themes, referents, and events. Cohesion is progressively established by devices that maintain continuity. Section 11.1 outlines some significant signals of continuity and discontinuity in Korafe narrative discourses.

In constructing discourse, speakers commonly have in mind one or more of the following questions: Who’s important? Who’s in charge? What happened? When did it happen? Where did it happen? Who did it? Why did it happen? Who will correct it? In formulating discourse, they do more than keep track of participants, the actions they perform, and the states they find themselves in. They impose their perspective on the account, assigning relative prominence to participants and topics and making other thematic or staging decisions. Section 11.2 examines several of the devices used to register the relative level of centrality and control attributed to each participant.

The discussion in this chapter is drawn from a corpus of over 50 narrative texts.

¹ Grimes (1975:11) defines content organisation as the “cognitive or referential structure...the semantic organization or meaning structure”. The hierarchical side of content organisation includes lexical relationships, semantic role structure of propositions, rhetorical relationships between propositions, and how propositions group together to form larger complexes. There is also a side of content organisation that includes systems of reference.

11.1 CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY IN NARRATIVES

This section treats the way the Korafe encode the components of event integration in narratives. According to Givón (1990a:827), the components of event integration are:

- (a) temporal continuity
- (b) location continuity
- (c) action continuity
- (d) referent continuity (called topics/participants continuity in (Givón, ed. 1983:7)).

11.1.1 TEMPORAL CONTINUITY/DISCONTINUITY

Locations in time as well as shifts in time are signalled by:

- (1) temporal NPs and PPs (e.g. *giti* 'first' and *anakora* 'long ago, already'),
- (2) temporal conjunctions (e.g. *ainda amboda* 'after that' and *ainghae dabade* 'at the very same time as'),
- (3) medial and final verbs and
- (4) temporal clausal expressions (e.g. *ravara* 'they slept (overnight period)', *irara* 'they stayed (in the same place for a period of time during the day)', *deingherara* 'they moved around (various places during the day)' *sifo atetiri* 'day dawned and', *ungobu etiri* 'it became late afternoon' and *tumba jiriri* 'night fell').

These temporal setting devices are used to indicate the onset of episodes. Some temporal change points marking episodes in *Bijo Gharube da Geka* (Appendix 2) are indicated by the following NPs and clausal expressions (sentence numbers are provided in parentheses): (7a) *Avori sifo eni...* 'All right one day...', (11) *Avori sifo eni...* 'All right one day...', (17a) *ravara sifo atetiri* 'they slept and day dawned and' and (20) *Edo oroko mo...* 'And today at this time...'

11.1.2 LOCATION CONTINUITY/DISCONTINUITY

The Korafe utilise three types of discourse settings to locate speech-act participants, discourse-internal participants and discourse events. These are: (1) an epi-setting, (2) a primary setting, and (3) temporary settings.

The *epi-setting* for the discourse is the place where the narrator and/or the audience are situated. The epi-setting is found only in the introduction and conclusion of the narrative.

The *primary setting* is the main setting for the participants, usually the initial setting in which they are introduced.

Temporary settings are set up for episodes. Temporary settings are established by the verb *buvu* 'arrive' and terminated by the verb *do* 'leave'. A form of the motion verb *i* 'go' encodes each movement away from the deictic centre of the setting, and a form of the motion verb *fu* 'come' each movement toward the deictic centre.

A change in episode which does not precipitate a change in venue is often indicated by the occurrence of the stative verb *iri* 'remain'.

A move to a new venue requires the appropriate motion verb in relationship to the current temporary setting or in relationship to the primary setting if the verb *do* 'leave' has closed the previous temporary setting.

The directional verbs (see §9.1.1.2.) are used as spatial orienters along with the motion verbs. Locations are indicated by postpositional phrases with the locative postpositions *da* 'at, in, to' and *kena* 'toward, at' (see §3.2.2.2).

11.1.3 AN EXAMPLE ILLUSTRATING DEVICES ENCODING TEMPORAL AND LOCATION CONTINUITY

Example 11.1, is a free translation from the legend *Yutara Gimasa* 'Red-Speckled-Parrotfish Young Man'. It illustrates the use of temporal and locative bridging devices in changing venues.

The main characters are the wife of the leader, her lover *Yutara Gimasa* 'Red-Speckled-Parrotfish Young Man', the boy *Gajarideka*, who plays the role of the tattletale, and the leader, who is the boy's father.

In this legend, the primary setting is the village, which is the home of the main participants. The only temporary setting in this segment of the legend is the beach in scene two. Other episodes are told in passing, and the primary setting is retained as the deictic centre of activity. The setting indexes are italicised, the English encoding of the movement or the temporal span is underlined, and the actually Korafe words are in bold print in brackets.

11.1

Scene 1/Time span: She continually did (that) [*use ireira*] and one day [*iji eni*]...*Movement of main character, the wife:* his newest wife descended [*vosedo*] and went down [*vos'aira*],

Scene 2: and she stood [*fete*²] on the beach...(and) *Yutara Gimasa* came up [*viti ojira*]. He came [*ojira*], and he put the fish in front of the woman. He put it, and the two of them had illicit sexual relations. Having done (that), he went down [*vos'iri*], *Movement of main character:* and the woman got moving and went up [*vit'aira*] to her house. She went [*aira*] and arrived [*buvudo*],

Scene 3: and she sat down and her husband and his group arrived [*buveri*]. *Time span:* She continually acted that way [*aminguse irara*]...*Movement of main characters, mother and boy:* and that woman went down [*vos'aira*] to do the same thing, and

² In this text, the writer use the verb *fete* 'stand' (instead of *buvu* 'stand') to signal the establishment of a temporary deictic centre for this episode.

seeing her go down [vos'iri], the boy, (named) *Gajarideka*, went down [vos'aira] after (her as a) spy...

Scene 4, new deictic centre not set up: The boy sees his mother and Yutara Gimasa copulate...*Movement of main characters, mother and boy:* and *Gajarideka* ran and came up [vit'ojira] first...and his mother came up [vit'ojira] afterwards. She arrived [buvira]...

Scene 5/Time span: And while they were remaining [irero], her husband arrived [buvira]. He arrived and came up [buvu vivitiri], and *Gajarideka* said, "Dad, let me defecate!" (The father) despaired and *Movement of main character, father:* he got down (from the veranda) [vosedo], and swearing he went down [vosedo], the two of them entered and went (into the bush) [ter'aera]...

Scene 6, new deictic centre not set up: The boy tells his father of his mother's illicit activities....*Movement of main character, father:* (the father) came and arrived [buvu ojira], he climbed up [viti] and

Scene 7: he sat down and chewed betelnut and said..."And you will dig up derris root tomorrow", he said, and they (the village men) departed (from the meeting) and *Overnight span:* they slept and when it dawned [ravara atetiri], *Movement:* they all entered (the bush) [teredo] and

Scene 8, new deictic centre not set up: they dug up derris root...*Movement:* and they went down [vos'eteri]. They went down [vos'edo]...and they arrived [buveri] there at the red speckled parrotfish's place.'

11.1.4 ACTION CONTINUITY/DISCONTINUITY: FOREGROUNDING AND BACKGROUNDING

"Action continuity pertains primarily to **temporal sequentiality** within [a] thematic paragraph, but also to **temporal adjacency** therein."

(Givón, ed. 1983:8)

In Korafe narratives, action continuity is maintained by sequences of clauses that iconically reflect the temporal order of the actions they represent.

Two hypotheses about action continuity are assumed in this discussion. The first is that: *structures maintaining action continuity convey foregrounded information*. Foregrounded information can be defined by two criteria:

- (1) Foregrounded events are the important, indispensable events of the narrative, those that constitute its 'skeleton' or 'backbone'. (Wallace 1982:208-209; Hopper 1979a:61, 1979b:216 and Hopper and Thompson 1980:280-281)
- (2) Foregrounded clauses are ordered in temporal sequence. According to Labov and Waletzky (1966) and Labov (1972:360), a *minimal narrative* is "a sequence of two clauses which are *temporally ordered*: that is, a change in their order will result in a change in the temporal sequence of the original semantic interpretation".

The second hypothesis is that: *chaining structures convey foregrounded information in Korafe*. SRCs are the primary indicators of temporal sequentiality and adjacency in Korafe.

Thus, medial verbs which constitute the majority of the bases of SRCs are the primary indicators of temporal sequentiality and adjacency in Korafe. Although the notion of foregrounding correlates with independent clause syntax in much of the literature (Hopper 1979b:216; Labov 1972:362) and medial verbs are syntactically dependent, SRCs and other chaining structures demonstrate many of the characteristics attributed to foregrounded narrative text.

- (1) The clauses in an SRC cannot be reversed in order without changing the semantic interpretation of the text.
- (2) Sequencing medial verbs manifest strict tense-iconic sequencing in which each represented event must be completed before the subsequent event commences.
- (3) Clause components of SRCs relate events that are indispensable to the narrative; the story would be incoherent if one only considered the independent final verbs to be foregrounded event-line.
- (4) Most of the subjects refer to human entities and are clearly identified.

Therefore, chaining structures (SVCs, SRCs, chaining paragraphs) are considered to encode foreground information.

Action is suspended in discourse in order to provide background information, "secondary information that is used to clarify the narrative." (Grimes 1975:56) In Korafe narratives, background information is often signalled by discrepancies in the switch-reference tracking system, which were outlined in Chapter 7. Some background information, called 'off-line background' in this thesis, encodes states and events that do not fit temporally within the event sequence encoded by the main event-line. However, there is another category of background that dovetails temporally with events belonging to the main event line.³ These are coded by a mismatch in subject referencing between marking and reference clauses in Korafe and are termed 'on-line background'. They encode physiological and emotional responses, temporal, meteorological and circumstantial settings, and the semi-coterminous activities of two sets of participants as seen from the viewpoint of one of the sets.

Texts express only one event at a time. Therefore, tracking the separate but simultaneous activities of the participants of two independent events poses problems for maintaining action continuity in SRCs. Acknowledging this problem, Hopper (1979b:39, 61) and others have suggested that an event marked as simultaneous with another event is a backgrounded event.

As mentioned above, when the participant's actions overlap, the Korafe often present one participant's activities as foregrounded events and the other's as on-line background, perceived from the foregrounded participant's viewpoint. (Examples can be found in §7.3.3.)

³ Thompson (1987:445-448) also notes that some temporally sequenced clauses in English should not be called foreground. She believes that those subordinate clauses that are "on the time line are doing other discourse work in addition to naming a temporally sequenced event", such as orienting another event back to the ongoing temporal line and interpreting events in their order of importance.

Alternatively, one can suspend tense-iconic ordering, detail both participants' distinct activities in juxtaposed sentences, and then resume temporal ordering by recapitulating all the preceding activities by a generic verb. The author chooses that option in example 11.2, interrupting temporal sequencing at the final verb, *vasai useri* 'we became rival trading partners'.

- 11.2 *Namane sarige-do vasai+u-seri.*
 1PL.EXC split.I-SEQ.SS enemy.trading.partners+do.II-DP.1PL.FN
 'We split up and became rival trading partners.'

Nanda group dabako a=mo,
 1S.GEN group one that=T/F
 'My group, that one,

namane usu digari doru-seri.
 1PL.EXC coconut many hit.II-DP.1PL.AQ
 we hit down lots of coconuts.'

Iyo=da group jo digari d-ae u-seri.
 Iyo=GEN group NEG many hit-not.do do.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 'Iyo's group didn't hit down lots of coconuts.'

Amingu-se, nanda kokomana beisiga+u-seri.
 that.do.II-SIM.SS 1S friends quarrel+do.II-DP.3PL.AQ
 'Acting that way, my friends quarrelled.'

Beisiga+e-tero, na...
 quarrel+do.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS 1S
 'They quarrelled, and I...'

The actions and failures of both groups are recapitulated by the generic verb *aminguse* 'acting that way', and the narrative is resumed.

In example 11.3, the partition of the participants at *nengae* 'the two of them' seems to be sufficient⁴ to interrupt action continuity. Like other Korafe examples of synchronised actions, the participants' individual activities are recorded and recapitulated by a generic verb.

- 11.3 ...*aminge se-do, nengae, Kokora nu kokora+aito iri,*
 that.do.I say.I-SEQ.SS 3D Kokora 3S rooster+step do.SIM.R.3S.DS
Boke nu boke+aito e-tira. Aminge-do nengae
 Cassowary 3S cassowary+step do.II-SIM.SS do.thus.I-SEQ.SS 3D

⁴ In the other cases, a final verb is used to signal suspension of the action. Other than this pronoun, this SRC maintains action continuity. The verb *kokora aito iri* 'while he was miming the rooster's movements' does allow for total overlap with the final verb *boke aito etira* 'he was miming the cassowary's movements'.

se-teri...

say.I-TP.3PL.AQ

‘...they spoke thus, and the two of them, Rooster was doing his rooster step, and Cassowary was doing his cassowary step, and they said...’

However, other instances of overlapping events are encoded by simultaneous medial verbs in SRCs where there is no disruption in action continuity. They have realis status and can not be moved anywhere else in the sequence without perturbing temporal iconicity, like sequencing medial verbs that are foregrounded clauses. Hopper (1979b:216) lists among the properties that distinguish backgrounded events those that encode simultaneity. However, simultaneous medial verbs appear to belong to the foregrounded event line in Korafe. Let us examine some examples.

Example 11.4 is an SRC with two simultaneous medial verb forms as well as several sequencing medial verb forms. Each medial verb encodes an event on the main event line, expressed by this SRC. None of these verbs can be interchanged in Korafe without altering the meaning, because the initial event that overlaps with following events precedes them as well. The overlap in these examples is not fully coterminous.

- 11.4 *Nu gos-iri, nuvu boka ujuge-do, munda*
 3S see.II-SIM.R.3S.DS 3S.husband loincloth undo.I-SEQ.SS 3S.GEN
kinesi bu fiti-do, uvu gut-iri,
 triangular.coconut.piece get.I put.I-SEQ.SS water bathe-SIM.R.3S.DS
evetu=á nu jovereghe oj-ira nunda
 woman=that 3S turn.around.I come.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS 3S.GEN
oso=dae se-tira...
 co-wife=BEN say.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘She was watching, and while she was watching, her husband undid his loincloth, got his triangular substitute penis and put it (down), and he bathed, and while he was bathing, that woman turned around and came and said to her co-wife...’

The translation of the simultaneous medial verb forms *gosiri* ‘she was watching, and while she was watching’ and *gutiri* ‘he was bathing and while he was bathing’ indicates that these verbs have two semantic functions: (1) to encode an event in the SRC sequence, and (2) to indicate that this event overlaps temporally with subsequent events. Both *gosiri* and *gutiri* signal events that have a definite initial point on the main event line. However, at the point where the next action begins, they overlap⁵ with that action. In the case of *gosiri*, it can be inferred that the co-wife’s observation of her husband’s actions overlaps with all the actions that are listed right up to and partially including his bathing. The temporal extent of her

⁵ For Labov and Waletzky (1966:25, 27), a narrative clause has a displacement range that does not extend past the actual location of some following clause and conversely does not extend past the actual location of the given preceding clause. Their displacement sets may in fact overlap, but the displacement set of *c* will not include *d* and vice versa if *c* and *d* are temporally altered. The simultaneous medial verb *gosiri* extends over 3 clauses, so it does not meet their criteria for a narrative clause.

husband's bathing (*gutiri*) is left open-ended. In example 11.5, the action conveyed by *fugutiri* 'she was throwing away, and while she was throwing away' has its place on the event line, commencing before the son's action, but also overlapping it. The temporal extent of *fugutiri* is not clearly indicated.

- 11.5 ...*noi nu sena fug-ari=dae ter+a-ira.*
 3S.mother 3S rubbish throw-DVB=BEN enter.I+go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN
Fugut-iri, nunda mandi ifá jore-tiri, fainghe
 throw.II-SIM.R.3S.DS 3S.GEN boy twig bend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS look.up.I
gi-do se-tira...
 see.I-SEQ.SS say.I-TP.3S.FN
 '...his mother went in (to the bush) to throw away rubbish. While she was
 throwing it, her boy bent a twig, and she looked up, saw him, and said...'

In so far as medial verbs expressing overlapping events indicate an event on the main event line, they can be treated as foregrounded. But they are backgrounded with respect to the subsequent event(s) with which they overlap.

Like the simultaneous verbs SS sequencing durative medial verbs are imperfective verbs, which also should encode backgrounded events if Hopper's list of features of background is used. Unlike other SS medial verbs, they are inflected not only for imperfective aspect, but also for absolute tense and person and number of subject. They have the same form as final dependent verbs have. (Paradigms for and a discussion of these forms appear in §2.5.1.) However, these verb forms expressing time spans appear to realise events that have the same foregrounded status on the event line as sequencing non-durative medial verbs.

Five verbs encode most instances of sequencing durative actions in Korafe SRCs: *iri* 'remain', *fu* 'come', *i* 'go', *avi* 'sleep' and *deinghe* 'walk'. They are used to introduce participants, to link discourse episodes together (this includes carrying the story line along over time segments in which nothing particularly salient happened). They are also used to indicate the participants' movement from one venue to another and to orient the addressee to the temporal and spatial settings in the discourse. Let us look at examples 11.6 and 11.7 to review some of these uses. In example 11.6, the writer moves (*fena* 'I came') his canoe to a new destination and moors it. The verb *irisena* 'I was remaining' covers an indefinite span of time in the story when nothing happened, the time between mooring his canoe and the moment when he noticed that fish were trapped in his net.

- 11.6 ...*na f-ena ogho dari-do iri-sena,*
 1S come.DUR-SEQ.PAST.1S.SS pole moor.I-SEQ.SS remain-SEQ.DP.1S.SS
oka omb-iri gi-do a=va b-ari=dae ere...
 fish get.caught.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS see.I-SEQ.SS tha=CT get.I-DVB=BEN arise.I
 '...I came and moored the pole anchoring the canoe, and I remained until I saw
 that fish got caught in the net, and I arose to get them...'

The verb *deinghe* 'walk' is used to refer generally to all the activities one engages in when away from the village. In example 11.7, it just marks the time the father was away from the village.

- 11.7 ...numamo deingh-er-ara ungobu e-tiri
 3S.father walk-IPF-SEQ.NP.3S.SS afternoon do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 oj-ira buv-iri...
 come.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS arrive.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 ‘...his father was out and about until it became late afternoon, he came and arrived...’

The functions of all five verbs in temporal and spatial orientation within discourses are discussed in §11.1.1 and §11.1.2.

When the SS sequencing durative medial paradigm occurs with verbs other than the five verbs discussed above, the verb is usually followed by a medial form of *e* ‘do’ (*edo*, *etiri*, etc.), which signals that the event span is terminated. In example 11.8, the verb *eregutara* ‘she was bathing’ indicates a significant main event, albeit a bit protracted in length. Its terminus is marked by *edo*.

- 11.8 ...sifo eni uvu gut-ari=dae evetako ai
 day one water wash-DVB=BEN old.woman that.CEFF
 ‘...one day, in order to bathe, that old woman
 vos+a-ira, nunda kosina+voru
 descend+go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS 3S.GEN false.skin+sheath
 went down, and her false skin,
 kosughe-do fiti vose-do
 remove.I-SEQ.SS put.I descend.I-SEQ.SS
 she removed, put it (down) and went down and
 uvu ere-gut-ara e-do viti
 water IPF-wash.I-SEQ.NP.3S.SS do.I-SEQ.SS ascend.I
 and was washing quite a while in the water, she came up
 fete-do kosina+voru bu fuge-tiri,
 stand.I-SEQ.SS false.skin+sheath get.I throw.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 stood, got the false skin and threw it, and
 uvu=da vose sive-do a-ira.
 water=LOC descend.I float.off.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN
 it went down into the water and floated off.’

As is clearly indicated when *edo* marks the terminus, these durative events are viewed perfectly, as a whole activity, “whose completion is a necessary prerequisite to a subsequent event” (Hopper 1979b:216).

Hopper (1979a:38) says that foregrounded events “carry the narrative forward”. Like sequencing non-durative medial verbs, sequencing durative and simultaneous medial verbs do carry the event line along or link events together, so that an unbroken string of events is

recorded. These forms reflect ambiguities in their form and function that make them less than perfect candidates for the foregrounded event line.⁶ However, they do not interrupt action continuity and cannot be reordered without altering meaning—characteristics which make me reluctant to relegate them to background. If foregrounded material are the events that constitute the ‘backbone’ of the story, could these forms perhaps be the cushioning cartilage between the vertebrae (event segments) of the backbone?

11.1.5 PARTICIPANT CONTINUITY/DISCONTINUITY

Major and minor participants⁷ and props are entities that are involved in the events and states encoded in tense-iconically ordered discourses and discourse segments.⁸ Either they perform an action or in some way facilitate its occurrence, or else they undergo it or the state being described. All these entities play a role in Korafe narratives, both non-fiction and legends.

Section 11.1 treats types of participants and props and the ways in which referential continuity is maintained and interrupted. Discourse devices identifying and reinvoking major and minor participants and props are illustrated in §11.2.

11.1.5.1 PROPS

Props are incidental items in the surrounding or scenery that come into the discourse. They are usually non-human, avolitional, inanimate entities, but Lowe (1981b:75) points out that they can be human if they don’t interact with the other participants, like Rosencrantz and Guildenstern in *Hamlet*.

In Korafe, they are commonly introduced in discourse as syntactic objects or oblique arguments with semantic role of instruments or locatives. Most props do not generally function as arguments in more than two or three clauses.

In 11.9 the pandanus tree laden with fruit is too tempting an object for the hero’s cousin, who sees it, climbs it and is trapped in it by the enemies.

11.9 *Buvu-do, nunda ghato jegha a=va fainghe*
arrive.I-SEQ.SS 3S.GEN cousin pandanus.fruit/tree that=CT bend.neck.back

⁶ Givón (1987:186, 1990a:840 and Givón, ed. 1983:23) suggests discourses utilising the clause-chaining strategy may not manifest the available definitions of foregrounding and backgrounding very neatly.

⁷ Lowe (1981b:74ff.) sketches the parameters that a study of discourse participants should include. They are: (1) how major and minor participants and props are distinguished from each other, and (2) the devices used to introduce participants in each of the roles they play and to maintain their identity throughout the pertinent sections of the discourse.

⁸ In customary discourses, participants are, for the most part, tracked by verb suffixation. If identified by NPs at all, the NPs used are generic labels like ‘the ancestors’.

g-ira.

see-TP.3S.FN

'They arrived (at the point), and his cousin looked up and saw the fruit (on the pandanus tree).'

In 11.10, the fire (*avaraka*) is a prop.

11.10 ...*avaraka* *use-tiri* *gamb-iri,* *Mandako+Gajaride*
fire blow.up.I-SEQ.SS bite.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS Boy+Full.of.Sores

ghonumbe-tiri *vose-tiri,* *avaraka=da*
dislocate.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS descend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS fire=LOC

fuge-tiri *vit-iri* *av-ira*
throw.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS ascend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS burn.I-TP.3S.FN
'...she blew on the fire until it got going, and she dislocated Mandako Gajaride, and he came down and she threw him on the fire, and he burned (to death) on the fire.'

Sometimes a prop is identified with a participant. In the legend about *Yodiyodi Mose*, the *sekara* 'coral head' that Yodiyodi Mose is living inside is a significant entity in the first half of the discourse. It is introduced in a locative PP and reinvoked twice as a syntactic object and once in a locative PP. Because it persists as object, intransitive subject, or in a locative PP for 16 clauses in the discourse, it might be considered to have a participant role. However, it never occurs as an overt NP when it has subject role. And it drops out of the legend when the major participant, Yodiyodi Mose, leaves it. Therefore, I consider it a prop.

An object or instrument that is given topical status or introduced as a subject has participant status. For instance, in *Usu da Kiki* 'The Origin of Coconuts', the coconut plays an important role. It is introduced as a subject and marked as topical by *ava* and *amo*, as example 11.11 illustrates.

11.11 *Ain=da+ambo=da,* *gagara ainda* *gomo=da usu* *a=va*
that=GEN+back=LOC girl that=GEN belly=LOC coconut that=CT
sirore-tira... *Usu* *a=mo* *viti-do* *fet+ir-iri*
be.born.I-TP.3S.FN coconut that=T/F ascend.I-SEQ.SS stand.I+remain-SIM.R.3S.DS
nengae g-eri.

3D see.I-TP.3PL.AQ

'After that, from the girl's gravesite where her belly was, there were coconuts that came into being. Those coconuts shot up and while they were standing there, the two of them (the girl's brothers) saw (them).'

11.1.5.2 MINOR PARTICIPANTS

Minor participants are usually volitional and animate entities that play a local role in a limited segment of the discourse. In most instances, they are identified by only one specific noun or NP that refers to them.

Instead of being identified discourse-initially in a clause with the stative verb *iri* ‘remain’, they are usually introduced in Korafe discourses by an NP with subject or object function in the clause detailing their initial activity. The pronoun *nu* may occasionally be used as a pronominal copy following an NP referencing a minor participant, but never by itself.

In the legend *Usu da Kiki* ‘The Origin of Coconuts’, the older sister plays a role in only seven clauses, being identified by NPs in three of the clauses. In *Bijo Gharube da Geka* (Appendix 1), the younger sister’s husband is a minor participant. He also is overtly identified by NPs only three times.

The role minor participants play is often stereotypical, like the ‘child covered with sores’ who plays the informer role. Another stereotypical role is the mother who facilitates transitions in the story. In *Guri Fono da Kiki* ‘The Legend of the Shell Necklace (with a set of) Pig Tusks’, the welcome the mother gives her son and his friend constitutes their transition to marriage. The conversation the mother in *Funoime* has with her son reveals his plan of action, standing at the transition between the mourning episode and his action.

Some very minor participants are identified only by subject agreement markers on verbs. The suffix translated ‘people’ in example 11.12 refers to an unspecified group marked as third person plural on the verb *ojero* ‘they came’.

- 11.12 *Fono+Gimasa* *baji-do...* *gagara* *Ghebu+Mose=da* *bino*
Fono+Lad *grow.I-SEQ.SS* *girl* *Ghebu+Maiden=GEN* *kudos*
si-do+oj-ero *ning-ira.*
 say.II-SEQ.SS+come.NDUR-SEQ.R.3PL.DS hear.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘Fono Gimasa grew up, and people were continually singing the girl Ghebu
 Mose’s praises and he heard (them).’

11.1.5.3 MAJOR PARTICIPANTS

*‘All the world’s a stage,
 And all the men and women merely players:
 They have their exits and their entrances;
 And one man in his time plays many parts...’*
 —Shakespeare ‘As You Like It’ (Act II, Scene vii)

Major participants are mostly volitional and animate entities that persist as core arguments over a significant chunk of the discourse. A few inanimate, non-volitional entities occasionally play a major role in a story, such as the coconuts in *Usu da Kiki* ‘The Origin of Coconuts’. Only major participants can play many parts in narratives and be identified⁹ by NPs reflecting their various roles. They are the only discourse entities that can

⁹ As Grimes (1975:45) points out, participant reference has to do with the entity in the real world or in the discourse world that is participating in the events in the discourse. Identification assigns the linguistic structures that overtly indicate this entity.

be identified as prominent core arguments by the unmarked or nominative personal pronoun form *nu* ‘he, she, it’ and its related forms, *nune* (contrastive focal actor) and *numoá* (contrastive focal undergoer).

Major participants enter narratives by NPs introducing them, at the point where they begin influencing the discourse. This is most often the beginning of the discourse, where they are introduced as the subject NP in a stative clause predicated by a form of *iri* ‘remain’, as is seen in example 11.13.

- 11.13 *Korafe tomanako=é. isambu Ghoró dighi-do ir-iari.*
 Korafe large=this all Ghoró tie.I-SEQ.SS remain-EP.3PL.AQ
 ‘The majority of these Korafe people had all settled at Ghoró and were living (there).’

Speech act participants are introduced by personal pronouns, as example 11.14 illustrates.

- 11.14 *Na iji eni, tumba ji-r-iri, na oka*
 1S day one night fall.I-EPEN-SEQ.R.3S.DS IS fish
ga-y-ari=dae se-do, Tilley+lamp dunge-do bu-do
 spear.I-EPEN-DVB=BEN say.I-SEQ.SS Tilley+lamp light.I-SEQ.SS get.I-SEQ
vose i-se...
 descend.I go.DUR-SIM.SS
 ‘I, one day, when night fell, saying that I would spear fish, I lit a Tilley lamp, took it, and while I was going down...’

Third person participants are initially identified by at least a noun, such as a kinship relationship term, a proper name, or a generic name, e.g. *jingabu* ‘snake’, *ribere* ‘flying fox’, or by a noun phrase. Most major participants are introduced as subject NPs in intransitive clauses, but they may be introduced in transitive clauses, as the girl and her friend are in example 11.15.

- 11.15 *Gagara nunda komana=ghae bangu bamb-ari=da kiki*
 girl 3S.GEN friend=COM.D shellfish get.I-DVB=GEN story
se-teri, tumba=ghae.
 say.I-TP.3PL.AQ night=COM.D
 ‘A girl and her friend were discussing going to collect shellfish, one night.’

In the same story, a single major participant may be referred to by diverse descriptive NPs. The principal participant in the legend *Kinesi* (11.16) is introduced as the object in the birth experience: *gagara ava* ‘that girl’.

- 11.16 *...evetuá gagara a=va fumb-ira.*
 woman.that girl that=CT deliver.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘...that woman delivered that (baby) girl.’

Her transition to the male sex is progressively indicated: *mandi da kaugo ava* ‘that one like a boy’, *nuvu* ‘their husband’ who married them as a female gets married (*vai edo* ‘make an alliance’), not as a man marries his wife (*fitido* ‘put’), and *genembo amo* ‘that man’ at the point he is given his male genitalia.

Another participant identified by changes in his physical state is *Jaruga Roro*. As a living participant, *Jaruga Roro* is identified by his relationships with other participants: *nombo* ‘brother-in-law’ *nunambo* ‘his brother-in-law’, and *nunda ruka* ‘her brother’. In his ghostly state, he is identified by the following NPs: *nunda dangio* ‘his shade’, *ambari genemboá* ‘that dead man’, and *tamo* ‘the body’.

The heroine in the legend *Jaruga Roro* (Appendix 2) is originally introduced as the wife of one of the two principal men in the story. From her relatively minor role as *noaro* ‘his wife’, she shifts her role to that of prominent and dominant participant, *evetu nunda ghasovuá* ‘the woman, that sister of his’, who rescues her brother (the other principal man) from the enemy and resuscitates him.

11.1.5.4 PARTICIPANT AND PROP CONTINUITY: IDENTIFYING AND REINVOKING REFERENTS

Once introduced by an NP, participants must be maintained by referential tracking devices as long as they play a role in the events encoded in both narrative and procedural discourses. Props occasionally persist¹⁰ as arguments in consecutive clauses following the clause in which they are introduced by an NP.

The Korafe utilise two basic syntactic coding devices to track participants and props that persist as syntactic arguments in narratives and other discourse segments using the chaining strategy: (1) subject agreement marking and anticipatory subject coreference marking in the switch-reference system, (2) NPs (nouns, noun phrases, personal pronouns) or lack of them (e.g. where there is NP ellipsis).

The following sections treat how to identify referents when NPs are ellipsed in clauses, using NP to avoid interference when three or more referents are involved, and the placement of NPs at significant junctures (TCCU onset or discourse segment such as orientation, crisis or reaction initially).

11.1.5.4.1 IDENTIFYING REFERENTS WHEN NPS ARE ELLIPSED

Referents in Korafe discourse can be correctly interpreted without being overtly signalled by an NP even though clauses in which they are not arguments intervene. A number of guidelines provide the tools for identifying the referents of ellipsed NP arguments when decoding reference in SRCs. These guidelines will be identified by the codes G-1, G-2, etc.

¹⁰ The term persistence is used by Givón (in Givón, ed. 1983:12-15) to refer to a method of indicating topic continuity in discourse by counting clauses. Persistence is measured in terms of the number of clauses that follow the clause being examined, in which the referent/topic “continues an uninterrupted presence as a semantic argument of the clause”. In Korafe, referents can be arguments in non-consecutive as well as consecutive clauses without being invoked by an NP.

The guidelines for tracking subject and object participants (discussed in §6.3) are basic to interpreting who is doing what when there are no overt NPs expounding the syntactic arguments in clauses.¹¹ These four syntactic tracking rules operative in SRCs are repeated below with formulas showing subject and object reference. The following notations are used: C_{1-ss} stands for clause 1 predicated by a SS medial verb; C_{1-ds} for clause 1 predicated by a DS medial verb, $S=i$ for the referent of the subject is i , $O=j$ for the referent of the object is j , $IO=j$ for the referent of the indirect object is j , etc.

G-1: **The SS subject guideline:** the initial subject, referenced by an NP in the first clause¹² in a series of clauses that have as predicates SS medial verbs, persists as syntactic subject throughout the series.

$$C_{1-ss}: S=i + C_{2-ss}: S=i + C_{3-ss}: S=i$$

G-2: **The SS object guideline:** the referent initially introduced in an object NP is understood as the object in all the transitive clauses in a series of clauses that have SS medial verbs as predicates until the next overt object NP is introduced.

$$C_{1-ss}: O=j + C_{2-ss}: O=j + C_{3-ss}: O=k + C_{4-ss}: O=k$$

(k must be invoked by an NP in C_3)

G-3: **The O→S guideline:** the object NP in a marking clause having a DS medial verb (usually sequencing) as its predicate is understood as the subject in the reference clause when no overt NPs are present in the reference clause.

$$C_{1-ds}: S=i, O=j + C_{2-ds}: S=j$$

or for transfer verbs:

$$C_{1-ds}: S=i, O=j, O=k + C_{2-ds}: S=j, O=k$$

¹¹ Roughly one third of the clauses in tense-iconically ordered discourses have no overt NP arguments. Over half of the clauses in many of these discourses do not have overt NPs representing their core arguments. Let us look at some examples. The following table gives the name of the text, the number of total clauses, the number of clauses with no overt NPs as core arguments, and the number of clauses that have no overt NPs. (The number of clauses with no overt NPs is part of the total number of clauses with no overt NP core arguments.)

<u>Name of text</u>	<u>total # clauses</u>	<u>no overt core NPs</u>	<u>no overt NPs</u>
Legends:			
<i>Jaruga Roro</i>	192	107	89
<i>Ribere</i>	70	34	27
Non-fiction narratives:			
<i>Tumbaghae</i>	85	52	32
<i>Oka Javo Gua</i>	29	12	7
Customary:			
<i>Ghaka Aghari</i>	48	27	20
<i>Avaraka Sirigari</i>	57	30	24

¹² If the initial clause in a series of SS medial verbs contains a perception verb (e.g. *gido* 'seeing', *ningido* 'hearing', *jaredo* 'despairing'), the initial NP follows that verb occurring as a thematic P_2 NP or as the subject NP of the next clause, marking the onset of the next TCCU.

G-4: **The S→O guideline:** the NP having subject role in an intransitive marking clause which has a DS medial verb as predicate is understood as the object of the reference clause, provided the reference clause is transitive and contains no overt NP object.

$C_{1-DS}(\text{intransitive}): S=j + C_{2-DS}: S=i, O=j$

Both props and participants are subject to these guidelines. Because props¹³ are most frequently introduced as objects, guideline G-2 is applied more often to them than to participants, which are commonly introduced as subjects.

A fifth guideline is necessary to decoding the reference of ellipsed arguments in chains of three or more DS verbs.

G-5: **The DS guideline:** in a series of three clauses all having DS verbs as predicates, the subject of a bare C_3 without NPs is interpreted as coreferential with the subject of C_1 . If C_3 is transitive, the object also is interpreted as coreferential with the object of the first clause.

This guideline builds on G-3 and usually has the following structure:

$C_{1-DS}: S=i, O=j, C_{2-DS}: S=j, C_{3-DS}: S=i, (O=j)$
(Clause 3 can be either transitive or intransitive.)

In accordance with G-3, the prop *sisoro* 'nipa palm leaves' in example 11.17 is interpreted to be the subject of the clause *vosetiri* 'it went down'. Even though the major participant *nuvu* 'her husband' is not an argument in the clause *vosetiri*, he persists as the subject of *siregedo* 'he launched', because *sisoro* is only a prop.

11.17 ...*nuvu* *sisoro* *do-tiri* *vose-tiri* *ghaka*
 3S.husband nipa.leaves leave.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS descend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS canoe
sirege-do...
 launch.I-SEQ.SS
'...her husband let the leaves settle down (on the canoe platform), launched
the canoe and...'

Even though the clause *vosetiri* in example 11.18 intervenes referencing Lucas' hand (*ungo*) as subject and *eretiri* references fishnet (*voto*) as subject, Lucas (without being reinvoked by an NP) is understood to be the subject of *budo jighiri* 'he got it and held' and *jingabu ava gido koko sedo fugetiri* 'he saw that snake, screamed and threw (it)'.

¹³ Dubois' (1987:823-827, 850) constraint on introducing new referents as A-role arguments generally holds for Korafe. However, Korafe narrative discourses tend to have about the same amount or a few more subject NPs functioning as A-role arguments than subject NPs having S-role. And its NPs having O-role function tend to be about double the number of A-role NPs.

In terms of the switch-reference tracking rules, participants tend to operate on an S/A pivot, alternating between being subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs. Props operate on an S/O pivot. They are introduced as O. When they persist as core arguments, they may continue as O as do *isia veka* and *kauva veka* in example 11.19 or become subjects of intransitive verbs, as *sisoro* in example 11.17.

- 11.18 *Lucas nu ungo sirege-tiri vose-tiri voto*
 Lucas 3S hand extend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS descend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS net
ruvi=da bu-do jigh-iri ere-tiri
 fold=LOC get.I-SEQ.SS hold.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS arise.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
jingabu a=va gi-do, koko+se-do fuge-tiri...
 snake that=CT see.I-SEQ.SS scream+say.I-SEQ.SS throw.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 'Lucas extended (his) hand down, and he got and held up the net at its corded
 end, and then he saw that snake, shrieked and threw (it)...'

G-5 can be applied using standardised clause sequences encoding completive aspect or abilitative mood in a structure that has C₂ as the clause predicated by the auxiliary verb.

C₁-DS: S=i, O=j + ambient C₂-DS: *dadabe* 'end'/inono+e 'be able, sufficient' + C₃-DS:
 S=i, (O=k)

In example 11.19, the subject of the sequence of events preceding the ambient clause marking completive aspect *dadabetiri* 'it finished and' is indicated on the verb *gafeteno* 'I cut and' as the first person singular. This same person is also marked on *ena goveteno* 'I went and planted and' as the subject.

- 11.19 ...*ena enda je-do gafe-teno*
 go.SEQ.PAST.1S.SS ground chop.I-SEQ.SS cut.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS
dadabe-tiri isia+veka kauva+veka bu-do
 finish.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS taro+seedling banana+seedling get.I-SEQ.SS
ena gove-teno...
 go.SEQ.PAST.1S.SS plant.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS
 '...I went, chopped (the trees) and cut (the bush) until it was finished, then
 I got taro and banana seedlings and went and planted (them)...'

These guidelines interact with each other and can be repeated many times over in a text as example 11.20 illustrates. G-1 operates over clauses c) and d). G-3 operates over clauses a) and b), clauses d) and e), clauses f) and g), and clauses h) and i). G-4 operates over clauses b) and c) and also h) and i). G-5 operates over clauses a), b) and c), clauses d), e) and f) and clauses f), g) and h).

- 11.20 ...*noaro nu...*
 3S.wife 3S
 '...well his wife she,
 a) *boguto ghonumbe-tiri*
 supporting.joist wrench.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 dislocated and wrenched supporting joist (from the house)
 b) *vose-tiri* c) *sare-do,*
 descend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS split.I-SEQ.SS fire
 and it came down, she split it, and

- d) *avaraka use-tiri* e) *gamb-iri*,
 fire kindle.I-SEQ.SS bite.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 kindled a fire, blowing until it caught fire,
- f) *Mandako+Gajaride ghonumbe-tiri*
 Boy+Full.of.Sores wrench.loose.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 and she wrenched Mandako Gajaride loose, and
- g) *vose-tiri*,
 descend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 he came down, and
- h) *avaraka=da fuge-tiri* i) *vit-iri...*
 fire=LOC throw.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS ascend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 she threw him up on the fire...'

As discussed in the introductory paragraphs of Chapter 7, and in §7.2, the switch-reference tracking system skips over off-line background information. Therefore, an intervening segment of background information does not affect ellipsis of arguments in any way.

With on-line background segments (see §7.3), if no overt subject NP occurs in the clause following the mismatch, the subject is interpreted as coreferential with the subject of C_1 , the original marking clause. Example 11.21 contains a mismatch between the marking clause predicated by the verb *fitido* 'having married' and having the subject *na* 'I' and the reference clause which has a third person plural referent *sasingu* as its referent and encodes an incidental circumstance. The clause *sasingu siroretero* 'children were born' is treated as 'on-line' background information. The subject *na* persists as subject of the following clauses: a) *arivo injibedo*, b) *oka bambari dae sedo*, c) *iseni* 'I kindled a palm torch and went to catch fish'.

- 11.21 *Na evetu fiti-do sasingu sirore-tero*
 1S woman put.I-SEQ.SS children be.born.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS
ainda+ambo=da, arivo injibe-do oka
 that.CEFF.LOC+back=LOC palm.torch kindle.I-SEQ.SS fish
bamb-ari=dae i-seni...
 get.I-DVB=BEN go.DUR-S.SS
 'I married a wife, children were born, and after that, I kindled a palm
 torch and went to catch fish...'

11.1.5.4.2 USING NPS TO AVOID INTERFERENCE WHEN THREE OR MORE MAJOR PARTICIPANTS ARE REFERENCED IN A DISCOURSE

The introduction of a third participant overloads the referential tracking capacity of the chaining system, and NPs must be utilised to disambiguate participant reference.

- G-6: When three participants or participant groups are interacting, the participant (group) with subject role must be referenced by an overt NP at the switch in reference or at the onset of the next TCCU.

In example 11.22, three different participants (or participant groups) are identified by nouns: *rikaka* ‘the bird’ (who is also identified as *angiaka* ‘the cockatoo’), *numamomane* ‘its fathers and uncles’, and *noi* ‘its mother’.

- 11.22 ...*rikaka* *sorara+e-do* *anumb+ir-iri* *numamo=mane* *kakati*
 bird.DIM cry+do.I-SEQ.SS sit+remain-SIM.R.3S.DS 3S.father=PL platform
 dighi-do *vit+a-era,* *noi* *b-eri.*
 tie.I-SEQ.SS ascend+go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3PL.SS 3S.mother get.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 Rur-ero, *angiaka* *se-tira...*
 get.II-SIM.R.3PL.DS cockatoo.DIM say.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘...the bird cried and while it stayed sitting, its fathers and uncles rigged up their
 platforms, climbed up and got its mother. While they were taking her, the cocky
 said...’

At each switch-reference juncture in example 11.23, a new NP identifies the referents of the core arguments, *orue* ‘egret’, *sasingu* ‘children’ and *igho* ‘turtle’.

- 11.23 *Orue* *didiv-iri,* *sasingu* *numoá* *gos-ero,* *igho*
 egret dance/sing.II-SIM.R.3S.DS children 3S.T/F.that see.II-SIM.R.3PL.DS turtle
 gisigisighu-se *a-ira* *karaje=da* *vose-tira.*
 inch.II-SIM.SS go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS salt.water=LOC descend.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘The egret was singing and dancing, and while the children were watching it, the
 turtle went inching its way along and went down into the ocean.’

Sometimes two participants introduced by NPs operate as individual entities for one or more clauses and then operate as a collective entity in the events encoded by one or more clauses. They again separate and the narrative continues with only one of them involved in the events of subsequent clauses. G-7 is formulated to handle eventualities of this type.

- G-7: At points where two or more major participants, previously identified by an NP, operate as a collective entity for one or more events, the clause encoding the onset of their joint operation is marked by a dual or plural pronoun which has subject function. When partitioning occurs again, an NP identifying the subject referent must occur in the following clause or at the onset of the next TCCU.

In example 11.24, neither of the verbs at the junctures (*vosedo* and *irise*) overtly signals a referential switch. The participants *gagara* ‘girl’ and *jingabu* ‘snake’ combine at the clause predicated by *Aera* ‘they went’ and are indicated by the pronoun *nengae*. Partitioning occurs after *irise* ‘while remaining’. The girl is reinvoked as subject by the NP *gagara*.

- 11.24 *Se-tiri,* *gagara* *vose-do,* *nengae* *jingabu=da* *nati=da*
 say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS girl descend.I-SEQ.SS 3D.COM snake=GEN house=LOC
 a-era. *Nengae* *iri-se,* *gagara* *kauri+e-tira.*
 go.NDUR-TP.3PL.FN 3D.COM remain-SIM.SS girl pregnant+do.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘It spoke, and the girl came down, and the two of them went to the snake’s house.
 While they were remaining, the girl because pregnant.’

In example 11.25, the transition from singular to plural is indicated by DS medial verb forms (*ningiri* and *ojiri*) as well as the NPs. Like the verb *irise* ‘while remaining’ in example 11.24 above, the verb *irise* here is not marked for DS to indicate the partitioning that occurs at the juncture with the next clause where *evetu eni mo* ‘one of the women’ alone functions as the subject NP.

- 11.25 ...*nunda oso ning-iri, nengae ir-ero, nuvu*
 3S.GEN co-wife hear.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3D remain-SIM.R.3PL.DS 3S.husband
uvu+gute oj-iri nemonde nati=da
 water+wash.I come.NDUR-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3PL.COM village=LOC
oj-eri. Iri-se, evetu eni=mo a-ira...
 come.NDUR-TP.3PL.AQ remain-SIM.SS woman one=T/F go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN
 ‘...her co-wife heard, and while the two of them were remaining, their husband
 bathed and came, and they all went home. While they were remaining, one of the
 women went...’

Guideline (G-7) can be countermanded when detailing scripted activities that Korafe addressees can predict. In example 11.26, the combination of two participants occurs at the SS medial verb *sedo*, and is marked by the pronoun *nengae* ‘the two of them’, which refers to the leader and his son. Although partitioning occurs at *setira* ‘he said’ and the leader is not reinvoked by an NP, the Korafe community knows that the leader (*kotofuko*), not his son, is convening the meeting.

- 11.26 ...*kotofuko ningi-do se-tira, “Avori!” a=va+se-do,*
 leader.DIM hear.I-SEQ.SS say.I-TP.3S.FN all.right that=CT+say.I-SEQ.SS
nengae oj-era nati=da buvu-do se-tira
 3D come.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS village=LOC arrive.I-SEQ.SS say.I-TP.3S.FN
“Sabua, na uju+er-ena avaraka bu-do...”
 follower.clans 1S want+IPF-do.PRES.1S.FN firebrand get.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘...the leader heard and said, “All right!” he said that, and the two of them came,
 arrived in the village, and he said “Follower clans, I want you to get firebrands...”’

11.2 ISSUES PERTAINING TO THE ENCODING OF PROMINENCE AND DOMINANCE IN NARRATIVE DISCOURSES

Grimes (1975:323, 196) introduces the term ‘staging’ to signify “the organisation of every clause, sentence, paragraph, episode, and discourse around a particular element that is taken as its point of departure”. In making staging decisions, the speaker expresses what he or she has to say from a particular viewpoint that indicates the “relative prominence he assigns to different parts of the content structure”. The speaker highlights the themes, topics, and participants he or she considers prominent or important to the narrative.

Prominent participants are those that play a major role in the discourse. In Korafe, the relative prominence of participants is signalled by: (1) their frequency as core arguments in

the discourse, (2) their referencing by NPs having syntactic subject function and (3) by their marking.

Dominant participants are defined as controllers, initiators, or ones that effect change in a particular segment of the discourse. The relative dominance of participants in Korafe narratives is expressed in the encoding of two types of participant interaction: (1) equivalence relationships in which both major participants maintain an 'agenda', and (2) dominant controlling participant vs. undergoer participant relationships. A participant is said to have an 'agenda' when he or she is acting volitionally, making plans, and actively pursuing them. Both syntactic rules and NP marking are used to express the relative dominance of participants.

The set of prominent participants in a discourse overlaps with the set of dominant participants, but there are prominent participants that do not at any stage have control in the discourse, and there are dominant participants that have control for only a few clauses.

11.2.1 WHEN TO REINVOKE REFERENTS BY NPS

The need to reinvoke major participants by NPs when three independent participants or participant sets are in interaction was discussed in §11.1.5.4.2.

Theoretically, two participants that have been introduced by NPs can be adequately tracked by the switch-reference system, without the use of additional NPs. In practice, however, NPs occur at more junctures than just those necessary to introduce new participants. NPs commonly occur at referential shifts or at the first TCCU following a shift.

However there are at least two reasons for using NPs more frequently. (1) Major or prominent participants are reinvoked by NPs to mark the onset of TCCUs. (2) NPs are used to indicate that major participants are in an equivalence relationship where each one is acting volitionally. This issue has to do with the relative dominance of participants.

The guidelines presented in the following sections are not hard and fast rules, being subject to the stylistic innovations of each speaker. But they exhibit enough regularity to be used as guiding principles in structuring and analysing Korafe discourse. This is evidenced by native speaker reaction to some discourses where these principles have been clumsily employed. It has also been observed in the structuring of passages in Bible translation.

11.2.1.1 A WORD ON PROPS

As discussed in §11.1.5.4, all props must be identified by NPs in the initial clause in a sequence in which they persist as arguments in each consecutive clause.

G-9: Reinvoking props: Props are reinvoked as object or oblique NPs when they do not function as arguments in the previous clause. Usually another object or oblique argument intervenes in the clauses where the prop is first mentioned.

In example 11.27, the prop is the *kosina voru* ‘false skin’ the old woman throws away when she undergoes her metamorphosis into a young woman. The first mention is separated from the second mention by three clauses (d-f) in which *kosina voru* is not an argument.

- 11.27 ...a) *sifo eni uvu+gut-ari=dae, evetako ai*
 day one water+bathe-DVB=BEN woman that.CEFF
- vos+a-ira* b) *nunda kosina+voru kosughe-do*
 descend+go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS 3S.GEN false.skin+sheath take.off.I-SEQ.SS
- c) *fiti vose-do* d) *uvu+ere-gut-ara* e) *e-do*
 put.I descend.I-SEQ.SS water+IPF-wash-SEQ.NP.3S.SS do.I-SEQ.SS
- f) *viti fete-do* g) *kosina+voru bu fuge-tiri,*
 ascend.I stand.I-SEQ.SS false.skin get.I throw.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
- h) *uvu=da vose sive-do a-ira.*
 water=LOC descend.I float.off.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN

‘...one day, in order to bathe, that old woman went down...got the false skin and threw it, and it went down into the water and floated off. While (the ‘old-woman’ skin) was going (away), she came went into the house and slept, and it dawned, and in the morning, she went down and swept and cleaned the ground, and Sifia Gimasa saw her (sweeping) and said, “Wow, who is that girl?”’

11.2.1.2 REINVOKING A MAJOR PARTICIPANT WHEN THE SEQUENCE OF PREDICATES IS MARKED AS SS

Personal pronouns are often used to encode major participants (=prominent participants) in accordance with the following guideline.

- G-10: After a prominent participant has been introduced by a noun or a full NP, he or she can be reinvoked by a personal pronoun at TCCU onsets. The introduction of another participant by an NP cuts off further use of the pronoun. Intervening props and background information do not.

In example 11.28, after the man is identified as *nuvu nu* ‘their husband he’ in the first TCCU, he is reinvoked by *nu* (3S) at the onset of the second TCCU. After the NP *evetu eniimi* ‘one of the women’ identifies the subject in TCCU 4, she is reinvoked by the pronoun *nu* at the onset of TCCU 5.

11.28

- TCCU 1: *Nuvu nu enda ghafu-se ir-ara ambu-do,*
 3S.husband 3S earth dig.II-SIM.SS remain-SEQ.NP.3S.SS die.I-SEQ.SS
- TCCU 2: *nu uvu+gut-ari=dae iri,*
 3S water+bathe-DVB=BEN go.SIM.R.3S.DS
- TCCU 3: *evevetu etoto a=mo nengae se-do*
 woman.RED two that=T/F 3D say.I-SEQ.SS

TCCU 4: *evetu eni=imi kato+ari=dae ambo=da a-ira.*
 woman one=CEFF spy+do.DVB=BEN back=LOC go.NDUR=TP.3S.FN

TCCU 5: *Nu gos-iri...*
 3S see.II-SIM.R.3S.DS
 ‘Regarding their husband, he continued to dig up the ground until he was exhausted, then while he was going to bathe, those two women conferred, and one of the women went after (him) to spy on (him). While she was looking on,...’

Since example 11.29 is from a written discourse, not well punctuated, I am not sure where the TCCU boundaries are. Therefore, I have not numbered them and have marked questionable ones ‘?’. The major participant Sifia Gimasa is reinvoked after the discussion of Yodiyodi Mose’s activities in one TCCU and another TCCU intervenes before this segment begins. The first TCCU in this segment begins with a replacive relative clause functioning as the theme. The second TCCU has at its onset the pronoun *nu* (3S) and so does the final TCCU. These occur at TCCU onsets where temporal, locational or prop NPs/PPs do not occur.

11.29 ...*Sifia+Gimasa gi-do...*
Sifia+Lad see.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘Sifia Gimasa saw (her go inside)...’

TCCU: *Vasa reda gagara tifughe vovos-iri*
 place what.LOC girl dive.I descend.II-SIM.R.3S.DS
 There at the place where the girl dove down, and
g-ira aminda ghaka dari dighi-do,
 see-TP.3S.FN that.T/F.CEFF.LOC canoe moor.I tie.I-SEQ.SS
 he saw her, he moored and tied up (his) canoe, and

TCCU: *nu tifughe vos+a-ira*
 3S dive.I descend.I+go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS
he dove down,

TCCU (?): *sekara jighi durege-do saga=da dari*
 coral.head hold.I lever.up.I-SEQ.SS shoulder=LOC anchor.I
 held and levered up a coral head, anchored it securely on his shoulder and
fumbu viti+ojigh-ira
 carry.on.shoulder.I ascend.I+come.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS
 carried it and came up,

TCCU (?): *fit-iri faforo=da viti fas+e-tira.*
 put.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS platform.I=LOC ascend.I lie+do.I-TP.3S.FN
 and put it up on to the canoe platform and it lay (there).’

RECAP: *Fas+e-tiri,*
 lie+do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 ‘It lay (there), and

TCCU: *nu viti ghaka=da anumbe-do...*
 3S ascend.I canoe=LOC sit.I-SEQ.SS
he climbed up and sat on the canoe...

In a few instances, the pronoun *nu* reinvokes one of the two participants in an equivalence relationship where both appear to be acting volitionally, carrying out their own agendas. The segment can focus on one participant making him or her the more prominent one in that segment by using the personal pronoun to reference him or her.

G-11: When two participants are in an equivalence interaction where both retain their agendas, one of them can be referenced at TCCU onsets by a pronoun after being initially invoked by an NP. The occurrence of another participant marked by an NP cuts off further use of the pronoun.

In example 11.30, *Yutara Gimasa* 'Red-Speckled Parrotfish Young Man' appears to be the major participant singled out in this segment. He responds to the leader's wife, bringing her the fish she asks for.

11.30 *Yutara+Gimasa konje+baningo u-se...*
 Yutara+Lad red.face.paint+blackening do.II-SIM.SS

TCCU 1: *oka evetu ainda dombu=da fit-ira.*
 fish woman that.CEFF.GEN face=LOC put.I-TP.3S.FN

TCCU 2: *Fit-iri fas+e-tiri,*
 put.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS lie+do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS

TCCU 3: *nengae kombo+yaru+e-teri.* RECAP: *E-do,*
 3D fornication+play+do.I-TP.3PL.AQ do.I-SEQ.SS

TCCU 4: *nu ere-do vos+iri,*
 3S arise.I-SEQ.SS descend.I+go.SIM.R.3S.DS

TCCU 5: *evetu javi+e-do...*
 woman move+do.I-SEQ.SS
 'Yutara Gimasa was putting on red and black face paint...he put the fish in front of the woman. He put it down and it lay there, and the two of them fornicated. They did (that), and he arose, and while he was going down, the woman also started to move...'

After his introduction in the first clause where he is identified by an NP having subject function, he continues to be the referent of the subject in fifteen clauses (some not included below) until *fasetiri* 'it lay down'. He and the leader's wife are the combined referents of *nengae* 'the two of them'. After partitioning, the pronoun *nu* reinvokes him at the onset of the first TCCU after the recap of the verb associated with the two participants' collective activity.

11.2.1.3 EQUIVALENCE RELATIONSHIPS

11.2.1.3.1 REINVOKING PARTICIPANTS BY NPS AS SUBJECTS AT TCCU ONSETS

NPs that are overtly present in a clause in which they have subject¹⁴ function reference participants that are operating with an agenda. When both participants are pursuing their own agendas, they can be said to be in an equivalence relationship. Only participants operating according to their own agenda are tracked by full noun phrases and personal pronouns that have subject function.

G-12: At each indication of a switch in subject reference in the SRC or at the onset of a TCCU following a switch in subject reference, a participant having his or her own agenda must be reinvoked by an NP.

When equivalence relationships characterise a narrative, the participants may be referred to simply by noun phrases comprised of just their nominal heads without additional markers. In 11.31, the two participants, who have already been introduced, are both reinvoked by nouns: *noi* 'his mother' and *angiaka* 'cockatoo'.

11.31

TCCU 1: *A=va se-tiri gi-do,*
that=CT say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS see.I-SEQ.SS

TCCU 2: *noi susu=a se-tiri ningi-do,*
3S.mother source=that say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS hear.I-SEQ.SS

TCCU 3: *angiaka vevera+iri ate-tira.*
cockatoo.DIM heat+do.SIM.R.3S.DS dawn.I-TP.3S.FN
'It said that, so, his mother explained the origins (of their situation),
and he heard, and the cockatoo was upset all through the night into
the dawning of the next day.'

These nouns occur at the onset of TCCUs. This means that they do not directly follow DS verbs indicating switch-reference. Example 11.31 which has the perception verbs *gido* 'having seen (so)' and *ningido* 'having heard' at the terminus of the TCCU gives two instances where nouns do not directly follow a DS verb form. Instead, the nouns *noi* 'his mother' and *angiaka* 'cockatoo' are each initial constituents of the TCCU that follows the perception verb.

¹⁴ Brown and Yule (1983:134-135) give Perfetti and Goldman's definition of thematisation: "the discourse process by which a *referent* comes to be developed as the central subject of the discourse". They equate Perfetti and Goldman's definition with Chafe's idea of "*foregrounding* a referent", a process in which "a particular referent is established in the foreground of consciousness while other discourse referents remain in the background". Perfetti and Goldman validated Kuno's surface structure empathy hierarchy in their experiments: "a thematised referent occurring as syntactic subject was the better prompt for sentence recall".

Example 11.32 records the interaction of two women. An NP is invoked to identify the new agent after each clause where a switch in subject is indicated, namely the two clauses predicated by *setiri* 'she said and' and *eretiri* 'she arose and'.

- 11.32 *Aminge se-tiri, evetu=á se-tira, "Avori, fu...!"*
 thus.do.I say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS woman=that say.I-TP.3S.FN all.right come.IMP.2S
se-tiri, evetako=á ere-tiri...
 say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS old.woman=that arise.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 'She spoke thus, and that woman said, "All right, come!" she said, and that old woman arose...'

The interaction in the legend *Kuri Kariako da Kiki* is between the participant referenced by the NP *genembo amo nu* 'that man he (definite)' in example 11.33 and his wife referenced as *evetu amo* 'that woman (definite)'. The marker *amo* is used with NPs referring to both participants, who are each pursuing their own agendas.

- 11.33 ...*genembo a=mo nu fuka mind-ira. Evetu a=mo*
 man that=T/F 3S pork eat.I-TP.3S.FN woman that=T/F
nuvu=dae se-tira, "Ni rejo fuge-teso sino
 3S.husband=BEN say.I-TP.3S.FN 2S what.SPEC throw.I-SEQ.R.2S.DS dog
ri-se gangara+re-s-i?"
 eat.II-SIM.SS grow|+IPF-say-PRES.3S.AQ
 '...well that man, he ate pork. That woman said to her husband, "What did you throw down that the dogs are growling, while they eat (it)?"'

In the interaction encoded in example 11.34, it appears that Sifia Gimasa is dominating the old woman. However, the writer avoids overt NP mention of the old woman in the clause *dedo* 'he hit (her)' where she is understood to be the undergoer and the syntactic object of the clause. Instead he reinvoles her by a subject NP *evetakoá* 'that old woman' in the clause *koko sise* 'she was screaming', where she is making her own response to the situation. (See §11.2.2 for the discussion about dominance and encoding participants as NPs in clauses where they have object function.)

- 11.34 *Sifia+Gimasa... Gi-do,*
 Sifia+Lad see.I-SEQ.SS
 'Sifia Gimasa...saw her, and
 TCCU 1: *nu dubo+ekoko+e-tiri viti ter+a-ira*
 3S neck+bad.RED+do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS ascend.I enter+go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS
de-do ond-iri,
 hit.I-SEQ.SS chase-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 he became furious, and climbed up and entered (into the house), and he hit (her) and chased (her) off (the porch), and
 TCCU 2: *evetako=á koko+si-se, oji+gh-ira*
 old.woman=that scream+say.II-SIM.SS come.NDUR+do-SEQ.TP.3S.SS

enda=da *vose-do...*

ground=LOC descend.I-SEQ.SS

that old woman, while she was screaming, came down on to the ground...'

11.2.1.3.2 USING THE TEMPORAL MISMATCH TO SIGNAL EQUIVALENCE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PARTICIPANTS

Korafe storytellers often use the temporal mismatch device (see §7.3.3) to avoid referencing a participant with an NP in a clause where she or he has object function. By placing the NP in a clause where the participant has subject function, the writer maintains the equivalence relationship between the two participants.

G-13: **The mismatch guideline:** The speaker or writer can place a major participant or an inanimate object in his, her, or its own mismatched clause to indicate that he or she is acting according to his or her agenda or that the inanimate object is a major participant. Placing this other participant in a mismatched clause enables the speaker to tell the story from the viewpoint of the other major participant.

Example 11.35 is the missing sentence from the discourse segment given in example 11.34. The author put *evetakoi* 'the old woman (effecting change)' in the clause that has as its predicate *anumbiriri* 'while she was sitting'. By not placing her in the clause with the predicate *gira* 'he saw (her)', the writer maintains an equivalence relationship between the two participants.

11.35 *Sifia+Gimasa...* *diti+fuge-tiri* *ter+a-ira*
Sifia+Lad eye+throw.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS enter+go-SEQ.TP.3S.SS

evetako=i *anumb+ir-iri* *g-ira.*
old.woman=CEFF sit+remain-SIM.R.3S.DS see.I-TP.3S.FN

'Sifia Gimasa glanced (inside) and saw that old woman was sitting (there).'

Example 10.23 from the legend *Bijo Gharube da Geka* gives another instance of using the mismatch to maintain equivalence between participants. It is repeated here as 11.36. The mismatched clause is underlined.

11.36 *Aera,* *nenda* *gagarako* *aimi*
go.SEQ.R.TP.3PL.SS 3PL.GEN younger.sister that.CEFF.T/F

uvu *dimbu* *r-iri,* *nunda* *aki+mane*
water dip.up.I eat.II-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3S.GEN older.sister+PL

REACTION:

gi-do *se-teri,*
see.I-SEQ.SS say.I-TP.3PL.AQ

'They went, and their younger sister dipped water, and while she was drinking, her sisters saw (her) and asked...'

Although the temporal mismatch is backgrounded in the sense that the author presents one participant's activity from the viewpoint of the other, it also reflects the significance of the participant in the mismatched clause. The stone axe (*oto*) is not a prop in the story from

which example 11.37 was taken. Using the temporal mismatch to reinvoke it rather than making it the object of *tava useni* ‘I searched’ indicates its prominence in the story, which is about how the author, Elijah Simati, first learned the Korafe word for ‘stone axe’; he’d been using the Motu word only. Example 11.37 illustrates its use in two temporal mismatch clauses.

- 11.37a. ...*na jovereghe-do ena nati=da*
 IS turn.around.-SEQ.SS go.DUR.SEQ.PAST.IS.SS house=LOC
buvu-do, oto=mo fas+ir-iri, na tava+u-seni.
 arrive.I-SEQ.SS stone.axe=T/F lie+remain-SIM.R.3S.DS IS search+do.II-DP.3S.AQ
 ‘...I went back arrived at home, and while the axe remained lying there, I searched for (it).’
- 11.37b. *Ena, oto nu ir-iri na sekago*
 go.DUR.SEQ.PAST.IS.SS stone.axe 3S remain-SIM.R.3S.DS IS again
tava+u-seni.
 search+do.II-DP.3S.AQ
 ‘I went, and while the stone axe, well it was remaining, I again looked for (it).’

11.2.2 DOMINANCE ENCODED BY SYNTAX: SOME EXAMPLES WHERE NPS ARE NOT USED TO REINVOKE PARTICIPANTS

Referents that are overtly identified in a clause in which they have object function appear to be operating according to the agenda of the major participant that has subject function, not according to their own agenda, at least within that clause. If the interaction between the two continues, they are not reinvented. In the clauses in which they occur, these referents may be props, passive undergoers, or participants carrying out the dominant participant’s agenda. Since only two participants are interacting, there is no need to reinvoke either to maintain reference.

G-14: Participants who are identified by an NP in a clause where they have object function appear to have lost their agenda. Although the participants involved in this controller–undergoer participant interaction alternate in having the subject role, the alternations are signalled by the switch-reference system alone. The interaction is broken when either of the participants is reinvented by an NP, or another event sequence is introduced by an NP identifying a different participant.

Example 11.38 details Mandako Gajaride’s murder. His wife tires of his infantile behaviour and kills him one day after his parents have gone to the garden. After Mandako Gajaride occurs as the object NP of *ghonumbetiri* ‘she wrenched him’, no participants are identified by an NP until Mandako Gajaride’s parents return in the last two lines of the example. The participant interaction extends over four sentences and is only encoded by SRCs linked by tail-head linkage. The only NPs/PPs occurring are props: *avarakada* ‘on the fire’ and *nunda bayaughae* ‘with her food’.

- 11.38 ...*noaro nu, noi+numamo=ghae do-do vare=da*
 3S.wife 3S 3S.mother+3S.father=COM.D leave.I-SEQ.SS garden=LOC

ero gi-do boguto ghonumbe-tiri
 go.SIM.R.3PL.DS see.I-SEQ.SS supporting.joist wrench.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
vose-tiri sare-do, avaraka use-tiri
 descend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS split.I-SEQ.SS fire kindle.I-SEQ.SS
gamb-iri, Mandako+Gajaride ghonumbe-tiri
 bite.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS Boy+Full.of.Sores wrench.loose.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
vose-tiri, avaraka=da fuge-tiri vit-iri
 descend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS fire=LOC throw.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS ascend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
av-ira. Av-iri, bu-do oje-tira. Nunda
 burn.I-TP.3S.FN burn.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS get.I-SEQ.SS cut.up.I-TP.3S.FN 3S.GEN
bayau=ghae it-ira. Iti fiti do-do a-ira.
 food=COM.D cook.I-TP.3S.FN cook.I put.I leave.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN
Iri, noi+numamo=ghae vare=da ghedo
 go.SIM.R.3S.DS 3S.mother+3S.father=COM.D garden=LOC continue.from
jovereghe-do...
 turn.around-SEQ.SS

‘...well his wife she, seeing that his parents had left and gone to the garden, wrenched down a supporting joist (from the house) split it, kindled a fire, blowing until it caught fire, wrenched down Mandako Gajaride and threw him up on the fire, and he burned (to death). After he burned, she got him and cut him up. She cooked him with her food. She cooked him, put (the pot aside) left and went away. While she was going, his parents returned from the garden.’

In example 11.39, Daisi Kotara, the victim of the spirit woman, is mentioned as the object NP of *sandi* ‘grab’. No participant is reinvoked until the interaction is complete at *nu vitido* ‘she (the spirit woman) went up’.

- 11.39 ...*suka+u+evetako vos+a-ira evetu Daisi+Kotara*
 spirit+old.woman descend+go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS woman Daisi+Kotara
a=va sandi bu vose-do, kambira+susu aminda
 that=CT grab.I get.I descend.I-SEQ.SS nipa.palm+base that.T/F.CEFF.LOC
fati tifughe-tiri a-ira vose-tiri,
 press.I submerge.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS descend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
nu viti-do...
 3S ascend.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘...a spirit woman went down, grabbed Daisi Kotara, that one, and took her down, and pressed her underneath the water at the base of the nipa palms, and she went down, and she (the spirit woman) went up...’

In the narrative embedded in *Kunita* ‘The Octopus’ (Appendix 4), the children are initially invoked as subjects, agents involved in spearing fish. Although they are not reinvoked by an object NP, it is understood that the octopus has total control of the

interaction. Its total control is signalled by the NP identifying it in sentence 11: *kunita aimi* 'that octopus (controlling entity)'. After it takes control, there are no overt NPs having subject role up until sentence 14, where the children's kinfolk recover their bodies. In contrast, in the final paragraph where the octopus does not have control, NPs follow each DS medial verb or occur at the onset of each TCCU following a DS medial verb. This syntax indicates that neither the parents nor the octopus were acting according to the other's agenda.

In the legend *Jaruga Roro* (Appendix 2), the heroine throws her brother, who incidentally is a corpse (*nunda ruka*—an object NP) on her back in sentence 20, and from that point until the end of the legend over 50 clauses later, their interaction, her resuscitation of him, is monitored solely by the switch-reference system operating across sentences by tail-head linkage. There are a few props, e.g. the banana tree that he is supposed to knock over in sentence (24b–27), but they do not intervene sufficiently to cause ambiguous readings of who is doing what.

11.2.3 MARKING PROMINENT AND DOMINANT REFERENTS IN NARRATIVES

11.2.3.1 MARKERS USED TO INDICATE PROMINENT AND DOMINANT REFERENTS

Korafe markers indicating prominence include: *mo*, *i(mi)*, *va*, personal pronouns used in anaphoric referencing and as pronominal copies, and the demonstratives *e*, *a*, and *o*. Dominance is indicated by the marker *i(mi)* and actor focus pronouns (*nane*, *nine*, *nune*, *nene*).

The topic marker *mo* marks thematic NPs that reference entities that are inferrable from background knowledge (such as generic entities) or that are already evoked (referential).¹⁵

The topicalising *i(mi)* marks NPs referencing entities that initiate or control the flow of events or effect changes in other participants. NPs encoding participants and props are marked with *i(mi)*: (1) to ensure that the addressee can identify the agent(s) responsible for an action or series of actions, (2) to limit agentivity or instrumentality exclusively to one participant or a group of participants, and/or (3) to indicate dominant participants in the discourse.

The contrastive focus marker *va* and the specifier *ava* marks NPs that identify major participants, minor participants and props that are (1) brand new in the discourse, (2) contrasted exclusively with all other participants or props or (3) associated with change either within themselves or in the situation around them.

¹⁵ The term 'evoked' is due to Prince (1981:235-237), who outlines a taxonomy defining the concepts of given and new information. She says NPs reference entities that are new, inferrable, or evoked. New entities are either brand-new or unused long enough to not be in the speaker's consciousness. Evoked entities are those that the addressee already has in his or her consciousness from the immediate textual context or the situation, the script the speaker is using. Inferrable entities are those the speaker assumes the addressee can derive by reasoning.

The demonstratives¹⁶ mark NPs that reference participants and props that have a specific (unique) referent in the discourse world and/or the real world. Demonstratives also mark NPs that introduce participants, when the narrator wants addressees to assume that the participants have a specific reference in the discourse. The anaphoric *a* 'that' is used most of the time.

Independent personal pronouns anaphorically refer to inferrable or evoked entities in the discourse or in the deictic context of the utterance. Personal pronouns are also used as a pronominal copy to specify one member of a set of participants or themes as the topical entity for a segment of the discourse.

These topicalising and limiting markers mark singly and in combination NPs that reference prominent participants, props and themes in discourses.

11.2.3.2 EXAMPLES OF PROMINENT AND DOMINANT REFERENTS

The more marking an NP has, the more prominent the participant, prop or theme it references. Each discourse has its own set of interactive markers which indicate the relative prominence of its participants and props or themes. However, variations in the sets make it impossible to establish a comprehensive hierarchy of prominence markers. A tentative graded scale from the least to the most prominent is suggested for combinations with the demonstrative *a*: *a* < *amo* < *ai(mi)* or *ava*. Adding the pronominal copy to a demonstrative marked NP increases its prominence in the system.

Once a participant is introduced, he or she can be specified by demonstratives. In a discourse with more than two participants, the use of the demonstrative alone often marks participants that play a supporting role. The following sentence is also the initial sentence of a legend. Here, the couple are introduced, and the woman by herself is reinvoked with a noun marked by the demonstrative *a* 'that'. She is consistently marked by *a* 'that', and her husband is marked by *amo* 'that (definite)', but the two of them are fairly minor participants, who exit the discourse stage after they decide their daughter should be viewed as a man.

11.40 *Evetu+genembo=ghae nengae ir-ise, evetu=á*
 woman+man=COM.D 3D remain-SIM.SS woman=that

kauri+e-tira.

pregnant+do.I-TP.3S.FN

'There was a married couple living together, and the wife got pregnant.'

Example 11.41 constitutes a partial exception to G-14. The narrator introduces the two participants in the legend *Matana Kuku* with the demonstrative *a* 'that', as though their referents were already part of the referential system in the discourse.

¹⁶ For a more complete discussion of the uses of Korafe pronouns, refer to Farr and Whitehead (1982:64-80).

- 11.41 *Mandi=á* *r-av-ara* *sifo* *ate-tiri*,
 boy=that IPF-sleep-SEQ.NP.3S.SS day dawn.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 ‘That boy was sleeping, and day dawned, and

vose-do *nunda saghi* *fumbu-do...*
 descend.I-SEQ.SS 3S.GEN fish.spear shoulder.I-SEQ.SS
 he went down, shouldered his fish spear...

oka gae *fire-do* *ghu-do*
 fish spear.I string.I-SEQ.SS continue.II-SEQ.SS
 and spearing and stringing fish on a line.

a-ira. *Er-ari*,
 go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN IPF-go.SEQ.NP.3S.DS
 went along. He was going along, and

gua *a=i* *ata=da* *gae-tira.*
 stonefish that=CEFF foot=LOC spear.I-TP.3S.FN
 that stonefish stung (him) in the foot.’

Gae-tiri, *nu* *se-tira* “*Matana+Kuku...*”
 spear.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3S say.I-TP.3S.FN Matana+Kuku
 It stung him, and he said, “Matana Kuku...”

The NP *mandiá* ‘that boy’ is the main human participant. The *gua ai* ‘that stonefish (effector of change)’ is marked as both referential and controlling. Since the relationships are established by these two NPs and the markers they have, the participants are tracked almost without NPs throughout the rest of the legend. The lack of NPs also points to the stonefish’s dominance. However, the boy is reinvoked by the pronoun *nu* shown in the last clause of this example. This indicates the ambiguous nature of the discourse. The boy appears to be acting according to his own agenda, but the stonefish prevails. The story ends with the stonefish stinging the boy in the mouth; he falls into the water and dies.

In example 11.42, the NP *evetako* referencing the old woman is marked by the effector-of-change marker *i*. This example occurs in a mismatch clause. The old woman is marked as a controlling entity, because her act, coming out of the coral head, is a complicating action that changes the course of events in the legend. The old woman is one of the three major participants in this legend.

- 11.42 *Fet+ir-ise,* *evetako=i* *sekara=da* *ghe*
 stand.I+remain-SIM.SS old.woman=CEFF coral.head=LOC from
buvu-do *sekara* *dengesi=da* *anumb+ir-iri,*
 come.out-SEQ.SS coral.head side=LOC sit+remain-SIM.R.3S.DS
Sifia+Gimasa... *gira.* *Gi-do,* *nu*
 Sifia+Lad see.I-TP.3S.FN see.I-SEQ.SS 3S

dubo+ekoko+e-tiri...

neck+bad.RED+do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS

'While it was standing, the old woman came out of the coral head and sat beside it, and while she was sitting, Sifia Lad saw (her). Having seen (her), he became extremely angry...'

The topic marker *mo* and the related specifier *amo* generally mark prominent people in the discourse. In example 11.43 from *Usu da Kiki* 'The Origin of Coconuts', the major participant who becomes the source of the coconut trees is referred to by the NP *gagara amo* 'that girl' when her death is recounted. The NP referring to the brother who killed him is not marked by a topic marker.

- 11.43 *Gagara a=mo amb-iri, nunda koro ofofo ghambu*
girl that=T/F die.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3S.GEN older.brother grave dig.I

gagarako afuruge-do...

younger.sister bury.I-SEQ.SS

'That girl died, and her brother dug a grave and buried (his) younger sister...'

In this same story, the coconut is treated as a major participant by the marking it receives and the number of clauses it is understood to play a role in. It is overtly mentioned by an NP in seven clauses and anaphorically referred to in three. The first mention of the coconut is in the intransitive sentence given in example 11.44. It is introduced as *usu ava* 'that coconut (new information)' and then reinvoked in the next clause as *usu amo* 'that coconut (resumptive topic)'.

- 11.44 *Ainda+ambo=da, gagara ainda gomo=da usu*
that.CEFF.GEN+back=LOC girl that.CEFF.GEN belly=LOC coconut

a=vq sirore-tira. Usu a=mo viti-do
that=CT be.born.I-TP.3S.FN coconut that=T/F ascend.I-SEQ.SS

fet+ir-iri nengae gosu-seri.
stand.I+remain-SIM.R.3S.DS 3D see.II-DP.3PL.AQ

'After that, from the girl's graveplot (lit. belly), that coconut came into being.

That coconut grew and while it was standing (there), the two of them saw (it).'

Rather than marking the agent in an interaction, the narrator may identify the undergoer as the contrastively prominent participant by an NP having object function and marked by *ava*. In example 11.45 repeated from 11.39, the author chooses to focus on *Daisi Kotara*, whom the spirit woman attacks, rather than on the spirit woman. *Daisi Kotara*, although not the dominant participant in this interaction, continues to be a prominent participant after the spirit woman exits from the legend.

- 11.45 ...*sukaru+evetako vos+a-ira evetu Daisi+Kotara*
spirit+old.woman descend+go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS woman Daisi+Kotara

a=vq sandi bu vose-do, kambira+susu aminda
that=CT grab.I get.I descend.I-SEQ.SS nipa.palm+base that.T/F.CEFF.LOC

fati *tifughe-tiri* *a-ira* *vose-tiri*,
 press.I submerge.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS descend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS

nu viti-do...

3S ascend.I-SEQ.SS

‘...a spirit woman went down, grabbed Daisi Kotara, that one, and took her down, and pressed her underneath the water at the base of the nipa palms, and she went down, and she (the spirit woman) went up...’

In the following example, the enemy play a minor role, but they function as the dominant participants, indicated by the effector-of-change marker *i* which marks the NP referring to them. Their lack of prominence is reflected in the low number of clauses (six) in which they are an argument. They are not marked for specific reference by a demonstrative, another indication that they lack prominence.

11.46 ...*nunda ghato iká=da o vose-tira a=mo, gitofu=i*
 3S.GEN cousin top=LOC that.D2 descend.I-TP.3S.FN that=T/F enemy=CEFF

b-eri. Bu-do a-era, mind-ari=dae.

get.I-TP.3PL.AQ get.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.3PL.FN eat.I-DVB=BEN

‘...when his cousin at the top of the tree, that one came down, an enemy captured him. They took him, in order to eat (him).’

Props are usually introduced as unmarked objects or as instruments marked by *i(mi)*. However, props that make a difference in the story may be marked by the demonstrative with a contrastive topic marker: *ava* or *aimi*.

The prop that led to the fight between the crow and the *Vereto* bird was *atomo ava* ‘that black charcoal’. The crow had used the traditional face paints (*konje baningu* not marked by *ava*) in getting the *vereto* bird ready for the dance. But the *vereto* bird took *atomo ava* ‘that black charcoal’ and decorated the crow. That action made the crow furious and precipitated the fight that forced the *vereto* bird to relocate in the swamps at Kakarata, so it is not found at Tufi.

In the story of *Jaruga Roro* (Appendix 2), the coconut tree that was instrumental in Jaruga Roro’s being killed in sentence 3c is identified as *usu ava*. So are the three coconuts (*usu beká etodaba ava*) that he fumbled.

In *Bijo Gharube da Geka*, the author details the husbands’ misbehaviour, focusing on the fact that the men brought home only their spears and nets (*gika futo ava nembo*), rather than any meat. This leads to the women’s dissatisfaction and relocation at Kitava.

The pronominal copy marks noun phrases referring to major participants who play the prominent roles and often the dominant roles in a discourse. In 11.47 the two major participants, *koori nu* ‘the butterfly it’ and *agari nu* ‘the rat it’, are referenced by NPs marked by pronominal copy.

11.47 ...*koori nu ghumbu viti iká=da a-ira. Ñ*
 butterfly 3S fly.I ascend.I top=LOC go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS and

agari nu eva=imi fat-iri mindi ambu koko+se-tira.
 rat 3S sea=CEFF.T/F cover.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS eat.I die.I shout+say.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘...well, the butterfly, it flew up and went away in the sky. And the rat, well, the sea covered it, and it was drowning and screaming.’

In sentences 11.18 of *Jaruga Roro* (Appendix 2), the narrator alternates between detailing the heroine’s activities and those of the enemies. The NPs referencing the heroine in this section reflect her increasing prominence: *evetuá* ‘that woman’ (noun+demonstrative), *evetu amo* ‘that woman’ (noun+demonstrative+topic marker)’ and *evetuá nu* ‘that woman she’ (noun+demonstrative+pronominal copy).

11.2.3.3 MARKING SIGNIFICANT DISCOURSE UNITS BY NP + PRONOMINAL COPY

The combination of NP + pronominal copy also has a second function in Korafe. They also mark NPs at significant points in the story, such as the onset of an initiating event, a reaction, a plan, an action or an outcome, where tail-head linkage is suspended.¹⁷

The pronominal copy often marks NPs that stand at the juncture of significant sections of the discourse. It quite commonly marks NPs that introduce participants, like Yodiyodi Mose in example 11.48.

11.48 *Yodiyodi+Mose nu baji-do...*
 Yodiyodi+Maiden 3S grow.I-SEQ.SS
 ‘Yodiyodi Maiden, she grew up and...’

It marks the NP referring to the participant that introduces the complicating action into the discourse. In example 11.49, the spirit girl complicates the story by wrecking the boat.

11.49 *Sukaru+gagara nu jegimo+e-tiri ghaka beje-tira.*
 spirit+girl 3S gas+make.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS canoe break.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘Well, the spirit girl, she passed gas, and the canoe broke up.’

It marks NPs referring to participants reacting to a complication in the discourse. The crow in example 11.50 became quite upset when it realised that black paint, rather than colourful paints, had been applied to its body to prepare it for the dance.

11.50 ...*nunda tamo dombu isambu ingago+e-tira. E-tiri*
 3S.GEN body face all black+do.I-TP.3S.FN do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
gi-do, ogha nu dubo+eko+e-tiri...
 see.I-SEQ.SS crow 3S neck+bad+do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 ‘...its entire body and face were all black. Seeing that it had become black, the crow became very upset...’

¹⁷ Fox (1987:168-169) suggests that NPs are used in English narratives to mark discourse units such as the onset of an initiating event, a reaction, or a plan. Tomlin (1987:456-457) argues that a full noun reinstates reference at the onset of an episode, and pronouns maintain reference within the episode.

It also signals NPs that are involved in planning their course of action, as the women are in example 11.51 from the legend *Kinesi*.

- 11.51 ... *evevetu* *a=mo* *nengae* *se-do*, *evetu* *eni=imi*
 women.RED that=T/F 3D say.I-SEQ.SS woman one=CEFF.T/F
kato+ari=dae *ambo=da* *uvu=da* *a-ira*.
 spy+DVB=BEN back=LOC water=LOC go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN
 ‘...well those women, the two of them discussed (the matter), and one of the
 women went after (their husband) to spy on him.’

In example 11.52, it marks participants that each carry out their course of action.

- 11.52 ... *aminge* *se-do*, *nengae*, *Kokora* *nu* *kokora+aito*
 that.do.I say.I-SEQ.SS 3D Kokora 3S rooster+step
iri, *Boke* *nu* *boke+aito* *e-tira...*
 do.SIM.R.3S.DS Cassowary 3S cassowary+step do.II-SIM.SS
 ‘...they spoke thus, and the two of them, well, the Rooster (Lad) was doing
 his rooster step, and the Cassowary (Lad), he was doing his cassowary step,
 and they said...’

Example 11.53 encodes the resolution of the problem in the legend *Kinesi*; the girl’s transition to manhood is completed when she finally acquires a penis. Both participants involved in this interaction are marked with the fullest NP marking that occurs in the discourse, a demonstrative, a topic marker, and a pronominal copy.

- 11.53 *Genembo* *a=mo*, *nu* *av-iri*, *evetu* *a=mo*, *nu* *ere-do*
 man that=T/F 3S sleep-SIM.R.3S.DS woman that=T/F 3S arise.I-SEQ.SS
genembo=da *tamo+kakara* *fit-iri* *takegha+e-tiri*,
 man=GEN body+holy put.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS securely.fastened+do-SEQ.R.3S.DS
nu *r-av-ara* *ere* *gi-do* *dudukughu-sira*.
 3S IPF-sleep-SEQ.NP.3S.SS Arise.I see.I-SEQ.SS be.surprised.II-DP.3S.FN
 ‘That man, while he was sleeping, that wife, she arose and put the man’s penis (on
 him) and it got fastened securely, and he slept, and when he arose, he saw (it) and
 was surprised.’

This sentence relates both the climax and the outcome of the legend. Of course, the man who is given the proper equipment to be a man is a significant participant, referenced by the NP, *genembo amo* copied by the third person singular pronoun *nu*. The woman who has procured the organ and attaches it to ‘his’ body is as significant as the man. Therefore, this participant is identified by the same grammatical coding: *evetu amo* ‘regarding that woman’ copied by the third person singular pronoun *nu*.

11.2.4 SUITING WORDS TO ACTIONS AND DISCOURSE TO REAL LIFE

Verbal tracking of the participants and NP marking of them in oral and written texts operate in concert to recreate on the communication stage the events in the real world as the Korafe perceive them.

In Korafe narratives, life is portrayed as a series of interactions, fairly felicitous when each participant is able to have his or her own way. SRCs indicating this equilibrium in participant interaction track subject participants, registering shifts in subject reference. Concomitantly, NPs introducing and reinvoking participants occur following verbs marked for shifts in reference. In these interactions, NPs indicating prominent participants are marked only to indicate that their referents are unique (with a demonstrative *a*) and specified as the thematised participant from the set of participants (*nu* ‘he, she’) at the marking juncture. NPs identifying props are not marked, because props do not have a negative effect in this type of interaction. The entire system—both NPs and predicating verbs—reflects relatively balanced interactions.

However, life does not always proceed on an even keel. After a participant gains control over another who loses his or her agenda, the switch-reference system alone is used to track participants; NPs identifying participants are elipsed. A major participant is backgrounded as he or she loses control. On the other hand, an object that would ordinarily be a prop is introduced by an NP having subject role in a backgrounded clause to indicate that it is playing a participant role. Props that play a role in the changes occurring are introduced by NPs marked by a demonstrative and a topic marker (*ava* or *aimi*). The major participant receiving the narrator’s empathy is identified by a contrastively marked NP. Actor participants are identified by referencing NPs marked by *ai*, *aimi* and/or *nune*. If the underdog is the narrator’s preferred participant, the referencing NP may be left-dislocated and/or marked by *ava*, *numo* or *numoá*. Each of these markers separates participants from each other, eventually destroying all interaction in some narratives and legends. That’s what happens in Bijo Gharube da Geka. Not only do the girls leave their younger sister, they declare war on all men. And thus, no men are found in their village.

In the real world unfortunately, a ‘Jaruga Roro’s sister’ is not always available to scare off the killers and restore the dead to life and full health. The markers in that story reflect her successful attempt to restore Jaruga Roro to a role where he again has an agenda. She herself is ultimately identified as *evetuá nu* ‘that woman she’, a leading protagonist in a balanced world, not as a contrastive controller with the markers *ai* or *nune*. Example 11.54 details their final interaction.

- 11.54 “*E-tes-are!*” *se-do*, *bambu ri-do*
 do.I-TP.2S-that.CR say.I-SEQ.SS get.I eat.II-SEQ.SS
 re-f-ara *sirivo+e-teri*.
 IPF-come.DUR-SEQ.NP.3PL.SS die+do.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 “‘You have just done it!’ she said, and they went along gathering and
 eating food until they died.’

So the legend ends with them going on carrying out their everyday activities together in the Korafe equivalent of ‘living happily ever after’.

Shakespeare (*Hamlet*, Act III, scene ii) suggests: "Suit the action to the word, the word to the action; with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature". The Korafe do just that in their stories. They have a repertoire of discourse markers and syntactic devices that they use creatively, suiting them to their portrayal of the interaction.

APPENDIX 1

BIJO GHARUBE DA GEKA

by Hobert Araua, age 60
December 1979

Edited by
Kingsley Seko, age 68
Bensted Kephana, age 50
February 1995

This text is one of the legends in the repertoire of legends that the Korafe have handed down from generation to generation.¹

The main participant groups, the young men and the young women, are introduced in the introduction. The significant controlling participant, the youngest sister, is introduced in the second orientation section. The legend explains the origin of a village containing just women.

APERTURE

Kiki!
story
'Here's a legend!'

INTRODUCTION

1. *Reighi eni ava, gigimasa=i nembo*
place one that.CT young.man.RED=CEFF only
ir-á+ghe-teri.
remain-SEQ.IR.SS+continue-TP.3PL.FN
'In a certain place there were only young men.'
2. *Bijo+Gharube ainda jóká=da, ade+jamena*
banana+Gharube that.CEFF.LOC inside=LOC single.girl+younger.siblings

¹ The outline used to lay out this legend is basically Fox's (1987:167) "story grammar paradigm". However, the word 'orientation' comes from Labov's (1972:363) components of a narrative. The orientation and re-orientation sections are distinguished from the other sections, because they occur with aspectual clause complexes that encode iteration at irregular intervals.

aimi ir-á+ghe-teri.

that.CEFF.T/F remain-SEQ.IR.SS+continue-TP.3PL.FN

‘The single women remained living inside the Gharube banana.’

ORIENTATION: YOUNG MEN’S INITIATING ACTION

3. *Gigimasa, ne gika+futo bu-do taima=da*
young.men.RED 3PL spear+pig.net get.I-SEQ.SS bush=LOC

ga-y-ari=dae y-a+ghe-teri.

spear.I-EPEN-SEQ.IR.3S.DS=PUR go-SEQ.IR.SS+continue-TP.3PL.FN

‘Those young men kept on taking their spears and pig nets and going off into the bush to spear pigs.’

ORIENTATION: YOUNG WOMEN’S INITIATING ACTIONS

- 4a. *Ade+jamena ainda gagarako aimi, giti*
single.girl+younger.siblings that.CEFF.GEN younger.sister that.CEFF.T/F first
nune vose-do, reighi gi-do se-do ghe-tira,
3S.ACT ascend.I-SEQ.SS place see.I-SEQ.SS say.I-SEQ.SS continue-TP.3S.FN
‘It was the youngest sister of the girls, who first would come down, see the place and say,

- 4b. “*Aki=mane, reighi tefo+tafo-ro!*”
older.sister=PL place nothing+ADUP-COP.AQ.STEN
“Older sisters, there is absolutely no one here!”

- 4c. *se-do ghe-tira.*
say.I-SEQ.SS continue-TP.3S.F
She kept saying that.’

5. *S-eari nunda aki=mane vose-do,*
say.I-CUST.3S.DS 3S.GEN older.sister=PL ascend.I-SEQ.SS
‘She would say (that), and her older sisters would come down,

nati+jughu nasara+tafono+eoro
house+house.underneath broom+dustpan+do.I.CUST.3PL.DS
sweep under all the houses in the village until

dadab-eari,
finish.I-CUST.3S.DS
it was finished,

okia bu-do y-ama,
clay.pot get.I-SEQ.SS go-SEQ.IR.SS.T/F
get pots, go

uvu bu-do y-ama, uvu dimbu
 water get.I-SEQ.SS go-SEQ.IR.SS.T/F water dip.up.I
 dip and haul water

fo-a fiti do-do, y-ama
 come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS put.I leave.I-SEQ.SS go-SEQ.IR.SS.T/F
 come and place it (at each house), leave, and then

ika bambu fo-a fiti do-do,
 wood gather.I come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS put.I leave.I-SEQ.SS
 they would go gather firewood, haul and leave it, and then

ade+jamena amo, ne y-ama
 single.girl+younger.siblings that.T/F 3PL go-SEQ.IR.SS.T/F
 those girls would go,

bijo+Gharube aminda viti-do
 banana+Gharube that.T/F.CEFF.LOC ascend.I-SEQ.SS
 climb up into the Gharube banana tree

ir-á+ghe-teri.
 remain-SEQ.IR.SS+continue-TP.3PL.FN
 (where) they lived.'

ORIENTATION: YOUNG MEN'S REACTION

6. *Eoro gi-do, gigimasa amo, ne garu-do*
 do.I.CUST.3PL.DS see.I-SEQ.SS young.men.RED that.T/F 3PL spear.II-SEQ.SS
er-i-a fo-a buvu gi-do
 IPF-go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS arrive.I see.I-SEQ.SS
bune-do ghe-teri.
 not.know.I-SEQ.SS continue-TP.3PL.F
 'Since they kept doing that, those boys went spearing pigs and coming back and upon arriving would see it, and be perplexed.'

YOUNG MEN'S PLAN, ACTION, AND OUTCOME

- 7a. *Avori sifo eni, gigimasa amo, manaka+gae-do se-teri,*
 all.right day a young.men.RED that.T/F plan+spear.I-SEQ.SS say.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 'All right, one day those young men made a plan and said,
 7b. *"Evu, namonde atu=da fete-do g-aore:*
 do.IMP.2PL 1PL.INC yard=LOC stand.I-SEQ.SS see.I-HORT.1PL.CR
 "All of you act so that we remain in the house area, and see:
 7c. *emo mave er-ai?" ava se-do,*
 this.T/F who IPF-do.CUST.3S.FN that.CT say.I-SEQ.SS
 who is doing this?" they said that, and

- 7d. *a-era, atu=da fet-do gos-ero, gagara*
 go.NDUR-TP.3PL.FN yard=LOC stand.I-SEQ.SS see.II-SIM.R.3PL.DS girl
ambo=imi giti vose-do, reighi ava fuge gi-do
 lastborn=CEFF.T/F first ascend.I-SEQ.SS place that.CT throw.I see.I-SEQ.SS
se-tira,
 say.I-TP.3S.FN
 the young men said that, went and stood in the back of the house and as they
 watched, the youngest came down first, and looked over the area, and said,
- 7e. “*Aki+mane, reighi tefo+tafo=ro!*”
 older.sister+PL place nothing+ADUP=cop.STEN
 “Older sisters, there’s absolutely no one here!”
- 7f. *ava se-tiri, nunda aki+mane isambu vose-do,*
 that.CT say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3S.GEN older.sister+PL all ascend.I-SEQ.SS
nenda e-do ghe-tera, daba ava e-tero
 3PL.GEN do.I-SEQ.SA continue.I-TP.3PL.FN one that.CT do.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS
dadabe-tiri, aera nenda vasa=da
 finish.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS go.NDUR.TP.3PL.FN 3PL.GEN place=LOC
vit-ari=dae ero,
 ascend.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS=PUR do.I.SIM.R.3PL.DS
 after she said that, all her older sisters came down and did just like they always did
 until it was finished, then they went and as they were ascending to their place,
- 7g. *gigimasa buvu-do, ade+jamena isambu sandi*
 young.man.RED arrive.I-SEQ.SS single.girl+younger.siblings all catch.I
nunda+nunda bambu ade+jamena fit-eri.
 3S.GEN+DUP gather.I single.girl+younger.siblings place.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 the young men arrived and captured all the girls, and each one took a girl and
 married her.’

RE-ORIENTATION: GENERIC INITIATING ACTIONS

8. *E-do evevetu ne ir-eoro*
 do.I-SEQ.SS women.RED 3PL remain-CUST.SIM.3PL.DS
 ‘And while the women would remain at home,
gegenembo ne ga-y-ari=dae y-a+ghe-teri.
 men.RED 3PL spear.I-EPEN-SEQ.IR.3S.DS=PUR go-SEQ.IR.SS+continue-TP.3PL.FN
 the men would go hunting.’

RE-ORIENTATION: SPECIFIC INITIATING ACTIONS

9. *Avori, ne y-ama, egi+fuka ere-garu-a, bu-do*
 all.right 3PL go-SEQ.IR.SS.T/F wallaby+pig IPF-spear.II-SEQ.R.SS get.I-SEQ.SS

y-ama, avaraka=da kusia+e mindi dadabe-do nenda
 go-SEQ.IR.SS.T/F fire=LOC roast+do.I eat.I finish.I-SEQ.SS 3PL.GEN
gika+futo ava nembo fumbu-do fo-ama nati=da
 spear+pig.net that.CT only carry.I-SEQ.DD come-SEQ.IR.SS.T/F house=LOC
buvu-do ghe-teri.
 arrive.I-SEQ.SS continue-TP.3PL.FN
 'All right, they (the men) would go and spear game, get some go and roast it on the
 fire, eat it all up, and bring only their spears and nets back home.'

RE-ORIENTATION: GENERIC RECAP of INITIATING ACTIONS

10. *Sifo ghousa, ava u-se ir-á+ghe-teri.*
 day long that.CT do.II-SIM.SS remain-SEQ.IR.SS+continue-TP.3PL.FN
 'All the time, they would remain acting that way.'

CRISIS and WOMEN'S REACTIONS

11. *Avori, sifo eni, evevetu ne sifo=ghae uvu*
 all.right day another women.RED 3PL day=COM.D water
dimb-ari=dae se-do a-era.
 dip.up.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS=PUR say.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.3PL.FN
 'All right, one day, the women went early to fetch water.'
- 12a. *A-era, nenda gagarako aimi uvu dimbu*
 go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3PL.SS 3PL.GEN younger.sister that.CEFF.T/F water dip.up.I
r-iri, nunda aki+mane gi-do se-teri,
 eat.II-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3S.GEN older.sister+PL see.I-SEQ.SS say.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 'They went, and they saw their younger sister as she was dipping and drinking water,
 and her sisters asked,
- 12b. *"Nimoá rejoy ava re-r-asa, oj-esa*
 2S.T/F.that what.SPEC that.CT IPF-eat.II-SEQ.NP.R.2S.SS come.NDUR-SEQ.TP.2S.SS
sifo at-ae uvu re-r-esi?"
 day dawn-not.do water IPF-eat.II-PRES.2S.AQ
 "'Whatever did you eat, that you came and are drinking water so early in the
 morning?'"
- 13a. *Ava se-tero, nenda gagarako se-tira,*
 that.CT say.II-SEQ.R.3PL.DS 3PL.GEN younger.sister say.I-TP.3S.FN
 'They said that and their younger sister replied,
- 13b. *"Nanda genembo egi+fuka bu f-iri re-r-ana,*
 1S.GEN man wallaby+pig take.I come-SIM.R.3S.DS IPF-eat.II-NP.1S.FN

a+gi-do na uvu re-r-ena,
 that+see.I-SEQ.SS 1S water IPF-eat.II-PRES.IS.FN
 ‘My husband brought meat and I ate it, that’s why I am drinking water.’

13c. *aminge se-tira.*
 that.T/F.CEFF.do.FOC.I say.I-TP.3S.FN
 That’s what she said.’

14. *Se-tiri, nunda aki+mane ningi-do, dumo+dumo+e-teri.*
 say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3S.GEN older.sister+PL hear.I-SEQ.SS sulk+DUP+do.I-TP.3PL.FN
 ‘She said (that) and her older sisters heard it and sulked.’

WOMEN’S PLAN

15. *Aminge-do a-era, nati=da buvu-do,*
 that.T/F.CEFF.do.FOC.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.3PL.FN house=LOC arrive.I-SEQ.SS
ne dabade manaka+gae-teri.
 3PL together plan+spear.I-TP.3PL.FN
 ‘They sulked, went, and arriving home they planned together (what to do).’

16a. *Gae-do se-teri,*
 spear.I-SEQ.SS say.I-TP.3PL.FN
 ‘Planning, they said,

16b. *“Namonde=da gagarako nu, genembo eveva fifitu-sira*
 1PL.INC=GEN younger.sister 3S man good say.II-SEQ.SS
ava+se-do, namonde nu do-do y-arera.”
 that.CT+say.I-SEQ.SS 1PL.INC 3S leave.I-SEQ.SS go-F.IPL.FN
 ‘Our younger sister, well, she (in contrast to all of us) was married by a good man, so we will leave her and go (away).’”

ACTIONS and OUTCOME

17a. *Aminge se-do, r-av-ara sifo ate-tiri,*
 that.T/F.CEFF.do.FOC.I say.I-SEQ.SS IPF-sleep-NP.3PL.FN day dawn.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
gegenembo ga-y-ari=dae taima=da teter-ero
 man.RED spear.I-EPEN-SEQ.IR.3S.DS=PUR bush=LOC enter.II-SIM.R.3PL.DS
gi-do, evevetu nenda roera gugua+e-do,
 see.I-SEQ.SS women.RED 3PL.GEN things possessions.in.roll+do.I-SEQ.SS
isambu vovosu-se nenda gagarako=dae se-teri.
 all descend.II-SIM.SS 3PL.GEN younger.sister=BEN say.I-TP.3PL.FN
 ‘After saying that, they slept till day dawned, and they saw the men were entering the forest to hunt, then the women collected and rolled up their things, and as they were going down (to the beach) they said to their younger sister,’

- 17b. *"Nimo genembo eveva=kena vai+e-tesa ava+se-do,*
 2S.T/F man good=ALOC marry+do.I-TP.2S.FN that.CT+say.I-SEQ.SS
nimoá iri!
 2S.T/F.that remain.IMP.S
 "You married a good man, so you stay!"
- 17c. *Namane ni do-do y-ari=dae er-era."*
 1PLEXC 2S leave.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-SEQ.IR.3S.DS=PUR IPF-do.I.PRES.FN
 We are going to leave you and go (away)."
18. *Aminge+se-do, ne javi+e-do a-era*
 that.T/F.CEFF.do.FOC.I+say.I-SEQ.SS 3PL move+do.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.3PL.FN
ghaka-da vose-teri.
 boat-LOC descend.I-TP.3PL.FN
 'Having said that they started off and went down into the boat.'
19. *Vose sirige-do a-era Goodenough*
 descend.I push.off.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.3PL.FN Goodenough
aminda buvu-do, viti reighi+Kitava aminda
 that.T/F.CEFF.LOC arrive-SEQ.SS ascend.I place+Kitava that.T/F.CEFF.LOC
dighi-do anumbe-teri.
 lash-SEQ.SS sit.I-TP.3PL.FN
 'After they went down and started off they went across to Goodenough, and went up to Kitava, and settled down there.'

CONCLUSION

20. *E-do oroko+mo, reighi+Kitava aminda, evevetu=va nembo*
 do.I-SEQ.SS now+T/F place+Kitava there women.RED=CT only
ir-era.
 remain-PRES.3PL.FN
 'And even now at that village of Kitava there are only women.'
21. *Ava+se-do, gegenembo aminda tefo=ri.*
 that.CT+say.I-SEQ.SS men.RED there none=COP.AQ
 'Therefore, there are no men there.'
22. *Evevetu nenda diti=imi genembo g-arera amo, nu*
 women.RED 3PL.GEN eye=CEFF.T/F man see.I-F.3PL.FN that.T/F 3S
amb-arira.
 die.I-F.3S.FN
 'If the women look at a man with their eyes, he'll die.'
23. *Amo evevetu=da vasa=ri.*
 that.T/F women.RED=GEN place=COP.AQ
 'That the women's place.'

24. *Gavana ava kasama+e-tiri ir-ira.*
 government that.CT know+do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS remain-PRES.3S.FN
 'The government knows that.'
25. *Ava+se-do, ne mandi fumbu-r-aera amo, fati*
 that.CT+say.I-SEQ.SS 3PL boy bear.I-IMP-CUST.3PL.FN that.T/F press.I
git-ioro ambu-raira.
 squeeze.I-SEQ.CUST.3PL.DS die.I-CUST.3S.FN
 'So if they bear a boy baby they strangle it, and it dies.'
26. *Gagara ava undu-raera.*
 girl that.CT care.for.I-CUST.3PL.FN
 'A girl they nurture and raise.'
27. *Oroko emo, ava u-se ir-era.*
 now this.T/F that.CT do.II-SIM.SS remain-PRES.3PL.FN
 'And even now at this time, they still remain doing the same thing.'

CLOSING

Kiki aghata bamba!
 story forming underdeveloped
 'That's all folks!'

APPENDIX 2

JARUGA RORO

by Elkin Kephana, age 65

December 1979

This text is from the repertoire of legends that the Korafe have handed down from generation to generation. Elkin Kephana, who set it down in written form, is the official story teller of the Bubu clan.

The legend centres around the relationship between a brother, Jaruga Roro, and his sister. In this case, although she is not identified by name, she is the strong one who resuscitates her dead brother. The interaction between the world of the living and the spirit world is also illustrated in this story.

APERTURE

Kiki!

story

‘This is a legend.’

PARAGRAPH 1: INTRODUCTION, BUILD UP AND INITIATING ACTION

1. *Jaruga+Roro nunambo=ghae sifo=ghae ere-do taima=da*
Jaruga+Roro 3S.brother.in.law=COM.D day=COM.D arise.I-SEQ.SS bush=LOC
ambe je-do d-ari=dae se-do a-era.
sago fell.I-SEQ.SS hit.I-DVB=PUR say.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.3PL.FN
‘Jaruga Roro got up early in the morning with his brother-in-law and went off to process sago.’
2. *A-era, je-tero dur-iri nengae*
go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3PL.SS fell.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS fall.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3D
nunambo=ghae gafuge-do tika bu-do
3S.brother.in.law=COM.D cut.I-SEQ.SS dibble.stick get.I-SEQ.SS
feghe-tero fas+e-tira.
husk-SEQ.R.3PL.DS lie.down+do.I-TP.3S.FN
‘They went, cut down a sago tree, and together with his brother-in-law they took a dibble stick and peeled back the the bark from the trunk.’

- 3a. *E-tiri, kaira bu-do de fati do-do*
do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS sago.beater get.I-SEQ.SS hit.I press.I leave.I-SEQ.SS
Jaruga+Roro nunambo se-tira,
Jaruga+Roro 3S.brother.in.law say.I-TP.3S.FN
'After that they took a sago beater and pounded the pith loose from the trunk,
and then Jaruga Roro's brother-in-law said,
- 3b. "*Nombo, yasi, usisi gafe-do bu-do*
brother.in.law go.2S.IMP coconut.porous.bark cut.I-SEQ.SS get.I-SEQ.SS
fur-aso nangae ambe fos-ore!"
come 1D sago squeeze.I-HOR.1PL.AQ
'Brother-in-law, go and cut down that fibrous stuff around the fronds of the
coconut, and bring it here, so we can filter out the sago flour'."
- 3c. *se-tiri, Jaruga+Roro a-ira gitofu=da usu*
say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS Jaruga+Roro go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3PL.SS enemy=GEN coconut
ava viti-do usisi gafe-do usu beká
that.CT ascend.I-SEQ.SS coconut.porous.bark cut.I-SEQ.SS coconut true
etodaba ava tosembe-do, eni dika=i gambu-do, etoto
three that.CT twist.off.I-SEQ.SS another teeth=CEFF bite.I-SEQ.SS two
ungo=i bu-do vose+oj-ira,
hand=CEFF get.I-SEQ.SS fall.I+come.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS
CRISIS (INITIATING ACTION)
soró+da kosasaghe-tiri enda=da du-do dukughe-tira.
middle+LOC slip.by.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS earth=LOC fall.I-SEQ.SS thud-TP.3S.FN
'After he said that, Jaruga Roro went and climbed a coconut belonging to their
enemies, cut off the fibrous bark cloth, then twisted off three coconuts, and taking
the stem of one with his teeth took two in the crook of his arm, came part way down,
but then let it slip and it thudded onto the ground.'

PARAGRAPH 2: REACTION, ACTION, OUTCOME

- 4a. *E-tiri, gitofu ningi-do se-teri,*
do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS enemy hear.I-SEQ.SS say.I-TP.3PL.AQ
'When that happened, their enemies hearing that said,
- 4b. "*Namonde=da usu mave ere-ifi?"*
1PL.INC=LOC coconut who IPF-climb.II-PRES.3S.AQ
"Who is climbing our coconuts?"
- 4c. *se buvu usu susu=da kosege-do de-tero*
talk.I approach.I coconut base=LOC block.I-SEQ.SS hit.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS

amb-iri bu-do a-era, mind-ari=dae.
 die.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS get.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.3PL.FN eat.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS=PUR
 Saying that they approached surrounded the base of the coconut tree, hit and killed
 Jaruga Roro, and took him off to eat him.'

PARAGRAPH 3: ACTION of JARUGA RORO

5. *E-tero, nunda dangio idevi+igi=imi foiya*
 do.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS 3S.GEN soul heliconia.tree+leaf=CEFF.T/F head.covering
ombu-do a-ira, nunambo+kena buvu-do,
 put.on.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS 3S.brother.in.law approach.I-SEQ.SS
nengae ambe fos-edo jigh-ero dadabe-tira.
 3D sago squeeze-SEQ.SS hold.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS finish.I-TP.3S.FN
 'After they did that his spirit got a leaf (from) the heliconia tree, and clothing himself
 with that, went to his brother-in-law and they finished processing the sago.'
6. *E-tiri, nengae bore-do digh-eri.*
 do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3D roast.I-SEQ.SS lash.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 'After that they roasted and tied up the sago into bundles.'
- 7a. *Dighi-do, fumbu nunambo jebuga giti+e-tiri*
 lash.I-SEQ.SS carry.I 3S.brother.in.law life first+do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
oj-era, nati+atu=da buvutu-se, amb-ari
 come.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3PL.SS village+rear.area=LOC arrive.II-SIM.SS die.I-DVB
genembo=a s-etira,
 man=that say.I-TP.3S.FN
 'After they tied the bundles they carried them off, with the living brother-in-law
 first, and arriving at the back of the village that dead man said,
- 7b. "Nombo, nearo buv-ir=are,"
 brother.in.law 2S.wife arrive-TP.3S.FN=that.CR
 "Brother-in-law, your wife is coming".'
- 7c. *se-tiri, ava g-ari=dae joveregh-iri*
 say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS that.CT see.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS=PUR return.I-SIM.R.3S.DS
nunambo manje-tira.
 3S.brother.in.law disappear.I-TP.3S.FN
 'Jaruga Roro said that, and as his brother-in-law turned around to see her, he
 disappeared.'

PARAGRAPH 4: BUILD-UP INVOLVING JARUGA RORO'S SISTER

- 8a. *E-tiri, nunambo nusuka a-ira, nati=da*
 do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3S.brother.in.law 3S.alone go.NDUR-TP.3S.SS village=LOC

- buv-iri* *noaro ategi+e-tira,* *nuvu=dae,*
 arrive.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3S.wife question+do.I-TP.3S.FN 3S.husband=BEN
 ‘After he disappeared the brother-in-law went on alone, and when he arrived at
 the house, his wife asked her husband,
- 8b. “*Ninambo* *mo?*”
 2S.brother.in.law T/F
 “What about your brother-in-law?”
- 8c. *se-tiri,* *nuvu* *rea* *e-tira,* *ava* *se-tiri*
 say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3S.husband whatever do.I-TP.3S.FN that.CT say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
ning-ira.
 hear.I-TP.3S.FN
 After she said that, her husband told her what had happened.’
9. *Ningi-do,* *evetu* *nunda ghasovu=á* *ere-do,* *embo eni* *bu*
 hear.I-SEQ.SS woman 3S.GEN sister=that arise.I-SEQ.SS cloth another get.I
avi-do, *kotugo* *embo eni* *bu-do,* *eto=da*
 wrap.around.I-SEQ.SS likewise cloth another get.I-SEQ.SS top=LOC
sukaru+embo av-ira.
 spirit+cloth wrap.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘Hearing that, the woman, that sister, arose and putting on a skirt, she then put on
 another one, a spirit’s skirt.’
10. *Avi-do* *a-ira,* *nunda ruka* *g-ari=dae.*
 wrap.around.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.3S.FN 3S.GEN brother see.I-DVB=PUR
 ‘Then she went to see her brother.’

PARAGRAPH 5: BUILD-UP INVOLVING ENEMIES’ ACTION

11. *Gitofu=á,* *ne Jaruga+Roro bu-do* *a-era,* *nati*
 enemies=that 3PL Jaruga+Roro get.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR-TP.3PL.FN village
ofotighi=da *arafa+digh-eri.*
 square=LOC spread-eagled+lash.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 ‘Those enemies had taken Jaruga Roro and lashed him spread-eagled in the
 village square.’

PARAGRAPH 6: JARUGA RORO’S SISTER CROSSES FIRST MOUNTAIN RANGE—MONITORED by a BOY COVERED with SORES (INITIATING ACTION)

- 12a. *E-do,* *aindae* *ivuga+u-se* *yaru+didiv-ero,*
 do.I-SEQ.SS that.CEFF.BEN happy+do.II-SIM.SS song+sing.II-SIM.R.3PL.DS
mandako+gajari=de=ka *nu*
 younger.brother+covered (with.sores).DVB=COM.PL.DIM 3S

oj-ira *anumb+iri-se* *gos-iri* *didiv-ero*,
 come.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS sit+remain-SIM.SS see.II-SIM.R.3S.DS sing.II-SIM.R.3PL.DS
evetu=á *taima=da* *tere-do* *sufu-se+ir-ara*
 woman=that bush=LOC enter.I-SEQ.SS run.II-SIM.SS+remain-SEQ.NP.3PL.SS
doriri *eni* *iká=da* *fete-do* *yaru* *evia* *div-ira*,
 mountain another above=LOC stand.I-SEQ.SS song this.CT sing.I-TP.3S.FN
 ‘Rejoicing about that those enemies were dancing and a young boy covered with
 sores came, and while he was sitting there that woman entered the jungle ran and
 standing on top of a mountain there sang this song.’

- 12b. “*Jaruga+Roro-o-o*, *ambo gaita*, *giti gaita*, *Jaruga+Roro-o-o*,”¹
Jaruga+Roro-o-o *ambo gaita* *giti gaita* *Jaruga+Roro-o-o*
 “Jaruga Roro-o-o, in order to see the back, in order to see the front, Jaruga Roro-o-o,”
- 12c. *divu-do*, *nunda* *embo* *ava* *vurafa+vurafa+ghe-tiri*,
 sing.I-SEQ.SS 3S.GEN skirt that.CT wave+ADUP+continue.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
gajari=de *mandako* *ai* *ningi-do*,
 sores=COM.PL younger.brother that.CEFF hear.I-SEQ.SS
 she sang and waved her clothing, and that boy covered with sores heard her,
- 12d. “*Ei! Dovu*, *ning-ore!*
 Hey leave.2PL.IMP listen.I-HORT.1PL.AQ
 “Hey! Stop, let’s listen!”
- 12e. *O* *reju=ri?*” *se-tira*.
 that.D2 what=COP.AQ say.I-TP.3S.FN
 What’s that?” he said.’

[BACKGROUND INFORMATION]

13. *Se-tira* *amo*, *didiv-er-ara*, *a* *jo* *tumond-ae*
 say.I-TP.3S.FN that.T/F sing.II-IPF-NP.3PL.FN that NEG believe-not.do
e-do *nundae* *jijivu+se-teri*.
 do.I-SEQ.SS 3S.BEN curse+say.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 ‘When he said that, the dancers didn’t believe him and swore at him.’

PARAGRAPH 7: JARUGA RORO’S SISTER CROSSES SECOND RANGE (SECOND INITIATING ACTION)

14. *E-do* *didiv-ero*, *evetu* *amo* *sufu-se+ir-ara*
 do.I-SEQ.SS sing.II-SIM.R.3PL.DS woman that.T/F run.II-SIM.SS+remain-NP.3PL.FN

¹ This song is currently untranslatable in Korafe. It aroused terror in the intended audience. In Baruga, *ambo gaita* means ‘in order to see the back’ and *giti gaita* ‘in order to see the front’.

doriri eni=da viti fete-do yaru daba ava sekago
 mountain another=LOC ascend.I stand.I-SEQ.SS song one that.CT again

div-ira.

sing.I-TP.3S.FN

‘And while they continued dancing that woman ran, climbed and stood on another mountain and sang that same song.’

PARAGRAPH 8: JARUGA RORO’S SISTER CROSSES THIRD RANGE and ALL the DANCERS HEAR HER (THIRD INITIATING ACTION-CRISIS)

- 15a. *Ava u-se oj-ira utuva+e-do sekago*
 that.CT do.II-SIM.SS come.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS near+do.I-SEQ.SS again

div-ira,

sing.I-TP.3S.FN

‘While keeping on doing that she came closer and sang again,

- 15b. “*Jaruga+Roro-o-o, ambo gaita, giti gaita, Jaruga+Roro-o-o,*”
Jaruga+Roro-o-o ambo gaita giti gaita Jaruga+Roro-o-o
 “‘Jaruga Roro-o-o, in order to see the back, in order to see the front, Jaruga Roro-o-o,’”

16. *Div-iri, isambu didiv-er-ara ning-eri.*
 cut.off.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS all sing.II-IPF-NP.3PL.FN hear.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 ‘As she sang that song, all those dancing heard it.’

PARAGRAPH 9: PEOPLES’ REACTION

17. *E-do, oju+e-do evetu+genembo isambu nenda mandi+sasingu*
 do.I-SEQ.SS fear+do.I-SEQ.SS woman+man all 3PL.GEN boy+children
bambu-do aera, kambo=da viviti+ge-do
 get.I-SEQ.SS go.NDUR.TP.3PL.FN house=LOC ascend.RED.I+do.FOC.I-SEQ.SS
guro gagaje+ge-do anosege-teri.
 door close.RED.I+do.FOC.I-SEQ.SS huddle/hunker.down-TP.3PL.AQ
 ‘Hearing that, those people all took their children, went and they all went up into their houses and closed all their doors and huddled together.’

PARAGRAPH 10: JARUGA RORO’S SISTER ENTERS VILLAGE

18. *Evetu+á, nu yaru daba ava didivu-se oj-ira*
 woman+that 3S song one that.CT sing.II-SIM.SS come.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS
reighi=da buv-ira.
 place=LOC arrive-TP.3S.FN
 ‘That woman, keeping on singing that same song came and approached the village.’

[BACKGROUND INFORMATION: RECAP of PEOPLE'S RESPONSE]

- 19a. *Evetu+genembo isambu oju beká ava e-do beka+baka*
 woman+man all fear truly that.CT do.I-SEQ.SS chatter+ADUP
do-do anoseg+ir=ero,
 leave.I-SEQ.SS huddle+remain=SIM.R.3PL.DS
 'While everyone was afraid, fell silent and cowered in their houses,

JARUGA RORO'S SISTER FREES and RESUSCITATES HIM

- 19b. *nu divu savi+y-a buvu+fo-a*
 3S sing.I go.upstream+go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS arrive.I+come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
ghu-se, nunda ruka digh-era=da asi ava
 continue.II-SIM.SS 3S.GEN brother lash.I-TP.3PL.FN=GEN vine.rope that.CT
divege-do ghe-tira.
 cut.off.I-SEQ.SS continue.I-TP.3S.FN
 she kept singing as she went back and forth, and cut all the ropes with which they
 had bound her brother.'
20. *Asi+roera dive tefo+e-do, nunda ruka bu*
 vine.rope+thing cut.I nothing+do.I-SEQ.SS 3S.GEN brother get.I
fuge-tiri guka=da vit-iri bu jovereghe-do
 throw.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS back=LOC ascend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS get.I return.I-SEQ.SS
nunda reighi=da sumb-ira.
 3S.GEN place=LOC run.I-TP.3S.FN
 'She finished completely cutting off the ropes, threw her brother up onto her back,
 and ran back to her own village.'
21. *Sufu-se+ir-ara buvu-do, tamo bu-do*
 run.II-SIM.SS+remain-NP.3PL.FN arrive.I-SEQ.SS body get.I-SEQ.SS
a-ira fit-iri fase-tiri tuturo+e-do
 go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS put.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS lie.down.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS begin+do.I-SEQ.SS
avaraka use-tira.
 fire ignite.I-TP.3S.FN
 'She ran, arrived, put the body down and started a fire.'
22. *Usi-se+ir-ara e-tiri jebuge-tira.*
 ignite.II-SIM.SS+remain-NP.3PL.FN do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS become.alive.I-TP.3S.FN
 'She kept heating him, and he rejuvenated.'

PARAGRAPH 11: TESTING JARUGA RORO'S RECOVERY

- 23a. *E-do ere anumbe-tiri,*
 do.I-SEQ.SS arise.I sit.down.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
 'And then he sat up, and

- 23b. *"Fu, vos-ase!" se-tira.*
 come.2S.IMP descend.I-HORT.2S.CR say.I-TP.3S.FN
 "Come on, go down!" she said.'
- 24a. *Se-tiri vose-tiri, se-tira,*
 say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS ascend.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS say.I-TP.3S.FN
 'After she said that, he descended and she said,
- 24b. *"Sumbu, vose+yasi, kaugha+moirara fet+ir-ira*
 run.2S.IMP ascend.I+go.2S.IMP banana+moirara stand+remain-PRES.3S.FN
gay-aso gof-ari g-aone!" se-tira.
 spear.I-SEQ.IR.2S.DS topple.I-SEQ.IR.3S.DS see.I-HORT.1S.CR say.I-TP.3S.FN
 "Run down to where the Moirara type banana is standing, and let me see you kick
 it over with your foot!" she said.'
25. *Se-tiri, sumbu vos+aira gae-do*
 say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS run.I ascend.I+go.NDUR.TP.3S.FN spear.I-SEQ.SS
oj-ira avo=i dange anumbe-tira.
 come.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS buttocks=CEFF bump.I sit.down.I-TP.3S.FN
 'After she said that he ran down, jabbed the banana tree with his foot, and recoiled
 onto his backside and sat there.'

PARAGRAPH 12: REAPPLICATION OF CURATIVE PROCESS

- 26a. *E-tiri, "Viti+fu!"*
 do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS ascend.I+come.2S.IMP
 'Then she said, "Come on back up!"
- 26b. *se-tiri, viti+oj-iri sekago ika gae-tira.*
 say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS ascend.I+come.NDUR-SEQ.R.3S.DS again tree spear.I-TP.3S.FN
 and he came up, then went back down and jabbed that tree again.'
27. *Garu-se+ir-ara do-do se-tiri sekago*
 spear.II-SIM.SS+remain-NP.3PL.FN leave.I-SEQ.SS say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS again
sumbu vos+aira kaugha daba ava gae-tiri
 run.I ascend.I+go.NDUR.TP.3S.FN banana one that.CT spear.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS
gofe vos+a-ira dur-ira.
 topple.I ascend.+go.NDUR-SEQ.TP.3S.SS crash.down.I-TP.3S.FN
 'He kept on jabbing that tree, and she'd call him back up, and he'd go down again
 until at last he jabbed that same banana and it toppled over and fell flat.'

PARAGRAPH 13: SUCCESS!

- 28a. *E-tiri, "E avori, viti+fu!"*
 do.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS this OK ascend.I+come.2S.IMP
 'After that she said, "Hey OK, come on back up!"'

- 28b. *se-tiri,* *viti+oj-iri,* *"E-tesa+re!"*
 say.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS ascend.I+come.NDUR-SEQ.R.3S.DS do.I-TP.2S.FN+COP.AQ
 she said, and he came up, and (she said,) "You did it!"
- 28c *se-do bambu ri-do+re-f-ara sirivo+e-teri.*
 say.I-SEQ.SS gather.I eat.II-SEQ.SS+IPF-come.DUR-NP.3PL.FN perish+do.I-TP.3PL.AQ
 she spoke, and then they remained doing their daily tasks of gathering and eating
 food, and finally died.'

CLOSING

30. *Kiki aghata bamba!*
 story forming underdeveloped
 'That's all folks!'

APPENDIX 3

AMBE DARI 'SAGO PROCESSING'

by Erastus Avo Daba, age 45

December 1979

This procedural text details the steps the Korafe follow in processing sago and lists the products that they produce. Chaining paragraphs (1 and 2) are used in the discussion of the procedures involved in processing sago. Thematic paragraphs (3 and 4) describe the intermediary products produced on the processing site and the final products produced in the village.

The focus is on the procedure and the products rather than the human processors. Therefore, the subject referent (first person plural) is indicated only by subject-agreement marking on verbs. For the most part, final verbs occurring in this text are inflected with the customary aspect suffixes. Fourteen of the 20 sentences are SRCs.

PARAGRAPH (CHAINING) 1: INTRODUCTION AND INITIAL PROCESS

1. *Ambe fet+ir-iari* *y-ama* *j-eoro*
sago stand+remain-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS.T/F chop.I-SEQ.CUST.IPL.DS
du-raira.
fall.I-CUST.3S.FN
'The sago remains, and we go chop it and it falls to the ground.'
2. *Du-r-eari,* *giti evia simbuge-raera.*
fall.I-EPEN-CUST.3S.DS first this.CT prepare-CUST.IPL.FN
'After it falls, first we prepare this.'

PARAGRAPH (CHAINING) 2: SAGO PROCESSING

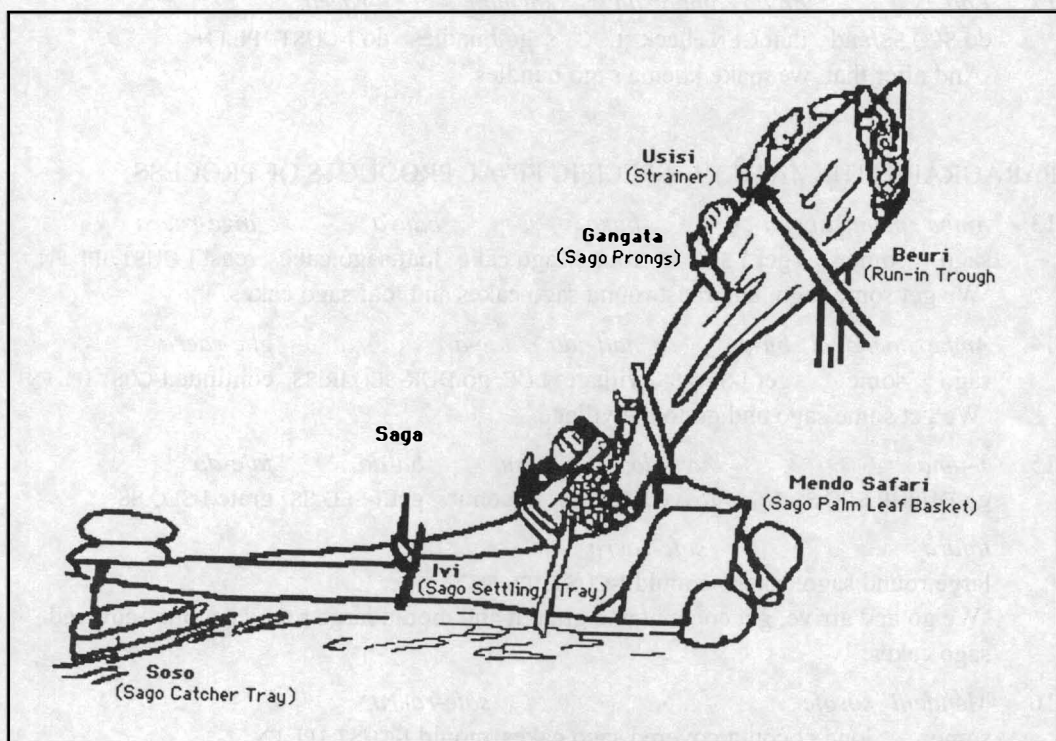
3. *Oto bu gafu-ge-do,* *ika eni je-do,* *bu fu-a*
axe get cut.II-do.FOC.I-SEQ.SS tree a chop.I-SEQ.SS get.I come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS
mendo keve-do aimi feghe-raera.
nose carve.I-SEQ.SS that.CEFF.T/F remove.skin.I-CUST.IPL.FN
'We get an axe and cut the sago sideways, then we chop a tree, bring it, sharpen a point on it and with it, we remove the sago bark.'

4. *Fas-eari, ogugho+sogoro gembu-do kaira*
 lie-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS sago.scrapers+sogoro.vine lash.I-SEQ.SS handle
sir-eoro fet-eari, giti fodi
 insert-SEQ.CUST.3PL.DS stand-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS first sago.pith.left.on.bark
de-raera.
 hit.I-CUST.1PL.FN
 'It lies, and we lash the sogoro vine around the end of the sago scraper, insert the handle, and it stands, and first we beat the sago pith left on the bark.'
5. *De-do ambo=da, ambe beká de+dadabe ere-do, ivi*
 hit.I-SEQ.SS back=LOC sago true hit.I+finish.I arise.I-SEQ.SS sago.trough
fit-eoro fas-eari, beuri bu-do ika+fotata
 put-DS.SEQ.CUST.1PL lie-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS run.in.trough get.I-SEQ.SS tree+fork
dari-do desemb-edo gangata egh-edo usisi
 anchor.I-SEQ.SS lean.against-SEQ.SS sago.prong wind.I-SEQ.SS strainer
fiti gae-do mendo+saf-ari du-do beuri
 put.I spear.I-SEQ.SS nose+mould-DVB put.on.ground.I-SEQ.SS run.in.trough
mendo=da asuge-do gofiri gae-do sooso
 nose=LOC put.on.I-SEQ.SS sago.scoop spear.I-SEQ.SS sago.catcher.tray
fiti-do gatega gafuge keve-do aimi bu-do
 put.I-SEQ.SS bark.dustpan cut.I carve.I-SEQ.SS that.CEFF.T/F get.I-SEQ.SS
ambe fendi-raera.
 sago put.in.I-CUST.1PL.FN
 'After we beat it, we completely beat the real sago pulp and arise, put the sago settling trough into position, get the run-in trough, secure a forked stick (in the ground), and lean the run-in trough against it, wind the prongs around with vine and put the coconut inner bark strainer in place, put down the palm basket and put it securely on the end of the run-in trough, we prepare the sago scoop, put the sago catcher tray in place, cut sideways a sago bark dustpan, get it and put the sago in it.'
6. *Fendi-do, gofiri=imi uvu dimbu averege fose-raera.*
 put.in.I-SEQ.SS scoop=CEFF.T/F water dip.up.I pour.I work.sago.I-CUST.1PL.FN
 'We put it in, dip up water with the scoop, pour it in, and work the sago.'
7. *Fos-eoro, beká siror-eari gove-do*
 work.sago-SEQ.CUST.1PL.DS real.part be.born-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS plant.I-SEQ.SS
bu fit-eoro usisi=da fase sagh-eari bu-do,
 get.I put.I-SEQ.CUST.1PL.DS strainer=LOC lie.I dry.I-SEQ.CUST.3S.DS get.I-SEQ.SS
ivi joká=da fiti-do vivi-se bu jurigi=da
 settling.trough inside=LOC put.I-SEQ.SS pat.I-SS.SIM get.I sago.loaf=LOC

fiti-do, ambe+igi bu-do dung-eoro avi
 put.I-SEQ.SS sago+leaf get.I-SEQ.SS burn.I-SEQ.CUST.IPL.DS cook/dry.I
eari ejega d-eoro, ambe tamó
 do.SEQ.CUST.3S.DS sago.sapling hit.I-SEQ.CUST.IPL.DS sago body

bogarago+eari timbu-raera.
 white+do.SEQ.CUST.3S.DS peel.off.I-CUST.IPL.FN

‘We work it (and the next day), when the real sago is emerging, we knead it, get and place it so it lies at the strainer and dries, get it, put it inside the settling trough, pat and knead it, get it, put it in sago loaves, get sago leaves, roast it, and it cooks completely, beat it with sago saplings until it becomes white and we peel off the skin.’



APPARATUS FOR SAGO MAKING

(Diagram originally by Erastus Avo Daba, but scanned and prepared by George Carrington for this work.)

PARAGRAPH (THEMATIC) 3: INITIAL PRODUCTS PRODUCED ON SAGO PROCESSING SITE

8. *Ainda javo=mo uvu+vava=ri.*
 that.LOC name=T/F water+vava=COP.AQ
 ‘The name of that is *uvu vava*.’

9. *Kotu=go, seka=go dung-eoro avi eari*
 footprint=CPAR new=CPAR burn.I-SEQ.CUST.IPL.DS cook/dry do.SEQ.CUST.3S.DS
timbu-raera.
 peel.off.I-CUST.IPL.FN
 ‘And again, we roast it until it cooks, and we peel off the skin.’
10. *Ainda javo=mo nako+vava=ri.*
 that.GEN name=T/F nako+vava=COP.AQ
 ‘The name of that is *nako vava*.’
11. *Ambe veveyako amo kereva=ri.*
 sago small.PL that.T/F kereva=COP.AQ
 ‘Those small pieces of sago are *kereva*.’
12. *Edo ainda+ambo=da, koema e-raera.*
 do.SEQ.SS/and that.GEN+back=LOC sago.bundles do.I-CUST.IPL.FN
 ‘And after that, we make *koema sago bundles*.’

PARAGRAPH (THEMATIC) 4: SPECIFIC FINAL PRODUCTS OF PROCESS

13. *Ambe mendeni bu-do baka, bauva inge-raera.*
 sago some get.I-SEQ.SS round.sago.cake loaf.sago.cake roast.I-CUST.3PL.FN
 ‘We get some sago, and roast round sago cakes and loaf sago cakes.’
14. *Ambe mendeni bu-do nati=da y-a ghe-raera.*
 sago some get.I-SEQ.SS village=LOC go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS continue.I-CUST.IPL.FN
 ‘We get some sago and go to the village.’
15. *Y-ama buvu-do, usu bu-do faje-do*
 go.DUR-IR.SS.T/F arrive.I-SEQ.SS coconut get.I-SEQ.SS grate.I-SEQ.SS
fafara safe-raera.
 large.round.sago.cakes mould.I-CUST.IPL.FN
 ‘We go and arrive, get coconut and grate it and mould large round coconut-covered sago cakes.’
16. *Mendeni sosofo safe-raera.*
 some long.coconut.covered.sago.cakes mould.I-CUST.IPL.FN
 ‘And some we mould into long coconut-covered sago cakes.’
17. *Mendeni=mo, konondo iti-raera, ã simbari e-raera.*
 some=T/F dumplings cook-CUST.IPL.FN and sago.pudding do.I-CUST.IPL.FN
 ‘Regarding some of it, we cook dumplings, and we make sago pudding.’
18. *Sarara=mo, safe-do avaraka=da inge-raera.*
 sago.pancake=T/F mould.I-SEQ.SS fire=LOC roast.I-CUST.IPL.FN
 ‘And the sago pancakes, we mould with coconut and roast in the fire.’

19. *Fufuno bu-do kovura e-raera.*
 leftover.bits get.I-SEQ.SS sago.pudding do.I-CUST.1PL.FN
 ‘We get leftover bits and make a sago pudding without coconut flavouring.’

CLOSING

20. *Ambe=da geka tano evi=ri.*
 sago=GEN talk boundary this.CT=COP.AQ
 ‘This is the end of (my) talk about sago.’

APPENDIX 4

KUNITA 'THE OCTOPUS'

by Elkin Kephana, age 68

March 1982

This descriptive text provides information about octopuses found in the Tufi area. The first three paragraphs after the introductory sentence distinguish two types by size and habitat and describe their feeding habits.

The final paragraph (sentences 9–18) is a thematic paragraph containing a section of narrative embedded in it. The initial two juxtaposed sentences furnish the theme of this paragraph, namely that this large type of octopus is dangerous to people, because it can sink canoes.

The narrative supplies the supporting argument for this theme. It contains two chaining paragraphs, which use sentence final verbs inflected with distant past tense suffixes, except for the final verb in each of the paragraphs which is inflected with present tense suffixes. The use of the distant past tense indicates that the Korafe consider this story to be non-fiction. The present tense forms reaffirm the truth of the story, connecting it with landmarks (i.e. a cave with bones in it and the coral heads in Jojo Bay) which are still visible today.

MAIN THEME

1. *Kunita=mo, nunda kau etoto naká=ri.*
octopus=T/F 3S.GEN type two of.them=COP.AQ
'About the octopus, there are two types of them.'

PARAGRAPH 1: SMALL OCTOPUS

2. *Eni=mo, kitako, aroro toka=da ã bubu duru=da*
one=T/F small rock hole=LOC and mangroves beneath=LOC
ir-á+ghe-raera.
remain-SEQ.IR.SS+continue.I-CUST.3PL.FN
'One, the little one, lives in holes in rock and underneath the mangroves.'
3. *Nunda ungo sisimbu ghabu+soveni soveni=da etodaba=ri.*
3S.GEN arm tentacles wing+across across=LOC three=COP.AQ
'It has eight tentacles (lit. across one hand and three on the other).'

PARAGRAPH 2: LARGE OCTOPUS

4. *Eni+mo mindafu beká=ri, kafuru jóká=da*
 one+T/F large true=COP.AQ deep.water inside+LOC
ir-á+ghe-raira.
 remain-SEQ.IR.SS+continue.I-CUST.3S.FN
 'The (other) one is a very large one; it lives in deep water.'
5. *Nunda sisimbu bumbura=imi jigh-arira tatakimb-arira*
 3S.GEN tentacle suckers=CEFF.T/F hold.I-F.3S.FN stick.to.RED-F.3S.FN
aimi, nunda bayau sandi bu fu-a mindi-raira.
 that.CEFF.T/F 3S.GEN food catch.I get.I come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS eat.I-CUST.3S.FN
 'With its tentacle suckers, that it grasps and sticks with, it catches, brings and eats its food.'

PARAGRAPH 3: MORE ON LARGE OCTOPUS' FEEDING HABITS

6. *Kotugo mindafu=mo, nu bosivara mindafu ava mindi-raira.*
 but big=T/F 3S dolphin large that.CT eat.I-CUST.3S.FN
 'And also regarding the large one, it eats large dolphins.'
7. *Nu kafuru=da ir-á+ghe-raira amo, jo*
 3S deep.water=LOC remain-SEQ.IR.SS+continue.I-CUST.3S.FN that.T/F NEG
g-ae e-raera.
 see-not.do do.I-CUST.1PL.FN
 'Since it lives in deep water, we don't see it.'
8. *Nu bayau tava+u-se viti+fo-a, soro=da*
 3S food seek+do.II-SIM.SS ascend+come.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS middle=LOC
feeghu-se tamo yasago+u-se ir-a+ghe-raira.
 float-SIM.SS body white+do.II-SIM.SS remain-SEQ.IR.SS+continue-CUST.3S.FN
 'Seeking food, it comes up and as it floats out in the open water, its body becomes white.'

PARAGRAPH 4: OCTOPUS' DANGER TO HUMANS

9. *Oka emo, nu eko beká=ri.*
 fish this.T/F 3S bad truly=COP.AQ
 'This fish is a truly malevolent one.'
10. *Nunda sisimbu=imi ghaka bu-raira.*
 3S.GEN tentacle=CEFF.T/F canoe get.I-CUST.3S.FN
 'With its tentacles it grabs boats.'

NARRATIVE EMBEDDED DISCOURSE:

PARAGRAPH 1: THE OCTOPUS KILLS A BOY AND GIRL

11. *Giti ruka ghasovu=ghae oka garu-do ujave+e-do*
 first brother sister=COM.D fish spear.II-SEQ.SS swim+do.I-SEQ.SS
semb-ari=dae ero, kunita aimi viti-do
 cross.I-DVB=PUR do.R.3PL.DS octopus that.CEFF.T/F ascend.I-SEQ.SS
sandi bu-do kafuru jóká=da vovos-usira.
 catch.I get-SEQ.SS deep.water inside=LOC descend.II-DP.3S.FN
 ‘Long ago a brother together with his sister came along spearing fish and while they were swimming to cross at a place called Jojo, that octopus came up, grabbed them and dived into the deep water.’
12. *Vose bu jigh+ir-iri karaje mindi ambududuru-seri.*
 descend.I get.I hold+remain-SIM.R.3S.DS salt.water eat.I die.II-DP.3S.FN
 ‘It descended and held them till they drowned (literally consumed salt water and died).’
13. *Amb-ero gi-do, bebesuge-tiri eroru-seri.*
 die.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS see.I-SEQ.SS open.up.RED.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS arise.II-DP.3PL.FN
 ‘Seeing they had died, it opened out its tentacles and they floated up.’
14. *Ere-do, feeghe viti+f-era founa=da*
 arise.I-SEQ.SS float.I ascend.I+come.DUR-SEQ.R.PAST.3PL.SS reef=LOC
dekesa+ero, nenda totofo f-era
 pound+do.SEQ.3PL.DS 3PL.GEN self.RED come.DUR-SEQ.R.PAST.3PL.SS
gi-do ruru-seri, reighi+javo+Jojo aminda.
 see.I-SEQ.SS get.II-DP.PL.AQ place+name+Jojo there
 Their bodies arose, floated up, and as they pounded on the reef, their kinsmen came, saw them and took them, at that place called Jojo.’
15. *Bu-do era, beku jóká=da fit-ero*
 get.I-SEQ.SS go.DUR-SEQ.R.PAST.PL.SS cave inside=LOC put.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS
iri-se bete-do dadabe-tiri, nenda etu oroko
 remain-SIM.SS soften.I-SEQ.SS end.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS 3PL.GEN bone now
ir-ira.
 remain-PRES.3S.AQ
 ‘They took the bodies and went and inside a cave they put them, where they remained until they rotted, and the bones are still there today.’

NARRATIVE EMBEDDED DISCOURSE:

PARAGRAPH 2: THE CHILDREN'S PARENTS GET REVENGE

16. *Noi+numamo sorara+u-se ghamana ingut-ero sifo*
 3S.mother+3S.father cry+do.I-SIM.SS stone roast.II-SIM.R.3PL.DS day
atet-iri gi-do, you dighi-do, ainda iká=da
 dawn.I-SEQ.3S.R.DS see.I-SEQ.SS raft lash.I-SEQ.SS that.CEFF.GEN above=LOC
ghamana fendi-do bu-do vos+i-seri.
 stone load.I-SEQ.SS get.I-SEQ.SS descend+go-DP.R.3PL.FN
 'Their mother and father, while crying, heated rocks, and when day dawned, they
 lashed a raft together, loaded the rocks on top, took them and went to sea.'
17. *Ne ghaka mendeni=da vos+ero gi-do, nu*
 3PL canoe some=LOC descend.I+go.DUR.SIM.R.3PL.DS see.I-SEQ.SS 3S
viti-do you ghamana=ghae ava rur-iri ne
 ascend.I-SEQ.SS raft rocks=COM.D that.CT get.II-SIM.R.3S.DS 3PL
nenda ghaka=da dave viti+fu-seri.
 3PL.GEN canoe=LOC paddle.I ascend.I+come.DUR-DP.3PL.FN
 'Seeing they went out in several boats, it surfaced and while it was getting the raft
 with the stones, they paddled and came back up to the beach.'
18. *Vit-ero gi-do, nu ambu-do sekara jine-do*
 ascend.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS see.I-SEQ.SS 3S die.I-SEQ.SS coral.head change.into.I-SEQ.SS
ir-ira.
 remain-PRES.3S.AQ
 'After they went up to the beach, the octopus died, became a lump of coral and
 remains that way.'

SIKURU DA GEKA 'SPEECH ON PRIMARY SCHOOL MAINTENANCE'

This hortatory discourse (*vironu* ‘speech’) is on the general topic of school maintenance, in particular keeping the grass cut. As is customary for public speeches, the audience is formally addressed. In this case, the speech is addressed to the general populace, the P. and C. members, the school board members and the teachers.

As is common in hortatory discourse, the final verbs occur in several different tense forms. In spite of the fact that this is a hortatory discourse, not one imperative form is used. The speaker relies on the second person plural contrafactual and future forms to frame his commands politely. To drive his point home more forcefully, he uses a rhetorical question in the fourth paragraph and evaluations in the third, fourth, and fifth paragraphs.

APERTURE: ADDRESS to the AUDIENCE

- ## PARAGRAPH 1: INTRODUCTION OF TOPIC

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PARAGRAPH 2: SOME HAVE DONE THEIR DUTY

4. *Teseni+embo, ne moni 2.50 ffitu-mutari.*
 station+people 3PL money 2.50 put.II-YP.3PL.AQ
 'The government station people put in K2.50.'
5. *E-tero, nenda grass lawn+mova=i gafu-muta.*
 do.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS 3PL.GEN grass lawn+mower=CEFF cut.II-YP.3S.AQ
 'They did that, and the lawn mower cut their portion of the grass.'
6. *Baga sikuru+embo sasingako=da garas, na 2.50 fit-eno,*
 Baga school+people children.DIM=GEN grass 1S 2.50 put.I-SEQ.R.1S.DS
garas gafu-muta.
 grass cut.II-YP.3S.AQ
 'I put in K2.50 (to cover) the Baga school children's portion, and the grass got cut.'

PARAGRAPH 3: PLEA TO DILATORY PARENTS

7. *Avori, Yagirua, Rabade, nanda natofo, nanange-do*
 All.right Yagirua Rabade 1S.GEN kinfolk how.RED.do.FOC.I-SEQ.SS
aming-aetevu!
 that.T/F.CEFF.FOC.do.I-CFAC.2PL.AQ
 'All right, my people from Yagirua and Rabade, how about if you would do that!'
8. *Aovo, kotugo lawn+mova-i garas gaf-aetira.*
 SEQ.IR.2PL.DS footprint.CPAR lawn+mower-CEFF grass cut.II-CFAC.3S.FN
 'You would do (that), and the lawn mower would likewise cut your portion of the grass.'
9. *Lilioa, Konambu, Orede, Jekuve, ne kotugo aminge*
 Lilioa, Konambu, Orede, Jekuve 2PL footprint.CPAR that.do.I
fit-aetevu!
 put.I-CFAC.2PL.AQ
 'And you Lilioa, Konambu, Orede and Jekuve people, you should also put in some money like that.'

PARAGRAPH 4: REVIEW OF HOW SYSTEM WAS SET UP

10. *Avo, namonde=da teseni eveva ir-aetira.*
 all.right 1PL.INC=GEN station good remain-CFAC.3S.FN
 'All right, our station should stay looking good.'
11. *Ai+re-s-ira: gatege-tero, teseni ne nenda*
 that.CEFF+IPF-say.I-PRES.3S.FN choose.I-SEQ.R.3PL.DS station 3PL 3PL.GEN

ruru-seri.

get.II-DP.3PL.AQ

‘That is: they (everybody) chose (their plot) and the station people got their area to care for.’

12. *Rabade, Yagirua, ne nenda ruru-seri.*

Rabade, Yagirua, 3PL 3PL.GEN get.II-DP.3PL.AQ

‘The Rabade and Yagirua people got theirs.’

13. *Lilioa, Orede, Jekuve, ne nenda rur-useri.*

Lilioa Orede Jekuve, 3PL 3PL.GEN get.II-DP.3PL.AQ

‘The Lilioa, Orede and Jekuve people got theirs.’

14. *Baga, ne nenda ruru-seri.*

Baga, 3PL 3PL.GEN get.II-DP.3PL.AQ

‘The Baga people got theirs.’

15. *Ava, Baga teseni=ghae=da boundary=mo, gafe-tiri,*

that.CT Baga station=COM.S=GEN boundary=T/F cut.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS

isagha+e-tira.

clear+do.I-TP.3S.FN

‘In contrast to the others, the Baga and government station people’s area was cut and is cleared off.’

PARAGRAPH 5: EMOTIONAL APPEAL

16. *Avori, boundary etoto naká nange nigha ir-i?*

all.right boundary two only how.do.FOC.I scrub remain-PRES.3S.AQ

‘All right, why are two of the areas still scrub?’

17. *Na aindae mema+er-ira.*

1S that.CEFF.BEN pain+IPF-PRES.3S.FN

‘That’s what I’m feeling pain about.’

PARAGRAPH 6: CONCLUSION—THREAT OF SCHOOL CLOSURE

18. *Ava+se-do, nanda natofo, totoi aovo, baundari*

that.CT+say.I-SEQ.SS 1S.GEN kinfolk quickly do.I-SEQ.IR.2PL.DS boundary

ava y-a isagha+aetira.

that.CT go.DUR-SEQ.IR.SS clear+do.I.CFAC.3S.FN

‘Therefore my people, quickly do it so the area will be cleared.’

19. *Simoro+haus, nasuka u-mutani.*

outhouse(small.house) 1S.only do.II-YP.3S.AQ

‘I made the outhouse by myself.’

20. *Ava jo eveva ir-ae-ri.*
 that.CT NEG good remain-not.do-COP.AQ
 'That's not good.'
21. *Inono, saramana inono=da u-ruroro, namonde=da teseni*
 equal work equal=LOC do.II-SIM.IR.1PL.DS 1PL.INC=GEN station
ir-aetira.
 remain-CFAC.3S.FN
 'It's like this, if we all do the work together equally our school grounds will be all right.'
22. *Imboe+areva aindae ere-gos-ena amo, saramana*
 dislike+do.F.2PL.FN that.CEFF.BEN IPF-see.II-PRES.1S.FN that.T/F work
jo ae arera.
 NEG not.do do.I.F.1PL.FN
 'But I see that if you don't want to, we won't do the work.'
23. *Sikuru ambo=da+ambo=da sikuru gaj-arira, ava re-s-ena.*
 school behind=LOC+DUP school close.I-F.2PL.FN that.CT IPF-say.I-PRES.1S.FN
 'What I'm saying is that by and by the school will close [if we don't work].'

CLOSING

24. *Avori, nanda geka tano evi=ri.*
 all.right 1S.GEN talk boundary.mark this.CT=COP.AQ
 'All right, this is the end of my talk.'

APPENDIX 6

CONSTANCE ALFRED DA RETA (LETTER)

by Constance Alfred, age 30

circa 1978

This letter is typical of Korafe letters in its use of formulaic apertures and closings. Each piece of significant information is also punctuated with a speech formula *yari budo gi!* ‘it will go, and (when) you receive (it), look (at it)’ or some modification of it. Greetings are effusive, extending beyond the aperture through the first paragraph and filling the paragraph before the closing as well.

It is common to hold the significant information, the real reason for writing, until the last paragraph before the final greetings. In this letter, she announces the less newsworthy piece of information, her brother Kenneth’s safe arrival. Then, she proceeds to give the real news, her daughter’s death.

APERTURE: ADDRESS

Dear Cindi, Jim! Arie kaforé, nanda nombo,

dear Cindi Jim wow dear.ones 1S.GEN in.law¹

‘Dear Cindi and Jim, greetings, dear ones, and especially to you my dear sister-in-law.’

PARAGRAPH 1: INTRODUCTORY GREETINGS

1. *Mará, ir-esa!*

my.oh.my remain-PRES.2S.FN

‘My, oh my, you are there!’

2. *Na ninda nombo, Constance+Alfred.*

1S 2S.GEN in.law Constance+Alfred.

‘I am your sister-in-law, Constance Alfred.’

3. *Nane nimo kote-do, dubo+vevera=ghae, ni roro ategi*

1S.ACT 2S.T/F think.I-SEQ.SS neck+heat=COM.D 2S heartily greeting

¹ The term *nombo* ‘in-law’ refers to spouse’s siblings of the same sex as ego and spouses of siblings of the opposite sex, i.e. brother’s wife, husband’s sister, wife’s brother, sister’s husband.

beká ava er-ena, y-ari bu-do gi!
 truly that.CT IPF-PRES.IS.FN go.DUR-SEQ.IR.3S.DS get.I-SEQ.SS see.I.IMP.2S
 ‘I myself, am thinking about you, grieving, I greet you heartily (hope this letter)
 goes to you and you get it and see (the information).’

PARAGRAPH 2: KENNETH CAME

4. *Na reju geka ava s-aoni=ta?*
 IS what.SPEC talk that.CT say.I-HORT.IS.AQ=FRUS
 ‘Whatever subject should I write about?’
5. *Nu, Kenneth vose+fu-sira.*
 3S Kenneth ascend.I+come.DUR-DP.3S.FN
 ‘Well, one thing is, Kenneth came down to my place.’
6. *Oj-iri, nanda nati=da namane nangae*
 come.NDUR-SEQ.R.TP.3S.DS 1S.GEN house=LOC 1PL.EXC 1D
ir-era, avori, gi!
 remain-PRES.1PL.FN all.right see.I.IMP.2S
 ‘He came, the two of us are together at my place, all right, realise (that)!’

PARAGRAPH 3: CONSTANCE’S DAUGHTER DIED

7. *Nombo, na dubo+vevera=ghae ir-ena, nanda gagara*
 in.law 1S neck+heat=COM.S remain-PRES.IS.FN 1S.GEN daughter
soro ava amb-iri, fuge-do ir-ena, avori,
 middle that.CT die.I-SEQ.R.3S.DS throw.I-SEQ.SS remain-PRES.IS.FN all.right
gi!
 see.I.IMP.2S
 ‘Sister-in-law I remain in grief. My middle daughter died, and I’m left prostrate
 with grief, think about that!’

PARAGRAPH 4: CONCLUDING GREETINGS

8. *Nombo, ninda genembo ninda mandi ategi+er-ena,*
 in.law 2S.GEN man 2S.GEN boy greeting+IPF-do.PRES.IS.FN
se ning-ore!
 say.I.IMP.2S hear.I-HOR.3PL.CR
 ‘Sister-in-law, tell your husband and son that I say hello.’
9. *Avori, y-ari bu-do gi!*
 all.right go.DUR-SEQ.IR.3S.DS get.I-SEQ.SS see.I.IMP.2S
 ‘Hope this gets to you and you see it, all right.’

10. *Ni eminda muno+e-do dotut-er-ena, avori, gi!*
 2S here kiss+do.I-SEQ.SS leave.II-IPF-PRES.IS.FN all.right see.IIMP.2S
 ‘All right, look, I’ll close here with a kiss, all right, see (that)!’

CLOSURE: SIGNATURE

11. *Nombo=ko, anumbe-y-o!*
 in.law=DIM sit.IIMP.2S-EPEN-STEN
 ‘My dear sister-in-law, goodbye!’
12. *Na ninda nombo, Constance+Alfred.*
 1S 2S.GEN sibling’s.spouse Constance+Alfred.
 ‘I’m your sister-in-law, Constance Alfred.’

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LLM	<i>Language and Linguistics in Melanesia</i> (formerly <i>Kivung</i>), Journal of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea
PL	<i>Pacific Linguistics</i> , Department of Linguistics, RSPAS, The Australian National University
WPNGL	<i>Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Linguistics</i> . Summer Institute of Linguistics, Ukarumpa.

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